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Israel / 54

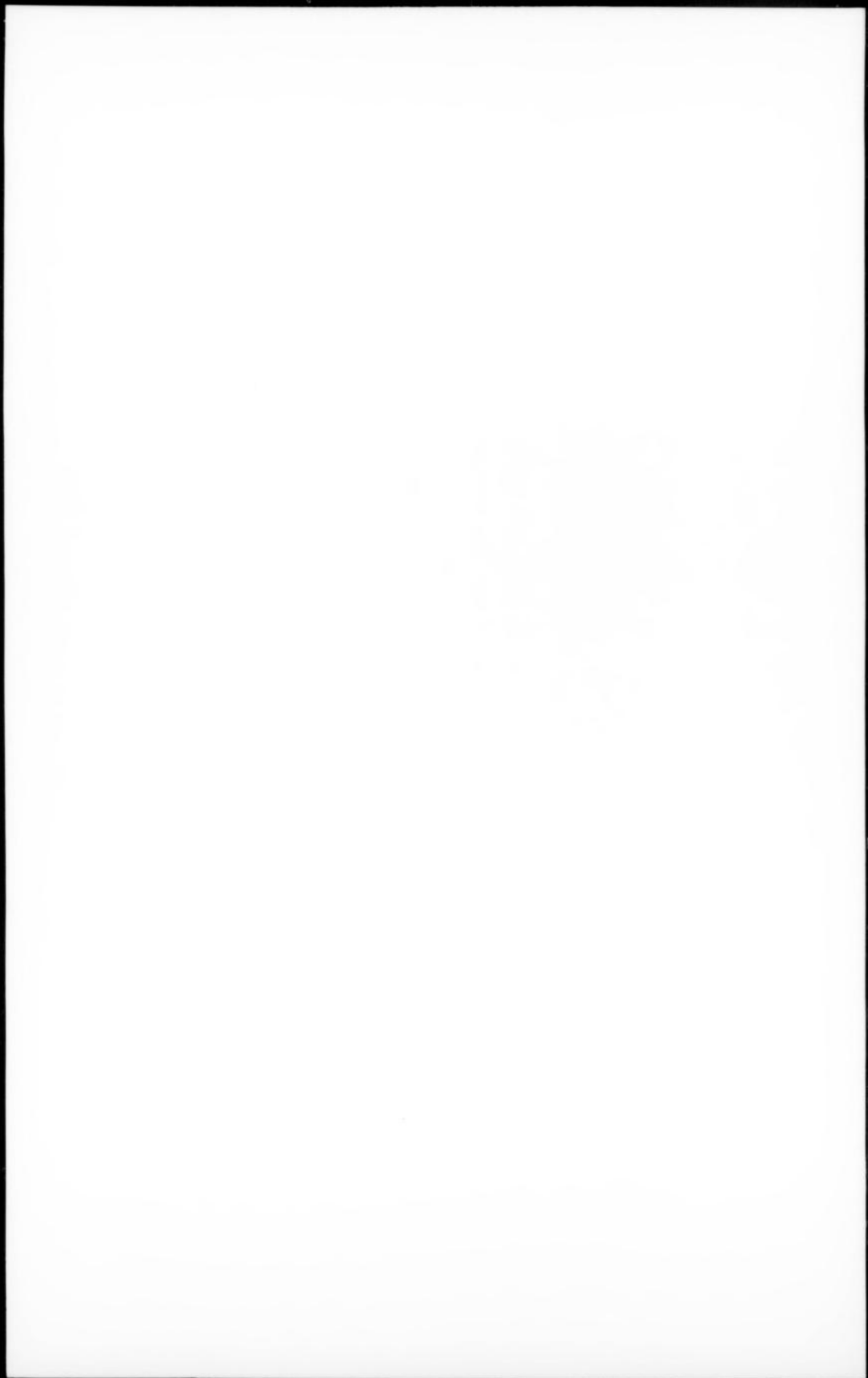
**New Zealand
and peace / 48**

**High tech in
the FRG / 76**

**CPSU program —
Ponomarev / 21**

**The debt
crisis / 109**

Poland / 31





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contents

Course Towards Accelerated Social and Economic Development <i>Milos Jakes</i> (Czechoslovakia)	5
Some Reflections on a Historic-Making Event <i>Rodney Arismendi</i> (Uruguay) ..	12
With Banner Unfurled <i>Boris Ponomarev</i> (USSR)	21
The Working Class: The Mainstay <i>Jerzy Romanik</i> (Poland)	31
Inexhaustible Source of Hope <i>Dolores Ibarruri</i> (Spain)	38
FOR SETTING UP REGIONAL ZONES OF SECURITY AND GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD	
Make Asia a Continent of Peace <i>Pieter Keuneman</i> (Sri Lanka)	41
A Nuclear-Free Status for the Pacific <i>Marilyn Tucker</i> (New Zealand) ...	48

the party

A Profound Analysis and a Realistic Policy <i>George Toubi</i> (Israel)	54
Lessons of the Greek Resistance in Today's Struggle <i>Dimitris Sarlis</i> (Greece) ..	61

new experience

Overcoming Our Growing Pains <i>Gilberto Rincon Gallardo</i> (Mexico)	67
A Foundation to Propagate Marxism <i>Richard Kumpf</i> (FRG)	69
Documents	71
In the Mirror of the Press	72
The Law Is in Effect, the Resistance Continues <i>Jean Charles Negre</i> (France) ..	73
In Brief	75

exchange of views, discussion

What High Technology Has in Store for the Working People <i>Werner Cieslak</i> , <i>Fritz Rische</i> (FRG)	76
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viewpoints

Strategy for Developing Socialism: Leading Element <i>Aleksei Antonov</i> (USSR)	83
Act of Criminal 'Neoglobalism' Against Libya <i>Zinen Zorzovilis</i> , <i>Farid</i> <i>Mougahed</i>	90
In Bondage to Insatiable Usurers <i>Mehmet Gun</i> (Turkey)	94
Growing Confrontation. The Struggle for Joint Economic Management in Peru <i>Cesar Jimenez</i> (Peru)	98
Looking for a Way Out Together <i>Carlos Canache Mata</i> (Venezuela)	104

surveys, information and mail

The Reader Wants to Know: A Financial Instrument of Neocolonialism ...	109
Communist Youth Leagues: Brief Information	116
Diary	119

the book scene

The Ideology of Hatred <i>Donald Ramotar</i>	119
Thinking of the Future <i>Gancho Ganey</i>	122
Who Sees a Roadblock in Contadora <i>Antonio Pinheiro</i>	124
New Books	126

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Course Towards Accelerated Social and Economic Development

Milos Jakes – Presidium member,
CC Secretary, Communist Party of
Czechoslovakia

THE thoughts and efforts of the Communists and people of socialist Czechoslovakia are today focused on giving the fullest effect to the strategic programme for our society's further development endorsed by the 17th Congress of the CPCz. The congress itself took place in March, but the preparations for it were inaugurated last year by the July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, which passed the decision to hold the congress, spelled out its orientation, and mapped out the objectives for the precongress period. All party organisations were requested to analyse critically how the general line for building developed socialism in Czechoslovakia, proclaimed by the 14th Congress in 1971, has been carried out.

The creative impetus for all this work was given by the ideas and documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Speaking at our congress Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, said on behalf of all the Czechoslovak Communists: "We subscribe to the conclusions and spirit of commitment of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. For us this means that we have to make a more thorough study than before of the experience built up by the party of Lenin, that we should not rest content with what has been achieved, ensure that in our party criticism and self-criticism have all the rights of citizenship, tackle existing problems with more determination, and reinforce the links between the party and the people."¹

A feature of the preparations for the congress was the prior discussion of its draft documents by the Communists and the whole of society. Attention was centred on the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of Czechoslovakia for 1986-1990 and Until the Year 2000. The assignments formulated in it are not simple but they are entirely realistic, and their fulfilment will assure the nation's all-sided development accompanied by a further rise of the people's living standard and their active contribution to social progress and to the strengthening of world peace. Moreover, before the congress opened the draft amendments in the CPCz Statute were also published and discussed.

The party drew up these documents in a Leninist spirit. It proceeded from an analysis of socio-historical processes in all their complexity, without succumbing to illusions and without closing its eyes to shortcomings. The situation in the country

and the world, as well as our own potentialities, were assessed realistically and constructively. Far from backing away from difficulties, our guideline calls for doing everything to transcend them.

In the discussion the Communists and the other citizens approved the draft documents, offering many suggestions and comments. These were taken into consideration when the documents were finalised.

The preparations for and the proceedings of the 17th CPCz Congress harmonised with the overall course of events in our life over the past 15 years, the result of which incontrovertibly bore out the party's policy. The congress noted that after the serious crisis generated in the party and in society at the close of the 1960s by revisionists and right-wing opportunists with the backing of international reaction was overcome, socialism developed steadfastly and comprehensively in the country. The life of the people improved steadily and their social confidence was fortified. Czechs, Slovaks, and the other peoples inhabiting Czechoslovakia in fact enjoyed equal rights. In its foreign policy, which leans upon the fraternal alliance with the USSR and other socialist community states, Czechoslovakia has made a large contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress in the world.

Through the dedicated work of the people significant progress was made by the republic's economy, with particularly substantial results produced by the fulfilment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1981-1985). These successes did not come easily. Considerable difficulties caused by external and internal circumstances, by various shortcomings in work had to be surmounted. It is worth emphasising that our socialist system compellingly reaffirmed its advantages at precisely the time when capitalism was hit by severe crises. A yardstick of social wealth is that during the past 15 years Czechoslovakia's national income has increased by 81 per cent and the volume of its industrial output has grown by 97 per cent. The upgrading of agriculture has been a major factor stabilising the economy. Its output has more than trebled, and this has enabled the country to ensure the production of staple foodstuffs in quantities meeting a high level of consumption.

Economic advancement has been the foundation for attaining the party's targets in social policy. Essentially speaking, the distinctions between the urban and rural standards of living have been erased. An end has been put to unemployment once and for all. In the course of 15 years per capita consumption has gone up by 44 per cent and the volume of benefits and services provided gratis by the state has risen by 109 per cent. In per capita meat consumption Czechoslovakia has outstripped Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, and Britain.

During these same 15 years the republic, with a population numbering 15 millions, has built 1,800,000 modern flats. Their furnishings are in keeping with high standards. Our people are among the best shod and dressed in the world.

On the basis of an all-sided analysis of social development, the 17th Congress responsibly put it on record that *in the latter half of the 1980s Czechoslovakia emerged as a consolidated, politically strong, and economically and socially developed state, with its people enjoying a high living and intellectual standard.*

A hallmark of the Communists in their approach to reality is, however, that they do not give themselves over to complacency. From the rostrum of the 17th Congress it was declared that our achievements could have been greater. It was noted that the processes of the intensification of the economy, the growth of labour productivity, and the use of the latest breakthroughs in science and technology were in practice much too slow. This was due chiefly to subjective reasons, mainly related to management. The trouble is that the thinking and actions of some executives are, regrettably, largely the same as in the period of extensive reproduction. At that time to expansion depended on, in the first place, a growth of the volume of raw materials and energy brought into use, on enlisting the labour of a growing number of people,

and starting up more and more production capacities. To intensify the economy there have to be entirely new methods of work. This received priority attention at the congress.

The congress approved the general strategy of accelerating society's development, socio-economic development in the first place. The soundest foundation for acceleration is progress in science and technology, the attainment of higher productivity and efficiency in the national economy. The need for acceleration is dictated not only by domestic but also by international reasons. It will be remembered that Lenin said that 'we are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy . . . The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale.'²

Moreover, acceleration is needed to continue promoting the people's welfare, reinforcing their social confidence, enlarging the possibilities for qualitatively satisfying their steadily growing requirements, improving working and living conditions, and more vigorously solving ecological problems. Concern for people's welfare has been and will be at the heart of the party's policy. What is meant here, and I emphasise this, is by no means solely material interests but the all-sided development of the individual.

To carry out the social assignments set by the congress means increasing, by the year 2000, individual consumption by 50 per cent, taking into account, of course, the substantial growth of the population's requirements by that time. It will be vital to raise the people's education and training level, update the health services, build or renovate 1,500,000 flats, and achieve much in the way of protecting and improving the environment.

At the same time, funds will have to be procured for investment, chiefly to modernise the material and technical basis and further our participation in socialist economic integration. Investments in the services industry are to be increased. We estimate that the outlay on investments will amount to over 28 per cent of the national income.

Large expenditures will have to be made in order to settle foreign credits quicker and to enlarge the country's potentials for extending loans. Here the intention is, above all, to aid developing nations.

Not least, there will be expenditures to strengthen the republic's defence capacity. As long as imperialism and, consequently, the danger of it starting wars of aggression exist the defence of the people's gains will remain one of the central obligations of the socialist state.

In order to carry out far-reaching plans it is also necessary to tap resources that will allow increasing the national income by more than two-thirds by 2000. These include raising social labour productivity in the same proportion and making perceptibly better use of raw materials and energy. Provision is made for cutting back the energy-intensity of the national income by one-third and reducing by 40-50 per cent the outlay of the ferrous metals needed for creating this income. Radical changes are to take place in the fuel-energy balance, in which the role of nuclear energy and natural gas is to raise while the share of solid fuel is to be diminished. This restructuring is an important political objective and its attainment will, in particular, help to cope with serious ecological problems, with the pollution of the atmosphere in the first place. A major prerequisite for this is the envisaged increase of supplies of natural gas from the USSR. Being interested in these supplies, we are participating in the building of the Progress Gas Pipeline and cooperating in the development of the Soviet gas industry.

Attainment of the imperative targets for reducing industry's metal-intensity necessitates largely a readjustment of its structure, enhancing its technological level,

and upgrading it in terms of quality. Hence the special attention given today to the precision-tool industry, electronics, and new structural materials. We shall have to make fuller use of our own raw material resources and recycled materials, promote fine chemistry, increase the output of high-quality steels, and reduce the overall volume of metallurgical production.

Agriculture will continue its course towards making the country self-sufficient in staple foodstuffs and deepening the industrial character of production. Here more effective use has to be made of investments, the quality of output has to be improved, and production costs have to be reduced. The necessity for an upgrading of quality concerns, above all, output to meet food requirements.

In carrying out our long-term economic plans special importance is attached to ensuring visible advances in the course of the current, eighth five-year plan period (1986-1990). This means, among other things, increasing the national income by 18-19 per cent, of which at least 92-95 per cent is to come from a growth of labour productivity without any extension of the consumption of energy, raw materials, and other resources.

The congress defined the basic ways and means of accelerating socio-economic progress in the next five years. This involves a more persevering intensification of the economy by promoting science and technology and consistently introducing their achievements in practice. The congress called this task an imperative of the day, the principal condition for attaining a higher technological and efficiency level of production. Intensification is taken to signify not merely a renewal of technical and technological processes, but a change in the relations of production, in the character of labour. For instance, by automating production we are eliminating heavy physical, health-hazardous labour. With this are linked the higher requirements being made of the training and skill of workers and the reshaping of their technical and economic thinking in order to further vitalise the quest for rational ways of carrying out production assignments. In addition, this gives the working people wider opportunities for a more all-sided application of their creative abilities in their work.

In promoting science and technology, it was stressed at the congress, we cannot rely exclusively on the maximum mobilisation of the country's own resources. We have to take into fuller account what can be furnished by the integration of the scientific, technological, and production potential of the socialist community, in which a particularly large role is played by the Soviet Union. Hence the immense significance that our party attaches to the fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member-Countries Until the Year 2000, in which the conclusions of the 1984 Economic Summit have been enlarged upon. This programme defines the main hallmarks of the qualitatively new stage of socialist economic integration. Its purpose is to ensure the attainment by science, technology, and production of the highest world standards in the most important areas. This will give socialism stronger positions in its competition with the old world. The economic and technological invulnerability of the new society will be reinforced relative to imperialism. The comprehensive, uninterrupted, and stable advancement of our countries will be accelerated and their economic and social development will be steadily levelled up.

A cardinal advantage of the socialist system is society's programmed progress. The foundation for this progress is the economy's planned and proportionate development and the corresponding management. Since the capacity of the productive forces expands rapidly as a result of scientific and technological progress, growing significance is acquired by the state plan as the main instrument of management. Committed to perfecting the economic mechanism, Czechoslovakia, as the other socialist countries, is looking for the most effective forms of relations between central and local production units and managerial bodies. The purpose of these quests is to

boost the initiatives of industrial facilities and give them a larger incentive for satisfying the requirements of the whole of society. Here it is important to fortify state and plan discipline and perfect the methods of economic management. This means upgrading the organisation and quality of labour and enhancing the responsibility and socialist enterprise of cadres. Much has to be done to make remuneration more just, to take the quantity and quality of invested labour more fully into account.

The following words spoken by Mikhail Gorbachov at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, "the new economic tasks cannot be solved without an in-depth readjustment of the economic mechanism, without creating an integral, effective and flexible system of management that will take fuller advantage of the possibilities of socialism"³ have our full support and are entirely in keeping with our intentions.

The CPCz sees the reinforcement and development of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism as the foundation for improving the system of management. This implies a strengthening of central bodies, an improvement of their work in tackling the most important, fundamental problems, and a simultaneous extension of the independence and responsibility of industrial facilities on the basis of cost accounting. This approach has nothing in common with 'market' concepts, with a debilitation of the relations of socialist ownership and the party's guiding role in the economy. We are trying to achieve harmony between the terms of reference and responsibility of all links of the leadership of the economy.

We are giving unflinching attention to improving matters related to production quotas and standards and to the wide use of such economic levers as prices and credits. We shall continue reinforcing the functions of economic contracts as a major criterion for assessing the work of industrial facilities in satisfying society's requirements.

The building of developed socialism is inseparable from providing people with a material incentive for the results of their work. The socialist principle of 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work' counterposes egalitarian tendencies in distribution and is consistent with the interests of social justice. This calls for differentiating those who, with a sense of responsibility, give society skilled, high-quality work from slackers, from those who work inefficiently. If as an effective stimulus for work material incentive is correctly oriented and put into effect consistently, it will have a most direct influence in getting people to display their abilities and resourcefulness more fully and use advanced experience.

Further, in its policy the CPCz proceeds from the repeatedly proven premise that the initiatives of the working people and their participation in the leadership and administration of society are an inexhaustible motive force of socialist progress. The sense of socialist democracy is to draw the people more actively into public life and into management, and steadily extend the deepen the implementation of the political rights and freedoms of every citizen. Our democracy gives the working people an ever larger role to play in drawing up and fulfilling state plans, in accelerating scientific and technological progress, and in making rational use of materials, energy, funds, and other resources. All the functions of work collectives manifest themselves concretely in the fulfilment of commitments, the organisation of socialist emulation, the reinforcement of discipline and order, and the improvement of management methods and of working and living conditions. Evidence of the working people's vital interest in the party's policy has been the new upsurge of workers' initiatives that marked the 17th Congress and the commemoration of our party's 65th anniversary in May.

The programme adopted by the congress is further confirmation that the party is able to pave scientifically substantiated, realistic paths for society's development correctly and opportunely, in keeping with our resources, potentialities, and specific domestic situation and international position, and in line with the interests of all the

working classes and social groups. Progress along these paths makes new requirements of the party itself as the force guiding and uniting society, of its educational political work, and of how the Communists help to prepare people to carry out new challenging tasks. Every primary organisation and every member of the CPCz, it was stressed at the congress, has the duty of working on a higher level of skill and efficiency.

Our party is now a huge force. It has over 1,600,000 members, in other words, one in every seven citizens of Czechoslovakia over the age of 17 is a Communist. There are party organisations in all sections of society's life. The 17th Congress devoted special attention to enhancing the party's capability, strengthening its ideological cohesion and unity of action, broadening the rights and duties of its members, and promoting criticism and self-criticism, which have justified themselves in rectifying serious errors and in combating subjectivism. We say that there must be more criticism and self-criticism. This means, in particular, that they must be constantly in evidence in day-to-day life. Various shortcomings make themselves felt in different areas of life. Of course, not all criticism and all suggestions can be put into effect immediately. But they are essential, for they indicate what merits attention. For that reason such suggestions must be unfailingly taken into account and generalised. Many justified demands are also articulated and there can and must be an immediate response to them. There can be no justification if the relevant body is slow to respond. A critical approach should, it was noted at the congress, permeate all the work of the party and the government from top to bottom.

We consider that it is particularly important for the party to focus constant attention on matters related to its ideological influence among the people, to combine organisational and educational work with the requirements of socio-economic development, and strengthen unity between the party and the people. These orientations predicted the amendments in the CPCz Statute adopted at the congress. Its purpose is to help give each Communist a higher sense of responsibility for the work of his or her organisation and make it obligatory for the Communists to be in the forefront of the efforts in behalf of our cause and set an example in implementing the party's policy. The Statute requires the Communists to act with determination against breaches of party and state discipline, against mismanagement, slipshodness, irresponsibility, departmentalism, and parochialism, against inflexibility and inertness, against everything that hinders socialist construction.

At the present stage one of the party's priorities is work with cadres. The main thing here is to ensure that executive posts are held by persons who make high demands of themselves and of others, are competent, enterprising, are unafraid of responsibility and capable of carrying out the political line of the party and the government without retreating in the face of difficulties, and tackle new tasks uncompromisingly and boldly. The congress noted the significance of continuity in the work with cadres. It is our objective that in all sectors young and promising people should work side by side with experienced comrades, learn from them, and take over their expertise.

The 17th Congress significantly enhanced the role of the National Front as the foundation of our political system. The Front unites all of the country's political parties⁴ and mass organisations, whose members are active in building a new society. The purpose of the National Front is to foster a broadening of the people's constructive participation in management and state administration, in consolidating the socialist way of life.

The Communist Party forms the core of our political system. Surmounting all obstacles and difficulties and correcting errors, the CPCz has been tirelessly championing the vital interests of the working class and all other working people over a period of more than six decades. Despite the persecution to which it was subjected

under capitalism, the party staunchly and confidently headed the struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism. During and after the Second World War it was the decisive force in the Czechoslovak Republic's renewal and then headed the socialist revolution and the building of the new society. Without the CPCz the working people would have been unable to vanquish the bourgeoisie in February 1948 and arrive at their socialist present.

The Czechoslovak Communists are justly proud of their past, but they are well aware that the party's ability to be the vanguard of the people has to be reaffirmed by deeds again and again. This is the only way that the people's confidence in the party's policy is sustained and strengthened. This is fostered also by our efforts to fulfil the resolutions of the 17th Congress. Their widespread approval, the vigorous work that has been started to achieve what has been charted, and the support for the party programme by voters at the elections to representative bodies of all levels last May are tangible confirmation that the chosen path is correct.

Persons dedicated to the cause of socialism, devoted to their work, and possessing lofty moral qualities are being elected deputies to the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Czech and Slovak national councils, and the local national committees. Each constituency has its election programme drawn up in keeping with the basic guidelines for Czechoslovakia's social and economic development specified with account of the mandates given by citizens to their delegates. In effect, these programmes are concrete plans for building our future in rural communities, towns, districts and regions, plans, that have been coordinated with the people. Electors have all the rights and possibilities for verifying what the deputies are doing to carry out what has been mapped out. In other words, the fulfilment of plans is controlled by the people. This is yet another effective instrument of our democracy, which fortifies the confidence of the people in the prospects for the republic's all-sided progress.

In conclusion, let me note that at the congress there was a broad discussion of problems of international relations, as the heart of which is the struggle for peace, for eliminating the nuclear threat. Entirely in line with the opinion of the people, delegates expressed unqualified support for the Soviet peace initiatives articulated with renewed force from the rostrum of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. In April, immediately after our party forum completed its proceedings, the working people of Czechoslovakia stated their approval of the Message from the Warsaw Treaty States to European Nations, the USA, and Canada on the Creation of Nuclear-Free Zones in Europe. This and many other initiatives of the socialist community are evidence that the Communists are sparing no effort to fulfil humankind's hopes that the planet will be delivered from the threat of a nuclear war, that a civilisation is built up in which friendly relations and peaceful cooperation will become the norm of international relations.

This aim, which meets with the interests and aspirations of all of the world's revolutionary and progressive forces, has been and will always be central in the foreign policy of our party and government.

¹ *Rudé právo*, March 25, 1986.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437.

³ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 37.

⁴ Apart from the CPCz, there are another four parties in Czechoslovakia.—Ed.

Some Reflections on a History-Making Event

Rodney Arismendi – General Secretary,
Central Committee, Communist Party
of Uruguay

1. John Reed chose an evocative title for his eyewitness account that went down in history: *Ten Days That Shook the World*. We have no intention of comparing the 27th Congress of the CPSU, an event not too remote, timewise, from the storming of the Winter Palace, with the close of the 'social prehistory of humanity'. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to recognise the tremendous importance of the fact that today, almost seven decades after the dawn of the new age inspired by the genius of Lenin, the Soviet Communists are preparing—while making very harsh demands on themselves—to turn the next fifteen years into a radically new stage in their economic and social progress towards communism. In other words, to reach new and decisive frontiers of developed socialism while upholding continuity, correcting mistakes and introducing the necessary adjustments.

The scientific and technological revolution is to be the principal means of accelerated development, of perfecting social relations. It will also encourage firmer and broader ties between the state and the people by enhancing democracy and socialist self-government, by further promoting direct and organic mass participation in the exercise of political power, in the administration of vital benefits in the fields of welfare, housing, health, education, meaningful leisure, etc. The incomes of working people and pensioners will increase substantially, and the social consumption funds will grow steadily. All-round physical and intellectual development of the personality will enhance the humanistic essence of the Soviet system. For, as Marx wrote, the human essence is inherent in man himself.

Yet again in the relatively short history of their social exploration, the Soviet Communists, trail-blazers armed by science, people who have 'made dreams come true', worked miracles of heroism and, at times, had to overcome mistakes and withstand severe trials, are fighting their way into the coming century with three five-year plans that can 'shake the world'. And all this in our twentieth century, when peace is essential for such accomplishments for, 'on the one hand, the swift advance of science and technology has opened up unprecedented possibilities for mastering the forces of nature and improving the conditions of the life of man. On the other, the 'enlightened' 20th century is going down in history as a time marked by such imperialist outgrowths as the most devastating wars, an orgy of militarism and fascism, genocide, and the destitution of millions of people. Ignorance and obscurantism go hand in hand in the capitalist world with lofty achievements of science and culture. That is the society we are compelled to be neighbours of, looking for ways of cooperation and mutual understanding. Such is the command of history.'

Considering the tough deadlines and the tremendous scope of the radically new tasks set by the congress, their follow-up must truly be described as epic. Indeed, such plans are simply unthinkable in a society allegedly 'in crisis' and in a 'desperate race' against capitalism. Besides, they can only be implemented with vigorous and selfless involvement of the entire people. That is why the 27th Congress of the CPSU was a major forum of initiative, criticism and self-criticism, of enthusiasm which the masses displayed in performing their history-making task and which had previously been sometimes frustrated or diluted.

This vast country with its numerous ethnic and national groups is advancing along its chosen path. Achievements of this scope are nothing new for socialism, although

slowdowns in the rates of growth and the negative trends exposed at the congress are not ruled out. Socialist society has overcome a series of great difficulties and secured universal recognition.

Consider the awe-inspiring record of the country of Lenin: the world's first socialist revolution, the foreign intervention, the first five-year periods, the anti-fascist war that saved human civilisation, the rehabilitation period and the subsequent development. In other words, the ideas of Marx and Engels have become part of historical practice. The Soviet people have come a long way from eliminating illiteracy to space exploration, from the shamanism of 'god-forsaken' peoples to advanced science, from the wooden plough to electronics, nuclear energy and biotechnology, from the Asiatic and feudal ways of some areas to socialism which, having triumphed, discharged its historical mission of eliminating social and ethnic oppression.

As Lenin foresaw, our age has become an era of major change in social systems. Socialism is being built on four continents, and whole nations are inspired by socialist ideals. This qualitatively new stage is connected with the participation of the whole socialist community in these developments.

For all the differences in the development level of socialism, for all the local difficulties, distinctive national features and the like, issues connected with the intensification and 'scientification' of production were also discussed at the congresses of other fraternal parties of the socialist community. The most important step in this direction was taken at the 1984 CMEA conference which charted the overall path for the development of integrated automation, the introduction of new-generation computers and other electronic devices into the economy, the promotion of nuclear power, biotechnology, etc. Together with other changes foreseen by Marx, all this bears out that as a direct productive force, science is acquiring a leading role in production. Since the 1960s, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in general have been the decisive factor of the historical process. One can imagine that in the world of the year 2000, socialism will have tremendous appeal as a maker of history, with the motive forces of our age in full swing.

The 'strategy of acceleration', the main factor of development in the Soviet Union at the current stage, hinges on two conditions: (a) a scientific and technological restructuring of the economy with subsequent changes in society itself, particularly in the political and intellectual spheres, and (b) a transition from the 'peace of fear' to the principles of peaceful coexistence and universal security, advanced in specific terms by Mikhail Gorbachov.

No wonder that the capitalist centres which manipulate public opinion keep spewing the same old propaganda fare. They have barely got over their shock, but they are already switching to the tactics of hushing up the advances and stressing the shortcomings of the Soviet Union. They cannot conceal their delight at the self-criticism aimed against the deficiencies, mistakes, entrenched dogmatism and spiritual passivity of certain leaders, against red tape, backlogs in technological reconversion, slowdowns in the renovation of personnel, shortfalls in education (which, incidentally, leads the world in polytechnic training), and the stubborn reluctance of some executives (reluctance that sometimes lasted for years) to respond effectively to new phenomena which hampered growth rates in conditions of mature socialist social relations. But who, under capitalism, would dare convene such a representative forum to expose all shortcomings so incisively? The fact speaks for itself, despite the antagonism that separates the two systems. Self-criticism and the ability to take a critical look at reality are the happy mission and credo of the strong who can look the nation in the eyes and foresee the future.

Of course, self-criticism is no novelty in Marxism-Leninism, Marx regarded it as a distinctive virtue of socialist revolutions. Lenin elevated it to the status of a method and style of leadership and government. Lenin's disciples were never afraid of

speaking the truth and nothing but the truth. Sometimes, after impressive victories, they even enhanced the explosive force of self-criticism. Today, we are not dealing with any 'failure'. It is equally wrong to allege that the congress supported those who believe the inspiring creative potential of socialism exhausted. The modern age itself and the successes scored by the revolutionary movement in virtually all parts of the world are the best evidence refuting this lie.

Nothing is more alien to an idyllic view of the world than the Communists' profoundly critical way of thinking. Why was the time devoted to the assessment of even obvious successes limited so sharply and deliberately at the congress? One reason is self-evident: in order to correct mistakes and be merciless to all that is negative; our Earth is no paradise, and history is made by people. The other reason concerns the very essence of the issue: *self-criticism is an essential element of preparations for qualitative social transformations; this is why self-criticism is a spirit that must permeate above all the leadership of the party and the government.* Without a critical understanding of reality, one cannot concentrate one's strength to a degree which is necessary for the tackling of tasks that are both material and subjective. Within socialist society, conditions have matured for a more demanding attitude to things, an attitude that is to ensure further perfection of socialism.

At the current stage in the development of socialism, in the peaceful race against its historical rival, one cannot change strategy without making great demands on oneself, without consulting with the party and the people—the principal actors of the heroic prerevolutionary struggle and of all the accomplishments of the post-revolutionary period. These people, in rags, built the first legendary monuments of socialism—the Dnieper Power Station and Magnitogorsk. These people triumphed over Nazism and blazed the trail into space. And these are not only heroic but also largely intellectual people—if one recalls UNESCO statistics on the spread of education and culture among the Soviet people. The 27th Congress was held on their behalf, and Mikhail Gorbachov expressed their aspirations at it.

2. From the purely theoretical point of view, the Political Report, the new edition of the Programme, the amendments introduced into the CPSU Rules and other documents of the congress exemplify a Marxist-Leninist generalisation, with the organic unity of principles and their practical implementation its principal virtue. As far as the form of these documents is concerned—an aspect invariably of interest to Marx and Lenin—one is glad to see a fresh style and an abhorrence of hackneyed stereotypes. It pays to dwell in greater detail, albeit briefly, on some of the many innovative aspects that help to understand the essence of the questions raised.

First, one should pay attention to the conceptually essential section on the principal contradictions of today's world. Although its provisions do nothing to change the Marxist view of the matter in general, this part of the document contains, aside from profound generalisations, new aspects in the assessment of the development of imperialism (that is, of capitalism that is not of the nineteenth or the first half of the twentieth century)—the character of state-monopoly capitalism with its extreme internationalisation of production, transnationalisation of the monopolies, emergence of a neocolonial system and loss of imperialist domination over one-third of the world's population.

The influence of the *military-industrial complex* is treated as a general problem. Methodologically—not structurally—and with due regard for the peace struggle, a distinction is drawn between the role of this complex (described in greater detail in the Programme) and of monopoly capital as a whole. And, echoing the view Lenin expressed in his works that have become classics, attention is focused on the monstrous hypertrophy of militarism. The report examines the continuous economic and structural crises, the way the law of uneven capitalist development operates in our age, the forms of capital exports, the critical level of exploitation of nations and

the special impact of the external debt. This section also analyses the increasingly reactionary development trend of imperialism; spotted by Lenin, it is now leading to extremes such as unbridled savagery, fascism and calls to win back the lost social privileges. Finally, a comparison is drawn between the global consequences of the scientific and technological revolution in both antagonistic systems. It is also interesting to note the conclusions about the increasingly critical level of the total exploitation of the so-called Third World, including reference to the point Lenin made about the use of enormous superprofits for reducing social tensions in the centres of industrialised capitalism.

Second, the report deals with the cardinal problem of war and peace in a bold and innovative way which calls for a *change in the way of thinking*. The report reiterates the classical point about imperialism being the principal source of aggressive wars. At the same time, the spectrum and the opportunities of those who can change the alignment of forces in their favour and prevent nuclear catastrophe are increasing inexorably. These forces keep submitting new proposals. Today, we are no longer dealing with epidemics—something Engels used to write about—but with a world-wide nuclear conflagration which can destroy indiscriminately both the rich and the poor. There is no doubt that mankind itself will then turn to ashes—as Soviet and US scientists have warned repeatedly. That is why the number of those who advocate destruction is contracting steadily, while the mass action undertaken by the advocates of human survival is sweeping the world. That is why the 27th Congress spoke about peace in a manner that differed somewhat from the way the CPSU had discussed this question earlier, since Lenin's famous Decree, for now we are referring to the survival of the human race itself.

The initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorbachov prior to the congress were also consonant with this new reality—the proposals on ending nuclear weapon tests and eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000 (which Reagan rejected with an air of a macabre buffoon). At the congress, the Soviet leader put forward a series of basic guidelines for peaceful coexistence and security, designed to facilitate a practical transition from the 'balance of terror' to good-neighbour relations and multilateral cooperation world-wide.

The Soviet proposals mark a major new frontier which is open to all who love life and which is closed only to the military-industrial complex, its political agents and the brazen 'gold-plated' elite of monopoly capital with its extremely aggressive imperialist groups which once gave birth to Nazism.

Even Dwight Eisenhower, himself an imperialist and a reactionary, spoke about this monster with alarm when he was stepping down as President; he was the first to refer to it by the now well-known name 'military-industrial complex'. This conglomerate has concentrated in its hands superprofits which run into hundreds of billions of dollars, are the source of military tensions and threaten people with nuclear, bacteriological and chemical destruction. Today, there is also the insanity of Star Wars. One might recall the words of the great Goya about monsters being born while reason is asleep.

Pithy phrases from Gorbachov's report pinpoint the essence of the problem: there is no alternative to the struggle against the nuclear threat, the character of present-day weaponry leaves no country any hope of safeguarding itself solely with military and technical means, nuclear weapons make man a hostage of chance.

All this means that one must fight for peace tirelessly and with imagination, with a new mentality that rules out 'door-slamming' at each deliberate provocation. It is imperative to assist constructive international cooperation on a global scale so as to resolve the global contradictions mentioned in the report and affecting the very foundations of civilisation—problems such as environmental protection, hunger in newly independent developing countries or even peaceful exploration of the seabed

and of outer space.

This frank and profoundly humanitarian approach was welcomed sincerely by all people of goodwill despite the frantic efforts of those who tried to distort it. At the same time the congress had occasion to realise that Mikhail Gorbachov was right when he said that "*the USA, its military-industrial machine remains the locomotive of militarism, for so far it has no intention of slowing down*". Naturally, the Soviet leader added, "*the interests and aims of the military-industrial complex are not at all the same as the interests and aims of the American people*"² (emphasis added.—R.A.).

President Reagan rejected the Soviet proposal on ending nuclear testing and, acting in concert with the notorious doctrine of neoglobalism, took up the task of adding fuel to the flame of conflicts and acts of aggression.

According to the logic of the President's shameless assertions, George Washington has acquired new 'disciples'—such as Jonas Savimbi, other butchers operating in all latitudes, Somoza's thugs and the mercenaries who attack Nicaragua and whom the ex-cowboy of the movies has called, with perverse pleasure, his 'spiritual brethren'. Neoglobalism, a smokescreen put up to evade a peaceful dialogue and spur on the arms race, has turned into a truly global strategy of aggression, armed interference and counter-revolutionary ventures. Reagan has even ordered the bombing of Libya, sent warships into Soviet territorial waters and is dispatching more troops to the Nicaraguan border. At the same time he dares cynically mock the efforts of the Latin American heads of state who represent the Contadora process and the group that supports it.

This means that *the world sees the US President as a spokesman of domination, aggression and war, as a sworn enemy of progress and freedom*. After Geneva and the Soviet proposals that followed, Reagan again flaunted his obsessive desire to lord it over the world and (if only he could) decapitate socialism on the altar of His Majesty the Dollar. It is the task of all mankind, of all nations who are for peace and against the nuclear monster to curb the aggressor. The current millennium which is drawing to a close has the means to do it. And they are named in the CPSU Programme: '*the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states and the mass democratic movements*'.³ All who are guided by reason are on the side of these motive forces.

Like drunk and overconfident gamblers, the leaders of imperialist reaction are staking the future of life itself on nuclear conflict. The militant message of the 27th Congress to all people of goodwill is a call to build a system of peace and universal security and thus save life on Earth.

Third, the strategy of acceleration stems wholly from the unity of practice and theory and is clearly the most important creative contribution to the decisions taken at the congress.

However, there arises in this connection a question that should be answered: has the 27th Congress raised, in a specific manner, the issue of the phases, that is, the issue of the complete maturity of socialism and its advancement to the 'threshold' of communism? The answer is contained in the very title of the second part of the Programme: '*The CPSU's Tasks in Perfecting Socialism and Making a Gradual Transition to Communism*'. The text that follows offers definition of communism and reiterates what Marx and Lenin said about the two phases: '*There is no distinct line dividing them: the development of socialism, ever fuller revelation of its possibilities and advantages, and consolidation of the general communist principles characteristic of it is what is meant by the actual advance of society to communism*'.⁴ Meanwhile, in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the congress we can see that the new edition of the Programme 'reasserts the main goals of the CPSU, the basic laws governing communist construction, and at the same time shows that the accumulated historical experience has been interpreted in a creative manner, and

that the strategy and tactics have been elaborated to suit the specificities of the present turning point'.⁵ As for the category of '*developed socialism*', the Programme recognises it and states that the Soviet Union is currently going through this stage.

Our great appreciation of the results achieved by the congress is obvious, and we could have concluded our comment right here. However, one must also note that Mikhail Gorbachov, the leader of the Soviet Communists, farsightedly conducts criticism on two fronts—against those who dreamed of 'skipping' stages of development and advanced unrealistic and almost utopian tasks (these have been deleted from the Programme) and against tolerance of old and new mistakes, with the culprits seeking to hide behind trite references to the 'objective difficulties' of the socialist phase. I think that the Political Report and the new edition of the Programme have abandoned the primitive idea of 'sprouts of communism' which were sometimes identified with a certain level of social security, with inexpensive or free services (from housing to education). Today, the task is to grasp more profoundly the process of the communist phase maturing organically in the womb of socialism, to view their interrelationship in toto, in dialectical unity, as charted by Marx and Lenin.

On the theoretical plane, this appeal to realism and confidence in the future exemplifies a critical approach to reality. On the plane of practical action, it is connected with the issue of the material and technical basis, of developing mature socialist relations and of bringing about a profound change in man's attitude to labour and in his striving to overcome age-old human contradictions and weaknesses. This explains why, under the Soviet five-year plans for the future, acceleration, mature socialist relations and involvement in labour will be essential for the transition to communism. Particularly specific emphasis is laid on a series of tasks ranging from a change in the way of thinking to comprehensive expansion of socialist self-government. In this connection one would be well advised to examine, in organic unity, all provisions of the Report and the Programme setting concrete tasks for the period through the year 2000—from a complete scientific and technological restructuring of the economy, which is the essential first step to an abundance based on the highest possible rise in the efficiency of the productive forces and in labour productivity, to the new attitude to work; or from introducing machinery into rural areas to a profound scientific, technological, intellectual and moral restructuring of the rural dweller who will be overcoming the main differences between urban and rural areas, between work by hand and by brain.

One should note that the Programme sets the specific task of overcoming the substantial differences (contradictions) between town and country mainly 'in the historical framework of the first, socialist phase of the communist formation'.⁶ All this will occur in the course of a process what will lead to the abolition of classes and the elimination of differences between industrial workers, farmers and intellectuals. In other words, we are witnessing an organic connection that already exists between our age and the prospects outlined by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and by Lenin in *The State and Revolution*.

The fact that these major future transformations were discussed at a congress which dealt with practical issues of perfecting socialism may have seemed to some divorced from reality and thus of little practical value, even though the congress stressed the need to fully apply the laws governing remuneration and distribution in concert with the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work' and although other important matters were also examined—such as the extirpation of parasitism and other social ills or the mission of promoting *an attitude of masters of everything society has* among the masses. Still, one would be shortsighted not to notice the profound connection linking the strategy the CPSU has charted for the period through the year 2000 with the creation, even now, of very tangible conditions for a transition to the communist phase. 'The party,' the Programme says,

'always correlates its policy, economic and social strategy, and the tasks of its organisational and ideological work with the communist perspective.'⁷

The fact that the Programme reiterates the classical precept about a gradual transition from the state to the 'non-state' (Engels and Lenin) and about the withering away of political and coercive functions at the latter stage—a theoretical question whose solution is complicated by the division of the world into two antagonistic systems—does not remove the need for more vigorous popular participation in the management of society but imparts a new and powerful impetus to this necessity. This lends a modern significance to the more or less forgotten precept about the transition from government *for* the people to government *by* the people. I would say that in this context, it is imperative to read anew everything Lenin wrote about the distinctive features of the Soviets as a form of government of a new type, with particularly broad and profound democracy.

3. Fidel Castro has said that without the October Revolution, there would have been no Cuban Revolution. Naturally, he was not referring to the accomplishments and progress of the insurgent movement which owed its successes only to the Cuban people and their leader. He was speaking in broad historical terms—and not only because later, under the very nose of the imperialist monster, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries contributed decisively to the defence and consolidation of the new system in Cuba, but also because the very existence of socialism and its victories that changed the world alignment of forces furthered the consolidation of the socialist community, the collapse of colonial empires and the emergence of many newly liberated nations. This also made possible an upsurge of the national liberation movement in Latin America. A continent which, according to Lenin, offered a classical example of dependence became a protagonist in the revolutionary transformation of the world. We have repeatedly stressed certain fundamental truths about the current situation in Latin America, and I would like to recapitulate some of them.

First, the Cuban Revolution, which made the Island of Freedom a member of the socialist community and the mainstay and lodestar of the Latin American people's movement towards unity in the name of economic and political self-determination, was the most important event in the history of the continent since the War of Independence. Its innovative character has shaped two intertwined features of the Latin American revolution: on the one hand, a diversity of national manifestations and, on the other, a distinctive and essential unity which makes it possible to refer to a single revolutionary process at the continental level and shapes a common strategy vis-a-vis US imperialism. This became especially evident after Cuba.

Today, it would never occur to anyone—as it sometimes did in the 1960s—to regard the Cuban Revolution as an isolated phenomenon without any direct connection with the future of the continent, as a historical accident similar to an earthquake in one of Latin America's seismic zones. This revolution was truly the dawn of a new age, an accomplishment that broke one of the principal links in the chain of US imperialist domination. It was the triumphant beginning of the second war of independence. In other words, it ushered in a new era of national, democratic and socialist revolutions and liberation movements which can now spread throughout all countries south of the Rio Grande. For this reason, and because it was an authentic revolution, Cuba is waging its struggle at a profoundly new historical juncture, with due regard for the dialectics of revolution and counter-revolution—counter-revolution that is imposed on the Latin Americans by the United States on which we depend as its biggest 'backyard'.

If we begin to analyse the events from the mid-1950s, when revolutions occurred in Bolivia and Guatemala, even the most incofrigible of dogmatists and the most recalcitrant of Eurocentrists will be unable to deny that the subsequent three decades

of the stormy socio-political history of our peoples have borne out both the diversity and the unity of our revolutionary process, as well as its harsh dialectics in which anti-imperialism and the class struggle have intertwined so closely.

During the deliberations of the 27th Congress which noted the different levels of capitalist development and the ruthless exploitation of Latin American peoples, one was struck by the marked changes in the 'social temperature' of our region, by the diversity of political situations, of the tactical goals and methods of the working class, other revolutionary forces and communist parties, by the different degrees of their appeal in different countries and zones. But the unity of the continent-wide process is even more obvious: we are facing incessant offensives and counter-offensives of US imperialism, and this demands that Latin American peoples and governments adopt common positions.

The counter-revolutionary and predatory nature, the unbridled greed and brutality of the Reagan administration—Nicaragua and El Salvador are now the prime victims (although one must not forget the protracted and futile 'war' against Cuba and the rape of Grenada)—are making themselves felt in all republics of Latin America, sometimes assuming different disguises. The support of Pinochet and Stroessner, the displays of military might, the conspiracies against democracy and the national sovereignty of the countries lying to the south of the United States, the economic plunder, the psychological warfare, the 'infiltration' of Latin American armed forces, the often undisguised financing of fascism—these are only some of the facts confirming the acuteness and complexity of the struggle against imperialism.

On the other hand however, the Latin American revolution, our patriotic and democratic movement have also entered a new historical period. The wind of revolutionary and democratic change, the striving of our nations for economic and political self-determination, the exacerbation of antagonistic contradictions with imperialism, above all US imperialism, are harbingers of decisive battles to be fought in this new period.

The counter-offensive of imperialism and fascism which, at the dawn of the 1970s, hit Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and Bolivia (aside from the military dictatorship in Brazil and the tyrannical regimes in Central America and the Caribbean that were already in existence) has been frustrated. There were those who underestimated the danger of this continental and international onslaught of fascism and diffidently described the regimes that were installed as 'right-wing dictatorships'. The extremely reactionary forces have been routed as a result of far-reaching historical changes. The Nicaraguan Revolution was the first of the changes that spread throughout the continent: an armed struggle was launched in El Salvador, the Chilean people awakened, the Guatemalans displayed epic heroism, the fascist dictatorships in the Southern Cone countries collapsed resoundingly, and popular indignation exploded in Haiti. Add to that—and note its importance—the growth in the contradictions between the peoples and governments of Latin America, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Reagan administration with its savage, cynical and brutal policy, particularly with regard to Nicaragua. For, although the position of the Contadora countries and of the group supporting them cannot be described as consistently or at least openly anti-imperialist, it is nevertheless a new phenomenon in Latin America. Even the Organisation of American States has condemned the blockade of Nicaragua!

In fact, all democratic governments of South America as well as Mexico are involved in resisting the policy of Reagan and the US military-industrial complex. The external debt has aggravated the situation. One should also stress that those Latin American countries that employ democratic forms of government have reached particularly high levels of capitalist development; in some of them, the activity of workers and of the popular masses is quite pronounced. In the grim years when

several brutal fascist dictatorships tortured and butchered the peoples of South America, we said that although the advent of these regimes was a serious setback for the liberation process, the peoples of the continent would resist them, and that the very existence of these tyrannies served to narrow the social, political and ideological base of imperialist domination. Life has confirmed our forecasts concerning the scope of the battles to be fought at the national and general democratic level as well as the urgent demand to link this struggle with the creation of anti-imperialist fronts and the consolidation of communist parties.

Second, today it is abundantly clear that the movements which have been springing up everywhere—from the broad mass action in Uruguay, Chile, Peru and other countries to genuine and far-reaching socialist and anti-imperialist revolutions (such as those that won in Cuba and Nicaragua or were defeated in Chile and Grenada)—are not isolated phenomena or accidental twists of 'provincial' Latin American history. It would be an even greater fallacy to believe that this process lacks a necessary and growing material base or the required level of subjective national and democratic maturity with certain socialist elements.

The masses of industrial workers are involved in the struggle; the agrarian movement exists, although it is lagging behind; the intellectuals who have made a political choice are becoming increasingly active; the multitude of students and young people is in ferment; millions of women are joining the struggle heroically and selflessly. From Cuba to Nicaragua and Central America, a store of positive and negative political and military experience is accumulating, including both the 1960s school of the guerrilla struggle and the obsession with exclusively guerrilla methods, both successful efforts to overcome routine-bound thinking and cases when revolutionary vision has been lost. One should single out yet another sign of the maturity this process has reached: there is now increased understanding of the need for unity among the democratic and anti-imperialist forces. Suffice it to recall the insurgent movement in El Salvador or the emergence of entities that carry political weight—such as the Broad Front in Uruguay, the United Left in Peru, the People's Democratic Movement in Chile, the Patriotic Union in Colombia and the like.

What about the material potential of our struggle? In Latin America, capitalism has grown up and will continue to grow despite the fact that it is deformed by the backward agrarian relations (*latifundismo*), by precapitalist holdovers and by dependence, particularly on the United States. In conditions of transnationalisation and of the monstrous external debt so brilliantly exposed by Fidel Castro as the extreme expression of dependence, the crisis of Latin American society has acquired global dimensions and can only be overcome through revolution. This is an incontrovertible truth. It does not prevent one from saying that, to a certain extent, it is also possible to fight against the crisis by carrying out structural reforms, rejecting the external debt and IMF policies, effecting general democratic transformations and thus promoting social progress and the struggle for Latin American integration and a new international economic order (here one should note Mikhail Gorbachov's words about the 'new capitalist centres of power' and the passage in the CPSU Programme where direct reference to Latin America is made in this connection).

The democracy that has re-emerged on our continent must not only gain strength but also advance. Our profoundly national objectives must not come into conflict with the strategy of peace and anti-imperialism. One cannot pay in blood for the solution of the social problems plaguing the Latin Americans who, facing US imperialism and an explosive situation, are upholding their political and economic independence and democracy. The Latin American peoples who see Cuba as an example of socialism do not want to be 'beggars on thrones of gold', as Alexander Humboldt once called them.⁸ Fidel Castro's profound analysis of the extremely acute problem of the external debt is sounding the alarm. For his part, Mikhail Gorbachov

speaks of 'bags of money' that 'are liable to become kegs of gunpowder'.⁹ This is a figure of speech, but it sums up the situation aptly.

The dynamics of Latin American politics, objectively accelerated by the threats of US imperialism, particularly against Nicaragua, make it incumbent on us Communists to work out a definite strategy, just as we did during the struggle against fascism. This strategy should dialectically combine broad scope and profound meaning. Broadness implies the creation of a front comprising peoples and governments; depth refers to the ability to rally all motive forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution around common objectives. This is how we are proceeding in Uruguay: the entire nation rallied together in its rejection of the dictatorship, and the glorious and heroic Broad Front and the Communist Party were in the front ranks.

The example of the socialist system and the recent 27th Congress of the CPSU will give a new impetus to the struggle the Latin Americans are waging. Let the year 2000 become a dawn for us, a dawn free from the dark thunderheads coming to overshadow us from the 'tumultuous North', as the great Marti called the United States.

¹ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 10.

² Ibid., p. 73.

³ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (A New Edition)*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, p. 22.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Mikhail Gorbachov, op.cit., p. 106.

⁶ *The Programme of the CPSU*, p. 43.

⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁸ Alexander Humboldt (1769-1859) was an outstanding German naturalist, geographer and explorer.—Ed.

⁹ Mikhail Gorbachov, op.cit., p. 20.

With Banner Unfurled

Academician Boris Ponomarev
— USSR Academy of Sciences,
CPSU Central Committee member

CPSU PROGRAMME—PROGRAMME OF CREATIVE WORK, PEACE, AND PROGRESS

THE 27th Congress of the CPSU took place at a steep turning point in the life of the Soviet Union and of the modern world as a whole. It showed that the CPSU is consistently carrying forward the cause of the Great October Revolution and confidently advancing along the course charted by Lenin. It demonstrated the party's ability to draw maximum lessons from its own experience and map out a realistic and thoroughly considered action programme.

The principal tendencies and contradictions of our time were elucidated profoundly and comprehensively in the Political Report delivered at the congress by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachov. An all-sided survey was presented of the state of Soviet society, of its successes, shortcomings, problems, and difficulties, and clear-cut guidelines were given for the basic orientations of the party's economic and social policy and for the further democratisation of society's life. The cardinal aims and directions of the CPSU's foreign policy strategy were defined. The report expressed historical optimism and confidence in the triumph of the great cause of peace and socialism.

For our party and the entire people the adoption of the new edition of the CPSU

Programme by the 27th Congress was an event of epochal significance. The founders of Marxism-Leninism saw the party programme as the concentrated, coherent expression of the essence of the party's world-view and revolutionary transformative work, of its ideology and policy. As Engels put it, the party programme is 'a banner publicly raised and the outside world judges the party by it'.¹

The explicit and clear formulation of the principal aims of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policies is of immense international relevance in the complex world of today with its many sharp contradictions. This is seen in the following basic directions.

First, the Party of Lenin laid the beginning for the world's most notable process, that of building socialism and communism. In heading the practical work of millions of people, it has no experience of predecessors to draw upon. In paving the way to the future, the CPSU acts as the trail-blazer in giving shape to and developing the new, communist civilisation.

Many, very many questions arise on this road. How to build up a highly efficient economy and advanced productive forces that undividedly serve the interests and requirements of working people? How to build up relations between classes, social groups, nations, nationalities, and individuals in keeping with the principles of humanism, freedom, and justice and, at the same time, reinforce unity of will and action, organisation, and order in society? How to ensure the coordinated functioning of the state apparatus and, at the same time, broadly promoting democracy, drawing citizens into the management of production and society's affairs? How to ensure in society's intellectual life the priority development of advanced socialist ideology and, at the same time, give wide scope for cultural and historical national identity, for creative quests in literature and art, in culture? Lastly, what should be the role of the party as society's leading and guiding force, and what should be its ideological principles, organisational foundations, and methods of style of work under present-day conditions?

All these questions are answered in the new edition of the CPSU Programme and other documents adopted by the 27th Congress. While assessing what has been achieved, shedding light on the problems that arise, and formulating the tasks involved in ensuring Soviet society's further progress, the CPSU defines the ways for developing the *new socio-economic system at its most advanced levels—in the USSR*.

Second, war and peace are the central problem of international life today. The issue here is humankind's survival in the nuclear age. How to deliver it from the global catastrophe, halt the ruinous arms race, free the peoples from the accumulated arsenals of weapons of colossal destructive force, and use the products of human thought and labour exclusively for peaceful construction? The new edition of the CPSU Programme gives compelling answers to these questions. It generalises the vast experience of the struggle for peace, for easing international tension, indicates the way for applying the principle of peaceful coexistence of states in international political practice, and profoundly and credibly defines the posture of the USSR in the question of preserving and consolidating peace. A task of epochal significance prescribed by it is that the CPSU should do all in its power to preserve peaceful conditions for the Soviet people's constructive labour, normalise international relations and end the arms race, and avert the threat of nuclear war.

Third, the world revolutionary process continues to make headway. Many countries and peoples are bending every effort to assert national independence and moving along the road of revolutionary transformations. What motivates the ongoing revolutions, the replacement of outworn by progressive regimes, many of which adopt the socialist orientation for their development? What are the motive forces of and prospects for the revolutionary process? These global problems are likewise dealt with all-sidedly in the Programme.

The CPSU is the guiding ideological and political force in a country that has the

largest economic, scientific, technological, and cultural potential in the socialist world and enjoys immense international prestige. For that reason its policy and its programme guidelines for the main orientations, its work on the *great dual task of perfecting socialism, gradually advancing towards communism, and ensuring peace, preventing a nuclear catastrophe* express the Soviet people's interests and are important for all humankind.

Through its Programme, which rests on existing socialism's immense potentialities, the CPSU demonstrates that socialist aims are attainable. This helps huge numbers of people throughout the world to see the prospects for the competition between the two socio-political systems and is thereby a source of inspiration for all fighters against social and national oppression, for peace and socialism.

The loftiness of the aims spelled out in the Programme, the historical optimism permeating it, and the humane spirit of its ideas evoke the confidence that, to quote Lenin, "our programme will serve as extremely effective material for propaganda and agitation; it is a document which will lead the workers to say: 'Here are our comrades, our brothers; here our common work is becoming reality.'"²

The new edition of the CPSU Programme is a striking continuation of the entire ideological-theoretical heritage of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. In generalised form it organically incorporates the extensive experience accumulated by the party and embodies its fidelity to the underlying principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is a direct continuation of and enlargement upon the party's preceding programmes. The fact that these documents are successive shows that the *Leninist stage of Marxism's development perseveres*.

A quarter of a century has gone by since the party's third Programme was adopted in 1961. In carrying it out, the Soviet Union has advanced impressively. Although objective and subjective reasons prevented some tasks from being carried out within the established time limit, our successes are indisputable. The USSR now has an enormous economic and intellectual potential and has built an integral economic complex. Large areas in the country's North and East have been developed. In 1985, as compared with 1960, the national income grew almost 4-fold, industrial output increased 5-fold, and agricultural output went up 1.7-fold. The growth of the productive forces made it possible to accomplish much in social terms, to raise the people's living standard substantially.

Work on the Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress proceeded under complex international conditions. This work involved, in parallel, expanding the productive forces, raising the people's living standard, and reinforcing the country's defence capability with considerable outlays of resources and labour. Nevertheless, the Programme's key target was achieved, namely, that of utilising all means to prevent a world war, establishing military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, and ensuring socialism's successful development.

However, not all the assessments and conclusions recorded in the Programme were borne out by life. There were miscalculations in scheduling the solution of some concrete problems. New problems arose in perfecting socialism, in accelerating its development, and in international politics, and these grew acute and required attention. All this had to be mirrored in the Programme.

The probing analysis made of the present state of Soviet society at the CC Plenary Meeting in April 1985 and then at the 27th Congress led to the unquestionable conclusion that in the prevailing situation theoretical and political thinking have to be directed towards developing well-founded ways and means of *accelerating social and economic progress*, with the accompanying qualitative changes in various spheres of life. The sense of the CPSU's strategy enunciated in the new edition of the Programme is precisely that there have to be changes, that the dynamic of society's development has to be stepped up.

The Communists and the entire Soviet people highly acclaimed the constructive, innovative, and self-critical spirit permeating the decisions of the 27th Congress. Concreteness and a constructive approach, scientific objectiveness in assessing what has been achieved, the uncovering and surmounting of shortcomings, the weeding out of passiveness and inertia, a bold quest for effective methods of carrying out current and long-term tasks, addressing the people directly, exactingness of the work of executives of all levels, and broad publicity—these hallmarks of the Leninist style of work are being developed throughout the party. The determination and courage with which it is criticising negative phenomena and omissions in work are evidence of its strength, its firm confidence that the aims it has marked out are attainable, and its striving to identify the best and shortest way of achieving them.

In defining in the Programme the general course of long-term domestic policy the CPSU proceeds from the premise that socialism and communism are two consecutive phases of the integral communist system between which there is no distinct boundary. The party is focusing on socialist society's all-sided improvement, on bringing to light ever more fully and making the utmost use of socialism's potentialities and advantages.

At the present stage a central issue of the historic competition between the two opposing socio-political systems is which of them can make the most effective and best use of science's great breakthroughs and the revolutionary changes in machinery and technology. Will these be placed in the service of the forces of reaction and war or used for the benefit of the people, for building a better future for the nations? How this issue is decided affects the destinies of all humanity.

The Soviet Union has been and remains the personification of the age-old social aspirations of working people. The Programme sets the task of placing the socialist economy on the highest possible level of organisation and efficiency. The paramount aim of economic strategy is to ensure a *cardinal acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the energetic and broad application of the achievements of science and technology*, and a new technical reconstruction of the economy.

It is planned to make science definitively serve the requirements of production, assign to it a bigger role in and responsibility for developing the theoretical principles of fundamentally new types of machines and technology, make the economy highly receptive of scientific and technological progress, and give all elements of the economy a vital interest in such progress.

The economic provisions of the Programme are specified in the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000. This document encapsulates earlier far-reaching programmes on key economic questions. Considerable importance is attached to turning the agro-industrial complex into a highly developed sector of the economy, a sector with the task of satisfying in full the Soviet people's demand for diverse and high-quality foodstuffs.

A point of departure of the new edition of the Programme is that remuneration for work will remain the principal source of incomes throughout the first phase of communism. Hence the accent on giving incentives for highly-skilled and high-productive work in the interests of society, on the utmost assertion of the prestige of honest and conscientious work. The growth of remuneration for work will be accompanied by an increase of the social consumption funds and an upgrading of how they are distributed. These funds are to play an ever greater role in the solution of many social problems.

In the Programme priority is given to updating the forms and methods of management, to steadily enhancing the efficiency of administration and planning. This will allow identifying and using new potentialities of socialism's economic system, this being a factor of immense social significance. Economic development

creates the *prerequisites for promoting the people's living standard and further consolidating social equality and justice*, collectivism and mutual assistance as basic values of the new social system.

One of the aims for the next 15 years is to double the resources used for meeting the requirements of the people. The party sees the task of speeding up the solution of the housing problem as of special social significance. *By the year 2000 every Soviet family will have a separate dwelling—an apartment or a house of its own.* The demand for preschool facilities is to be met in full in the immediate future. The line towards raising minimum wages and pensions, reducing taxes from the population, and lengthening paid leaves is to be continued.

An exhaustive study of the standing of classes and social groups in socialist society led the party to a conclusion of fundamental political and theoretical significance, namely, that under socialism society's division into classes is erased, society becomes homogenous, and a classless structure takes shape.

The fact that the nationalities question has been resolved in the USSR is among the points meriting special attention throughout the world, which is inhabited by a huge number of nations. In the Soviet Union the relations among nationalities are characterised by a further burgeoning of nations and nationalities, and their steady drawing together on the basis of free will, equality, and fraternal cooperation. The CPSU will go on doing everything to strengthen the Soviet multinational state, promote the growth of each republic's material and intellectual potential, and foster the maximum utilisation of this potential for the harmonious development of the entire country, for the all-sided development of the integral multinational Soviet culture in keeping with the finest achievements and distinctive traditions of the peoples inhabiting the USSR.

Evolving from the dictatorship of the proletariat the socialist state of the entire people is today increasingly coming forward as power exercised by the working people themselves in their own interests. Socialist self-administration by the people is the substance of the Soviet power. One sees increasingly compelling confirmation of Lenin's prevision that '*only socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life*'.³ The CPSU is set upon extending and enriching the socio-economic, political, and personal rights and freedoms of citizens and creating conditions conducive for their full implementation, for the active participation of citizen's in society's political, economic, and cultural life.

Provision is made for promoting the work of the local government bodies on the basis of collective, free, critical, and constructive discussion and solution of issues, publicity, regular accountability of executive bodies, and the right of the constituency to recall deputies who fail to justify the trust placed in them.

The big and complex tasks mapped out in the Programme require more effective ideological work. It is the party's aim to turn the Marxist-Leninist world-view into a firm conviction of the Soviet people, into the guide for practical action, into an active stand in life.

By and large, the sections of the Programme related to social processes reflect the party's objective of building a society of social justice, a stainless, lofty, and highly moral communist social system measuring up to the dignity of the human being.

The programme links the fulfilment of the tasks confronting the country to the development of the Communist Party itself. As the vanguard of the working class and the Soviet people as a whole, the party is the core of Soviet society's political system. Acting in keeping with the Soviet Constitution, the CPSU directs and coordinates the work of the other elements of this system, doing everything to enhance their activity and responsibility. The party's pattern of inner life sets an example of service in the interests of the people, of compliance with the principles of democracy.

For the party it is a law to abide scrupulously by the Leninist norms of party life, by the principle of collective leadership, steadfastly promote and deepen inner-party democracy, enhance the responsibility of party bodies and their officials to the people, ensure the conditions for the free and constructive discussion of matters related to policy and practical work, foster criticism and self-criticism, and extend publicity. Membership of the party gives no privileges. All it gives is a greater measure of responsibility for everything being done in the country, for the destiny of communist construction.

With Marxism-Leninism as its point of departure, the new edition of the Programme *gives an analysis of world development, of its innermost processes and long-term tendencies, and defines the central aims and basic orientations of the CPSU's policy on the international scene.* In characterising the present epoch, the Programme notes that its content is defined by the struggle of the forces of socialism, the working class and communist movement, the peoples of developing countries, and the mass movements for democracy and peace, against imperialism, against its policy of aggression and oppression.

Foremost among the main forces opposed in our epoch to imperialism and determining the trunk road of humankind's progress, the Programme names the socialist community, which is objectively the most dependable bulwark of the principles of peace and democracy in the relations between nations, of respect for the inalienable rights of peoples and states, of the development of broad exchanges of material and intellectual values. It is the major force in confrontation with imperialism, the cardinal factor of the defence and consolidation of peace, of struggle for social progress.

Experience has shown the vast range and diversity of the ways for socialist development. This is due to the dissimilarity of the levels of economic development, the specifics of the culture and historical traditions of countries, the distinctions in the alignment of class forces and in the political experience of parties, the specifics of their international position, and other factors. But however wide the spectrum of the national features of individual socialist countries, general laws operate in them, and the realisation of these laws expresses the essence of socialism.

The development of the socialist system has produced a new type of international relations founded on friendship and cooperation in tackling the tasks of socialist construction and safeguarding the new society, on equality, and on respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state. These relations do not develop automatically. Their locomotive consists of the ruling communist and workers' parties. The CPSU regards the crystallisation of solid comradely relations and many-sided cooperation between the USSR and all the other countries of the socialist community as the priority orientation of its international policy.

As long as the NATO imperialist military bloc exists, the party considers that it is vital to do everything to facilitate the upgrading of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as an instrument of collective defence against imperialism's aggressive aspirations, joint efforts for lasting peace, and the promotion of international cooperation. The Warsaw Treaty Organisation has produced major initiatives aimed at consolidating peace in and outside Europe and preventing nuclear war. It recently addressed a new call to European states, the USA, and Canada, urging them to make and support efforts to create nuclear-free zones on the European continent and begin negotiations on a corridor free of theatre nuclear armaments in the centre of Europe.

The Programme envisages energetic efforts by the party to continue deepening socialist economic integration. It defines as an objective of historic significance the consistent coupling of the efforts of fraternal states in key areas of the intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technological progress so that the socialist countries could move to the forefront of science and technology and thereby

create the optimal conditions for the further rise of the living standard of their peoples and the consolidation of their security.

Socialism is developing in a situation marked by an acute confrontation between the two world systems. Imperialism seeks to benefit by any problems that arise and uses nationalistic sentiments for subversive purposes. Under these conditions solidarity among the socialist countries and their joint resistance to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism acquire particularly great significance. The Programme contains the important conclusion that, given total compliance with equality and mutual respect, the fraternal countries will move towards growing mutual understanding and draw ever closer together. This will be facilitated by the CPSU.

The Programme gives an in-depth analysis of the present state of the capitalist world and of the development trends in it. The processes in capitalist society in the latter half of the twentieth century have fully borne out Lenin's conclusions characterising its highest stage—imperialism. The Programme offers a considered, dialectical assessment of present-day capitalism. Attention is focused on showing the socio-economic contradictions in the capitalist camp, the deepening of capitalism's general crisis. Further, it is shown that capitalism is a strong and dangerous adversary, which has not exhausted its potential for development, constantly manoeuvres, and endeavours to adapt itself to the changing domestic and international situation.

State-monopoly capitalism is quite patently unable to cope with the social effects of the scientific and technological revolution—chronic unemployment, rising cost of living, growing social tension, and crisis of trust in bourgeois society's social and political institutions. Militarism is growing as a cancerous tumour. Imperialism has started an unparalleled arms race, in which the armaments monopolies, the government bureaucracy, public relations agencies, militarised science, and other components of the military-industrial complex have a material stake. It is the principal bastion of extreme reaction, the main source of the threat of war in the world of today.

US imperialism has become the citadel of international reaction. It regards force as a principle of its international policy, unceremoniously interferes in other nation's internal affairs, is escalating the arms race, and intends to spread it to outer space. The Programme lays bare the tendency, implicit in imperialism, to intensify reaction across the board. Its contradictions with humankind's vital interests are to be seen with growing clarity. And it refuses to be reconciled to the fact that its social system is outworn.

In the Programme it is declared that the working class has been and remains the principal revolutionary class of the present epoch. The composition of the working class is being steadily augmented by other contingents of the army of wage workers, including members of intellectual professions.

The international communist movement, including the ruling parties of socialist countries, is today a most influential ideological and political force. *The Communist parties, which have always been the most consistent champions of the interests of the working class and all other working people, are now on the frontline of the struggle to save humanity from a world war.* It is the Communists who are showing reliable ways out of society's state of crisis, advancing a realistic alternative to the exploiting system, and giving socially optimistic replies to the cardinal question of our day. Acting independently, the communist parties strive to perfect their strategy and tactics, seek to broaden class alliances on a platform of anti-monopoly and anti-war

actions, and defend the economic interests and political rights of the working people on the premise that the struggle for democracy is part and parcel of the struggle for socialism. The Communists are the true spokesmen and staunchest champions of the national interests of their countries.

The growing antagonism between the monopolies and the vast majority of the population has generated in the capitalist world a powerful upturn of mass democratic, anti-war movements. These are objectively spearheaded against the policies of imperialism's reactionary circles. They are merging into a common torrent of struggle for social progress and have become a long-term and influential factor of society's life in many countries.

Proletarian internationalism is acquiring growing significance as the imperialist circles of different countries closely coordinate their actions against the communist movement, endeavour to range some fraternal parties against others, and combine undisguised anti-communist propaganda with support for elements in the working class movement that attack class policy and internationalist solidarity. It incorporates revolutionary solidarity and recognition of the independence and equality of each party.

The CPSU regards the anti-imperialist struggle for social progress by peoples who have shaken off the yoke of colonialism as a major component of the world revolutionary process. Resistance to neocolonialism is mounting everywhere. The Programme shows the prospects lying before the newly-free countries that have adopted the line of socialist-oriented development and assesses this as being of considerable historical significance. It is the intrinsic right of the newly-free nations to determine their own destinies. The CPSU staunchly champions the equal participation of these countries in international affairs and a bigger independent role for them in matters related to peace and social progress.

The CPSU's analysis of the main motive forces of world progress in the present epoch has led it to the historically optimistic conclusion that the steady growth and interaction of these forces are the guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a life of peace, freedom, and happiness will be translated into reality.

Whatever the political and ideological orientation of the participants of the international historical process, they take up a position on one or the other side of the watershed in relation to the key problem that is today of crucial importance to all of them, namely, the *problem of war and peace*. The threat of a world nuclear war, which would wipe out humankind, has grown. This is why the CPSU emphatically declares: "There is no loftier or more responsible mission than of safeguarding and strengthening peace and curbing the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of life of the present and future generations."⁴

The Programme reiterates the momentous conclusion that a world war is not fatally inevitable and that it can be prevented. By concerted effort, the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear incineration. This conclusion has an incontrovertible foundation. Imperialism's policy of aggression is countered by the vigorous, consistent policy of peace pursued by the socialist states, by their growing economic and defensive might. A huge role in maintaining peace is played by the military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. Aggression and militarism are opposed by the overwhelming majority of the newly-free states and ever broader masses of people on all continents.

The CPSU Programme repeats to the whole world that the only acceptable policy

today is one of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The CPSU will champion this principle firmly and steadfastly and facilitate its assertion in international relations world-wide.

The Programme affirms the party's clearly expressed determination to work constructively in all directions of the struggle to improve the international situation. In it is emphasised the striving to normalise relations with the USA, to promote peaceful, goodneighbourly relations with the states of Western Europe, and to spread detente throughout the world. The CPSU attaches great political importance to economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation and urges the development of stable and broad relations in these areas. In order to reinforce security, confidence, and peaceful cooperation among countries, the CPSU will work to put an end the world's division into military-political groups.

The all-embracing, constructive proposals put forward by the CPSU in order to bridle the arms race and move towards disarmament are generalised in meaningful words: "*There are no weapons that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis with effective means of verification.*"⁵ The Soviet Union does not seek military superiority, but it will not permit any upsetting of the present military-strategic equilibrium. It will direct its efforts towards steadily lowering the level of this equilibrium.

The call for peace, goodneighbourly relations, and constructive cooperation among countries is a keynote of the Programme. Its entire content lucidly demonstrates the CPSU's fidelity to the banner of peace, which the Soviet Union has been holding on high ever since the October Revolution.

The Programme's provisions lay down solid foundations and cornerstone principles of the CPSU's policy, an explicit guideline for the immediate and the long-term future extending into the twenty-first century. The CPSU has always sought to put into effect the lofty, peace-loving principles of its line in international affairs, and it is continuing these efforts today with greater energy and on a larger scale than ever before.

Compelling evidence of this is seen in the programme for the abolition of nuclear weapons advanced by Mikhail Gorbachov on January 15 of this year, the conclusions and foreign policy guidelines advanced by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, and the concept put forward by it *for the creation of an all-embracing system of security*. The Soviet initiatives are addressed not only to governments but also to the peoples, to all social forces and people of goodwill, for deliverance from the threat of a world war is a matter of concern to every person. The Soviet idea of a nuclear-free earth is supported by millions of people throughout the planet. The USSR is working purposefully to ensure the solution of cardinal problems of our time and pave the way for the establishment of enduring peace by the force of its own example, constructive ideas, and realistic initiatives. This has been reaffirmed also by the recent Soviet proposal for a significant reduction of all components of land troops and the tactical airforce on the territory of the whole of Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. Simultaneously, operational-tactical nuclear armaments would also be reduced.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th Congress has generated enormous interest world-wide. This is not surprising. Ever since the October Revolution the collision between accurate and false notions about socialism and its policy has been in the focus of the ideological struggle. These issues have become particularly pressing today with the adoption of the party Programme, which gives a coherent presentation of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policies, when our party and people are placing on the scales of history what they are offering humankind as an alternative to capitalism, when it is a question of the main content and historical destiny of the competition between the two world socio-political systems. In a situation marked by an acute ideological struggle on the international

scene, the CPSU Programme is a substantive reply to imperialism's global strategy of aggression.

In recent years reactionary ideologists have undertaken, as they have done so many times before, to prove that the theory of socialism and the social practice based on it are untenable. However, the principal outcome of the development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is evidence that socialism is the most dynamic and forward-looking system creating optimal social conditions for humankind's scientific, technological, and cultural progress, for the assertion of freedom and justice. In considering socialist reality in the Soviet Union, the stages of its formation and development, and the tasks now confronting the party and the people in all their complexity, with all their difficulties and contradictions, the CPSU Programme charts realistic ways of translating the ideals of the founders of Marxism-Leninism into life. Entirely in keeping with the theory of Marx, Engels, and Lenin it enunciates our ultimate goal—the building of communism.

Capitalism's apologists repeat over and over again that Marxism-Leninism cannot be an effective instrument of socio-economic transformation in industrialised countries. Yet our Programme from beginning to end is a programme for the development of a highly industrialised society such as the Soviet Union is today. Its content totally refutes that anti-communist thesis.

Bourgeois propaganda depicts all liberation movements, all progressive, revolutionary changes wherever they take place, and even the peace movement as the 'handiwork of Moscow' and thereby endeavours to justify imperialist interference in the affairs of sovereign nations. The Programme convincingly and clearly refutes inventions of this kind. Revolution, it says, is the natural result of social development, of the class struggle in each given country. The CPSU sees the 'export' of revolution, the imposition of a revolution from without, as fundamentally unacceptable. But any form of 'export' of counter-revolution is likewise a flagrant impingement on the free expression of the peoples. *The Soviet Union influences the course of world events not by force of arms but by the force of example.*

The Communists, the working people, and progressive opinion throughout the world have given the Programme a warm reception. They see it as a strictly objective, scientific, and concrete embodiment of the realities of Soviet society and its prospects, as a genuinely humane society. This unquestionably reinforces the attractiveness of socialism for huge numbers of people throughout the world.

The Programme's provisions will give a powerful impetus for making the Soviet Union's relations with fraternal socialist countries more dynamic and for expanding these relations. The ideas and experience accumulated in the Programme will, we believe, be useful for the new states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that have embarked upon independent development, particularly for those of them that have elected to build socialism. The argued assessments given in the Programme may be used in the activities of workers' and communist parties, of all progressive democratic circles. The fact that it spells out the essence of the Soviet foreign policy of peace will help to vitalise the struggle of the broadest democratic anti-war forces against the policy of militarism and aggression.

The discussion of the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme in the entire party and by the whole people showed the close attention and approval that this document received from the Communists and all other Soviet people. They identify the flourishing of socialism and their own bright prospects for the future with the implementation of tasks outlined in it. The ideas advanced in it inspire the day-to-day work of the people and urge them on to new accomplishments. The all-sided upgrading of socialism and the gradual progress towards communism will raise still higher the prestige of the Soviet Union and increase its influence on the course of world history.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 36.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 222.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472.

⁴ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (A New Edition), Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, p. 61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

The Working Class: the Mainstay

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THE Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) is holding its Tenth Congress in June, following the congresses held by several fraternal parties of the socialist community countries. It tends to acquire a special significance because it is to sum up the results of the development of the party and the country over an exceptionally difficult period, and is to determine the strategy for building the new society in Poland over the next five years and beyond, to the year 2000. It is also to adopt an exceptionally important document: the Programme of the PUWP.

The Ninth Congress in 1981 was held at the height of the political and economic crisis caused both by the mistakes of the previous party and state leadership, and by the concerted attacks on the gains of socialism by external and internal counter-revolutionaries, who had expected the PUWP to disintegrate and the country to alter its political course. But at that moment of severe trial, the congress demonstrated that the party has adequate reserves to show the people the right way out of the crisis and to start the revival and renewal of the constructive process.

In the five years since then, the congress decisions have been consistently implemented, developed and elaborated. At the CC plenary meetings, and the meetings and conferences held in the course of the current reporting campaign in the run-up to the congress, the Communists were able to state that the crisis had been overcome, and that the party had restored its capacity to guide the political, social and economic processes in the country. The PUWP has done much to consolidate its authority in the society and to strengthen trust in it among the masses and the individual social strata. It is still too early to say that everything here is all right, but the achievements in this sphere have been clearly put on record by the returns in the elections to the Sejm, the highest popular assembly, which were held at the end of last year. Almost 80 per cent of the population went to the polls, despite the calls by the anti-socialist forces for a boycott, and more than one-half of the deputies are Communists.

There are many reasons for the PUWP's growing authority, among them the right party line in uniting all the patriotic forces of the people for overcoming the general difficulties and making fuller use of the potentialities created by socialism. The party has also won recognition by perseveringly seeking effective ways for economic upswing in the difficult situation caused by objective and subjective circumstances. This formidable task is being tackled through the economic reform.¹

The economic renewal is not all smooth-going, and unforeseen difficulties tend to arise. But all this notwithstanding, industrial output and the national income have been steadily going up since 1983. Among the results of the reform is the 8 per cent rise in labour productivity over the pre-crisis level and the ever more effective use of resources. One should recall at this point that in consequence of the deliberate destruction of Poland's national economy by the anti-government circles and persons

irresponsibly supporting them, the national income dropped by 24 per cent in 1980 and 1981.

There are, consequently, good grounds for an overall positive assessment of the country's economic prospects, but while doing so, one should not lose the capacity for taking a critical view of what has been achieved. That is the approach in the economic development plan for 1986, which provides for an increase in the national income by 2.5 per cent, with a reduction of its energy-intensiveness by 3 per cent, and of its material-intensiveness by 1.8 per cent, while labour productivity is to go up by 3 per cent.

The party, the state and the people look above all to their own forces in fulfilling what has been mapped out and in surmounting the political, economic and social difficulties. At the same time, we pin well-justified hopes on cooperation with the fraternal socialist community countries. Poland fully felt the effectiveness of comradely internationalist relations with them at its hour of trial when the capitalist powers resorted to the most brutal methods of political pressure and economic blockade in breach of the existing treaties and contracts, and tried to alter the situation in the country in favour of those who intended to upset the general line of socialist development. But the Communists stood their ground, relying on their unity and on the internationalist solidarity of their fellow-fighters in the common cause from the socialist community countries and throughout the world, who took the right view of the situation in Poland.

Many of our Western partners then cut off their deliveries of raw materials, intermediate products and spare parts, so that some enterprises in Poland ground to a halt. The fraternal countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, did their utmost to compensate for much of the harm done to Poland by imperialism.

There is a steady strengthening of political, social and economic relations in the socialist world, which are marked by sincere friendship and mutual assistance. There is a deepening of socialist economic integration at the new stage of our relations, notably through closer cooperation in science and technology, which is crucial to intensifying production and accelerating economic and social development both for Poland and for all its CMEA partners.

I had a very keen sense of the CMEA countries' common goals, tasks and quests in the economic and social sphere when I attended the 27th Congress of the CPSU as a member of the PUWP delegation. I witnessed all the proceedings at the congress, both as a Communist elected to the party's governing body, and as a worker, a miner who still daily goes down into the pit.

I was greatly impressed by the open-handed manner and realism of assessment at the congress, and simultaneously by its bold projection of the future of that vast country. I sympathise strongly with the humanistic tenor of the new edition of the CPSU Programme and of the entire activity of Lenin's party, whose supreme goal and value is the well-being of the working person.

The members of our delegation noted the importance given at the congress to the discussion of the tasks in further consolidating the ties between the party and the working class. The CPSU CC Political Report, delivered by its General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov, the discussion as a whole, and especially the speeches by delegates from industry, drove home the idea that the workers are the chief motive force of accelerated economic and social development, on whom crucially depends the realisation of the adopted programme, which has its roots in the working people's aspirations and interests, and fully accords with them. The 27th Congress of the CPSU has confirmed that the role of the working class in the society tends to acquire even greater weight, because it is the working class that produces the impulses for progressive social change.

Among everything I heard at the congress, what I was most interested in as a

worker was the experience in labour organisation on the team-contract method, under which the work collective concludes a contract with the management for the fulfilment of production assignments, and then goes on independently to plan and organise its activity, and to decide on the pay of each, depending on the existing rates and actual performance. It is an excellent example of socialist production democracy. It not only has a positive effect on productivity and efficiency, but has also become an effective factor in the social moulding of work collectives, because it fosters among their members a sense of responsibility of each for all, and of all for each. We miners put a very high value on such qualities, because it is impossible to do any good work down in the pit without them.

The experience of the CPSU and of its recent congress is bound to have an influence on the Tenth Congress of the PUWP. First Secretary of the PUWP CC Wojciech Jaruzelski says: "Everything that has been done by the 27th Congress of the CPSU has a universal character. Its results need to be studied in depth in our party as well. This will enrich us with valuable experience, and be a fresh inspiration to us."²

It is one of our main concerns to improve the activity of the PUWP, to consolidate the role of the working class within it, and to strengthen the ties between the party and the working class. Grave mistakes were made in organisational matters and in the party's inner life before the Ninth Congress; the rules of inner-party democracy were breached, discipline was relaxed, and fulfilment of adopted decisions was not controlled with sufficient strictness. These shortcomings have now been essentially corrected. Unfortunately, the ties between the party leadership and the working class were also greatly weakened, and the enemies of the PUWP were quick to make use of this. They capitalised on the well-justified discontent among the workers over the worsening economic situation, and the failure by high-ranking functionaries to match words with deeds; they tried to win over the workers by a show of solicitude for their well-being. For some time, such tactics paid, even in our Silesian-Dabrowski coal area, which is justly known as Poland's industrial heart, and many workers left the party ranks. Let us note that most of those who left were among those who had been admitted to the party in the 1970s without sufficient exactingness.

But the destructive activity of the anti-government opposition, as I have said, hit at the working people and lowered their living standards, so that very soon the conscious section of the workers began to take a more objective view of what socialism had given the people. There has been no unemployment in Poland for more than 40 years, although in that period 5.7 million have moved from the countryside to the towns. In the 1950s, the socialist state created 2.3 million jobs, in the 1960s—3.1 million, and in the 1970s—2.4 million. That is a record no capitalist country can boast of.

The people's educational and cultural standards, together with their living standards, have been going up under socialism, even if not to the desired extent.

The political course worked out by the Ninth Congress helped the working people to turn towards the PUWP. The party declared that the working class, the leading force of the people, must feel that it is master of its homeland, in the full sense of the word, and that it has to play the decisive role in the life of the party. Accordingly, workers were elected to the Central Committee and made up almost one-third of its membership. Four of them became members of the Political Bureau.

The course taken by the Ninth Congress in the relations between the party and the working class has been consistently realised, and it was the only item on the agenda of the 16th Plenary Meeting of the PUWP CC in June 1984.³ It was held in Lodz, the country's major working class centre and one of the cradles of the Polish organised working class movement, which has a history of more than a century behind it. Before the plenary meeting, CC members spent a whole day at factories and plants in the city. Among those who took part in the work of the plenary meeting were 800 party

and non-party working people from various enterprises.

Late last year, the 23rd Plenary Meeting of the PUWP CC summed up some of the results of the effort to fulfil the Lodz decisions; before that they were considered at open meetings held by nearly 6,000 party organisations.

Among the most important tasks set at Lodz is the need to ensure a qualitative growth of the party ranks, envisaging an increase in the share of working class members, and this requirement is being fulfilled. The PUWP now has 2.1 million members, and roughly 40 per cent of them are workers. The party's ranks have been growing, and it has not tried to speed up the process at any price. The Communists intend to have among their party comrades only those who are steadfast, principled and deeply committed to our socialist ideals. Their number has been growing; last year 63,000 men and women joined the party, and of them 51.5 per cent were workers and peasants, and one-half were young people under 30. We believe that we should go on improving the party's class character, with special emphasis on ensuring the sound alliance between workers and peasants within it.

Our leadership is convinced that the more young members of the working class join the party, the firmer will be its support in the masses. At the same time, we find that not enough workers have been elected to the governing bodies everywhere in the course of the election campaign, which means that the elected activists should work more effectively in consultative groups, commissions, and mass organisations so as to exert more tangible influence on the course of social processes. We have no right to forget that our political enemies may be weakening, but they have not yet been neutralised. They are being bankrolled by imperialism, and try to recruit supporters among ideologically vacillating citizens by playing on their base emotions. That kind of activity no longer has the approval of broad masses of people, but there must be vigilance. In such conditions, the party naturally puts a high value on participation in governing bodies by Communists who were not afraid to assume responsibility at the most trying period for getting the society out of its state of crisis.

The working class character of the party is determined not only by the number of working people's representatives in its membership or leadership, but also by how it heeds the voice of the workers and takes account of their opinion, how deeply it studies the problems in life, and how perseveringly it sets about putting frankness into its relations with the masses.

The Lodz Plenary Meeting decided to designate a group of enterprises with whose workers the most acute economic and social phenomena could be regularly discussed, so providing the party with consultations on its political and practical activity. That is what the Political Bureau has been doing, and one could say that the voice of the masses continuously rings out at its meetings.

Such forms of intercourse do not, of course, exclude constant and direct contacts between the leaders and the working people. Every member of the Political Bureau and CC secretary spends at least one day a week with the party organisation of some factory, office or district, without any announcement of his impending arrival. Such meetings give the leadership a better knowledge of the people's vital needs and frame of mind, and enable it to study the reality in all its manifestations, some of which may now and again be deplorable, as in the case of the budgets of most working class families which find it hard to make ends meet despite the fact that the incomes of high-skilled workers are fairly high. That resulted from the unbalanced state of the domestic market, and the gap between supply and demand which causes prices to rise. This problem needs to be tackled above all with economic measures, but how acute it is depends on the conscious attitude of citizens. Direct contacts between the leaders and rank-and-file citizens, together with the decisions subsequently taken in the light of grassroots opinion, promote mutual understanding with broad strata of the population.

There is especial interest in Wojciech Jaruzelski's visits to party organisations and work collectives, where he has talks with the working people at their workplaces, on the shopfloor. Such meetings are becoming a party tradition.

'Contacts with the workers' is an expression that hardly applies to me, since I myself am a worker and live in the midst of workers. For party leaders like myself, the important thing is to set a daily example in work and life wherever one happens to be, trying to understand the mentality of others, and making wider use of one's personal experience.

The producer who is simultaneously engaged in party work displays the greatest concern for what he is doing. There are still many shortcomings in our industry; discipline is lax; much working time is lost; it has been estimated that less than three-quarters of nominal working time is now used to good effect. That is where one needs to act to invigorate the human factor, to give a lead to the others, to help them work with better organisation and greater initiative.

And another thing. The activist worker is always a political leader in all things. That is why, for instance, the director of an enterprise who is a Communist has not only to display concern for good production performances, but also to promote good human relations within the work collective, a creative atmosphere and efforts to take steps to combat parochialism, cliqueishness, and the influence of political enemies.

The activist must be duly trained in order to tackle the tasks of political and ideological education in the right way, so as to awaken and fortify the workers' class consciousness. That is done through activist worker schools at the enterprises, which, I think, function quite well, providing economic, historical and constitutional knowledge.

A few more words about myself. My work at the Political Bureau has done much to help me gain political and general experience, for it has given me a wider and deeper insight into the problems arising from the exercise of power in the socialist state, which belongs to the working class and its party. This applies to the way in which political decisions are formulated, and to learning Lenin's style of work, which requires deep knowledge of what is uppermost in the minds of the masses; a skill simultaneously to identify the mature contradictions in life in the light of concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present phase of our development; an urge to do everything to satisfy the people's growing requirements; utmost help in extending the participation of the masses in running their own enterprises, their districts and the state. And, of course, the need to match words and deeds.

Party activists have no right ever to forget that on them is focused the attention of their comrades at work and the public, who assess the behaviour of the Communists as the vehicles of the guiding function in the society. Abuse of power or breach of the accepted everyday rules will at once draw protests from the people around and harm the party and the people's state in one way or another. Activists cannot do without a sense of self-control, without the ability to understand and accept the critical remarks addressed to them.

I try to abide by these commandments, and regard them as something that is perfectly natural, as far as I am concerned. I keep trying to remember the interests of my comrades at work, for I do not know how I was to face them if I acted against their interests after they had put their trust in me.

I could say jocularly that the chief inspectors in my life and work are my miner comrades but, seriously speaking, one should note that a Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (WPI) has been set up and is actively working in our society under a decision of the 16th Plenary Meeting of the PUWP CC. It involves 20,000 public controllers, three-quarters of whom are workers and peasants. Last year, the Political Bureau gave a high appreciation of the check-ups carried out by these inspectors of the procedures in providing housing to the population. We expect the WPI to do

much in combating such socially pathological phenomena as stealing, cliqueishness, alcoholism, corruption and speculation. It is the mission of our worker Communists, as party leaders, to help involve all honest men and women in the work of the WPI.

The problems in socialist construction and the ways to improve party work are being hotly debated before the congress in the primary party organisations and the work collectives. These problems are reflected in the draft PUWP Programme, and the CC theses for strengthening the socialist foundations of Poland as a modern state, its security, economy, and law and order. In the run-up to the congress, conversations are being held with party members on their participation in the work of the party organisation, and their remarks on the draft congress documents heard.

The draft PUWP Programme clearly formulates the role and importance of the working class as the chief force behind the socialist transformations in Poland, emphasising that the working class is not one to express class egoism, realising its historical mission in alliance with the peasants and the intelligentsia. Socialism is the common asset of the working people in town and country.

Poland's working class is relatively young and consists mostly of men and women with origins in non-proletarian strata. At the same time, the skill and educational standards of the workers are fairly high. They value social justice and the actual exercise of people's power. There is also substantial differentiation between groups and strata of the working class with respect to labour and social property, occupational training, the work done, and the extent of participation in management.

Accordingly, the party attaches much importance to the ideological, political and moral education of the workers, especially the young, and this helps to consolidate the class traditions, strengthen the urge to work well, and display a sense of responsibility for one's enterprise. The front-ranking workers of the older generations should also do more to help the young to develop a mature class consciousness, pride in their work, a sense of collectivism, and a sound work ethic.

I must admit that it is not so easy to establish confidential contacts with young people today so as to influence the moulding of their convictions. The party's task in this sphere was discussed at a plenary meeting of the PUWP CC in 1982, and since then has been under constant control. We should like to see young people working actively to build socialism, with their world-view shaped on the scientific, Marxist-Leninist basis.

Much remains to be done for the fruitful development and effective application of Marxism-Leninism in our reality. Here, the Communists need to take a creative approach and learn from the experience of the fraternal parties. The PUWP believes that its duty is to combat the notions of political pluralism and efforts to magnify national specifics artificially. But the Polish Communists also reject the dogmatic and sectarian tendencies, with their attempts to explain new phenomena in accordance with old patterns, to use ideological stereotypes, and to engage in adventurism and voluntarism.

We believe that it is highly important to develop among workers a sense of being masters of the socialist state. I well remember, from the 27th Congress of the CPSU, that this sense can never develop if the working person does not begin to feel that he is master of the enterprise at which he works. Similar ideas are also elaborated in the draft PUWP Programme, one of whose purposes is to consolidate the gains of working class democracy. Accordingly, the party formulates its relations with the organs of self-management at the factories and plants, and with the trade unions within the Polish Accord.

The new trade unions now have almost 6 million members. They safeguard the rights and interests of the working people, and take part in moulding the true working class ethic with its respect for the job and an urge to take part in the management of production. The Polish trade union movement recognises the leading ideological and

political role of the PUWP, and the latter—the organisational specifics and independence of the trade unions.

The working people's self-management organs at the enterprises, where they operate as co-masters with the management, function well. Such organs exist at 90 per cent of the factories and plants, and they help not only to make economic management more efficient, but also enable the working people to understand that how they live and will live depends first and foremost on their own selves. My long experience of work in the pit serves to confirm that socialist ideas are more actively shaped when the right material, social and moral conditions are there. Enterprises are not just places where material values are created, but also centres of education, which means that every effort must be made to maintain relations of social justice, equality and respect for labour, and to combat negative phenomena, cutting across our principles, such as favouritism, abuse of official position for personal purposes, indiscipline, and the squandering of resources.

The draft PUWP Programme envisages a further extension of the workers' participation in elective party organs, within the body of activists, its apparatus, commissions and groups. This will help to enhance the influence of the workers' assessments, proposals and tendencies on the content and atmosphere of the party's daily activity.

The Polish Communists face a great many matters and concerns. I have been considering the problems which are, one could say, of internal Polish significance, but we are also well aware of the global problems facing the socialist community and mankind as a whole. They have also been written into the draft PUWP Programme. We cannot afford to ignore the challenge of our day: is life on the Earth to go on or not? Is mankind to live ever more happily in a state of human dignity, or is it to go on suffering from the brutal contradictions of social and national inequality? We stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century! We Communist workers accept the high programmatic objectives of our party's foreign policy, which meets the mandates of the millennium ahead: to struggle for peace and against the nuclear threat; to develop internationalism and solidarity with the working class and revolutionary movements of the whole world; and to strive for the well-being of all men and women on the Earth.

Alliance with the socialist countries, notably the USSR, as recorded in our long-term programmes of cooperation, has been and will continue to be the foundation of our foreign policy. Socialism and peace are the main goals of the party of the Polish working class. Our feelings are well expressed by these words of the draft PUWP Programme: "Following the way of socialism, the working class, the whole Polish people, will be able to overcome that which still slows down and retards, to find a response to the serious challenge of our day, and to consolidate the foundations of our country's prosperity, contemporary development and social well-being."⁴

¹ On how the reform principles are realised in practice, see Rafic Samhoun, William Stewart and Bronislav Kholopov, 'Climbing the Ladder of Renovation. A Political Report from Poland', *WMR*, No. 3, 1986.—Ed.

² *Trybuna Ludu*, March 14, 1986.

³ On the 16th Plenary Meeting of the PUWP CC see Tadeusz Porebski, 'Consolidating the Vanguard Role of the Working Class', *WMR*, No. 12, 1984.—Ed.

⁴ *Trybuna Ludu*, February 10, 1986.

Inexhaustible Source of Hope

Dolores Ibarruri – Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain

The name of Dolores Ibarruri is known well outside Spain. Her life of revolutionary struggle is a synonym for loyalty to the cause of the working class. During the years of the national revolutionary war in Spain, World War II and after, appeals by the fiery *Passionaria* inspired thousands upon thousands of people to fight reactionaries and fascism, for freedom, democracy, socialism and a better future.

Last December she turned 90. This is what she said in a *WMR* interview.

You have witnessed and participated in major developments of this century and contributed a lot to the drive for progress, a better life for the working people, and communist ideals. How, do you think, have these ideals affected socio-historical development?

OUR ideals, the communist ideals of liberating the working people, have illuminated my whole life, entirely devoted to struggle. In the book *The Only Way* I explain what the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia meant to me. At that time I was not fully aware of the magnitude of that event and its influence on my future and that of millions of people and entire humankind.

Yet instinctively I felt it was something stupendous and unfathomable. I could then think of nothing else but that faraway land which from that moment had become so close to us all. Two words became forever in my memory, deeply moving my heart and mind: 'RUSSIA and LENIN'.

Nearly 70 years have passed since. A whole constellation of socialist countries rid of capitalist exploitation have emerged on the world map. Dozens of nations have shaken off the colonial yoke to become their own masters. My motherland Spain, where, half a century ago, we rose against fascism, also emerged on a road towards democracy, after the long agonising years of Franco's bloodstained dictatorship, though that was not easy.

This is why, however complex and diverse the current socio-historical trends, our ideals are still a guide, an inexhaustible source of hope for the oppressed, and the purpose of the struggle.

You joined the Socialist and later the Communist Party over six decades ago. Having tasted the hard lot of Spanish miners and their families, you joined in the battle for social emancipation of the working class, for their needs and rights. How are these goals important to you now?

To be sure, much has changed over these six decades, and yet the principles have remained the same. The composition of the working class has changed in some respects and the ranks of its allies have swelled, not depleted, as a result of the scientific and technical revolution. The forms of struggle are now immensely diversified. All this notwithstanding, our eternal goal is to promote the aspirations and rights of the working people and, in a broader sense all those hit by big capital policies. Also, some novel phenomena have emerged, among them what are known as new public movements—ecological, feminist, etc. Though heterogeneous and occasionally lacking well-defined views, they are objectively anti-capitalist and have become fused in a sweeping wave of protest reflecting a deep social crisis

supplementing the present economic crisis. But the basic contradiction is still the antagonistic one between labour and capital, the oppressed and the exploiters. This is why, in the broadest sense of the word, the working class is still the prime mover behind inevitable social change.

Being a veteran of the international communist movement, what do you think of its role and place in the present world?

While not aspiring to any generalisations I, as the leader of the Communist Party of Spain, which is an element of the international communist movement, believe that it has a substantive part to play in the present world for several reasons. One of them is the existence of nations, among them big powers like the Soviet Union and China, led by communist parties. Other countries have also opted for socialism, with features of their own.

Furthermore, however diverse our movement and the conditions in which different parties work and their historical roots, etc., it has been closing its ranks on the basis of respect for an independence of every party in charting their strategy and tactic and non-interference in each other's affairs.

Experience shows us the urgent need to do away with the narrow dogmatic approach, provided we are totally loyal to Marxist theory which we see as constantly evolving in step with the times. I admire Lenin's genius and have always subscribed to his position, which restored to Marxism its revolutionary thrust and proved that it was possible to develop the ideas of Marx and Engels in a new epoch—the epoch of imperialism. At the same time it is fairly important for a Marxist revolutionary party to go for a reasonable policy of alliances which now means, on various fronts of the struggle, unity of action or finding more common ground with the Socialists, Social Democrats, progressive Christians and others, as well as the new public movements I mentioned earlier.

Your name is readily associated with the years of resistance to fascism, the forces of reaction and war. What do you see as the chief lessons of those years? What do you feel in connection with the 50th anniversary due later this year of the start of the national revolutionary war in Spain?

The chief lesson of that period, as I see it, is that a united people fighting for a just cause and determined to endure all hardships is invincible. Our slogan was 'NO PASARAN!'. And even though we suffered defeat, one of the prime reasons for which was the Munich policy of the British and French ruling circles, justice still triumphed in the course of the fight of the Spanish people for democracy. The people HAVE WON.

For me, the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the national revolutionary war in Spain first of all calls up memories of heroism shown by our people who, in setting an example to Europe and the entire world, for nearly three years held off the onslaught of Franco mutineers backed by an invasion by Hitler and Mussolini.

The Popular Front policy pursued by the Communist Party of Spain facilitated unification of democratic forces, which was the mainstay of resistance to fascism. Only when the trucklers succeeded in breaking up this popular alliance under the false pretext of the need for an 'honorary peace' did the fighting stop at the front. even though the anti-Franco resistance, mainly inspired by our party, continued, initially, in the form of guerrilla action and later through the resurgence of a working class movement and a general rallying of the working people, students and other groups in a bid for amnesty and democratic freedoms.

The years of the Spanish people's struggle against the fascist offensive strikingly showed the enormous strength of proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity of Communists and all progressive and democratic quarters to curb aggressive designs by imperialist and reactionary forces and safeguard peace and democracy. How important do you think is this solidarity now?

True, international solidarity of Communists and all progressive and democratic circles with republican Spain in its fight against local and international fascism was at its most dramatic in those years. The exploits of the International Brigades will never be forgotten. Since that time the Spanish Communists have more than once shown international solidarity with peoples fighting for their liberation: with Vietnam, which resisted US imperialism; with Cuba, which boldly countered the blockade and US intervention; with the peoples of Palestine—victims of Israeli aggression, and now with the Nicaraguans threatened by Washington. In short, being Communists we are also true internationalists; thus we repay in some measure the debt of solidarity unstintingly shown us not just during the three years of armed struggle but during the long time of resistance to Franco's dictatorship.

In the 1930s you were a deputy to and vice-chairman of the Cortes (parliament). Your speeches had a tremendous impact on the audiences and inspired Spanish democrats to fight Francoism. What do you think is the 'secret' of the way a speaker or a public figure influences the masses? Is there any longer much need for a political leader to talk to the people? Has television superseded this art?

The influence of a speaker or politician on the people depends on a fairly simple thing, which, however, does not always come easy—the ability to identify with them, feel with them, and talk in a language they understand (without simplifying things) about problems of most concern to them. When you speak to a large audience you feel at once whether your words are lost on the people or not, and there are no classical rhetoric devices to replace this knack. Our great poet Antonio Machado used to say: "To speak like people do—what more can I wish for!"

Surely enough, television and other contemporary audio-visual media have brought with them new devices, regrettably used by the bourgeoisie to misinform rather than inform people and to mislead them. But no technology, even the most advanced, could replace the human spoken word, the word of people out to steer history in the direction of progress. Direct dialogue between the political leader and people is still irreplaceable. I would even say that people are getting more experienced and demanding. They easily see when political leaders are sincere or false.

You, being a woman and mother, have lived through much privation—first, poverty and disease, which were the scourge of miners' families, took away your daughters and later your son fell in the Battle of Stalingrad fighting the fascists. What would you like to wish women in various countries? What can they do in the present world?

What could I wish women in various countries? Above all, peace and no more threat of nuclear war, in which surely there will be no winners or losers. Nothing will be possible without peace. The critical conditions for any social project is the existence of society. And women, as we learn from the sweeping peace movement (in Spain this is a drive against NATO, for simultaneous dismantling of the military alliances, for disarmament and a policy of active neutrality), are a great force, not just numerically

but because of their unreserved dedication to their cause. Any revolutionary change will be doomed if we fail to involve in it the masses of women with their inexhaustible energy, wisdom and dedication.

**What qualities do you think are most typical of and important in a Communist?
What would you wish youth, the new generation of Communists?**

I think the outstanding features of Communists are their unqualified loyalty in promoting the interests of the working people and the oppressed and their opposition to any forms of social inequality. Their fortitude in the face of all hardships and trials. Their sense of solidarity. This is exactly the communist ethic, based on high moral principles and born of personal convictions rather than a mode of conduct forced on you by someone else. I feel this ethic is especially important in what we know as 'consumer society', which has literally entangled people in a web of false values.

Addressing all youth and specifically the younger generations of Communists, I wish them to carry on the legacy of the preceding revolutionary generations, keep up this tradition of fight for a better and more just world, a cause which so many fine people have given their lives for. In saying so, it is not only my maternal feelings that matter, for I want you to be able to build a society consonant with your epoch.

I wish you to keep loyal to the cause of the past generations of Communists, not to be tied to the past but to constantly provide solutions in accordance with your ideas and the demands of this ever changing wide world.

International Year of Peace

For Setting up Regional Zones of Security and Good Neighbourhood

Make Asia a Continent of Peace

Pieter Keuneman – Chairman, CC,
Communist Party of Sri Lanka

IN his widely acclaimed statement of January 15, 1986, while proposing a realistic and inspiring stage-by-stage plan to abolish nuclear and chemical weapons altogether and to reduce the levels of all other weapons substantially, by the end of this century, CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov also made important remarks on the need to build a system of stable peace and security in specific regions of the world, notably in the vast continent of Asia. These ideas were elaborated further in his Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress and incorporated in the fundamental principles of an all-embracing system of international security proposed in that report, principles highlighted by the party of Lenin.

Very correctly, these proposals once again underlined the very close inter-connection that exists between the global and regional problems of peace and security. They took into careful account the inevitable impact that fluctuations in the world political climate can have on the state of affairs in any given region of the world or even in specific countries. Not accidentally these problems are now the focus of

sharp ideological and political clashes.

When confronted with the inevitability of a summit meeting with Mikhail Gorbachov in Geneva in 1985, US President Ronald Reagan sought to avoid consideration of the major issues of global peace and distort the real connection between regional and global aspects of peace and security, insisting on a linkage of them to emphasise the former and downplay the latter. The Soviet Union's resolute refusal to agree to this tactic was one of the several reasons for the turn for the better in the international climate.

The profound and dialectical connection between developments in one or other part of the world and global processes such as detente and the transition from confrontation to peaceful competition and coexistence in the relations between the world systems of socialism and capitalism can be illustrated very well in the contemporary history of Asia, especially in the four decades since the end of World War II.

Apart from being a continent that has enriched human civilisation with great works in culture, philosophy, science and architecture and an area where two-thirds of the world's population lives and much of its important raw materials and primary resources are located, Asia has the added distinction of being the continent where the contemporary national liberation revolutions first began. Major changes in the international balance of forces after the defeat of fascism in the Second World War—in particular, the emergence of socialism as a world system and the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism—have greatly enhanced Asia's importance and pivotal role in world affairs. So, too, have the counter-strategies of the arms race, confrontations, and neocolonialism that imperialism adopted to meet the challenges.

But already new progressive and democratic processes shaped the continent's evolution. The overall weakening of imperialism after the defeat of fascism in World War II; the dramatic political and military setbacks that it experienced at the hands of the peoples of several Asian countries; the myriad cracks that began to appear in its policies of the cold war and 'rolling back communism'; and its failure to entice the new states that had emerged from the ruins of colonialism into joining the system of military alliances that imperialism sought to construct against the socialist countries were world developments of the early postwar years that had a profound impact not merely in Asia but also in Africa, where the national liberation movement had also begun to make headway.

One of the important manifestations of this impact was the Bandung Conference, attended by heads of state and government of 29 countries of the region, mostly Asian. This conference was a major event of the postwar period and a turning point in the destinies of the countries that were increasingly ridding themselves of the colonial yoke. It began a process that developed later into the non-aligned movement, which today exercises an important and influential role in world affairs in favour of peace, decolonisation and the democratisation of international relations. The Bandung Conference keyed the famous principles of Pancha Seela,¹ an Asian variant of peaceful coexistence, and asserted the will of the peoples of these countries to pursue their own independent policies in favour of world and regional peace and to help to build a system of peace and security that corresponded to their own aspirations and needs rather than one that was dictated by their former colonial masters.

A similar example of the close interconnection between global and regional peace and security is seen in the impact that international detente had on developments in Asia, especially in the Southasian subcontinent, during the early years of the 1970s. Gaining the upper hand in world affairs during this period—mainly as a result of the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—the process of international detente had a favourable influence on defusing tensions, lessening conflicts, and strengthening regional peace and security in this area as well. The normalisation of

strained Indo-Pakistan relations began. Meeting in Simla, India, the leaders of the two states signed an agreement stipulating the renunciation of the threat or use of force in their mutual relations. The official recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan was a victory for the champions of peace and cooperation on the Southasian subcontinent. Positive developments occurred in the relations between India and Sri Lanka, where areas of dispute and friction over the citizenship status of nearly one million workers of Indian origin in Sri Lanka were reduced as a result of agreements concluded between the governments of the two neighbouring countries.

Such welcome developments were not restricted to South Asia. Viewed from a broader angle, the turn towards detente in global affairs imparted a new impetus to improvements in the situation that prevailed in both West and East Asia. Suffice it to recall that it contributed substantially to the ending of US imperialism's criminal war against Vietnam and Laos and made possible further progress towards a just and negotiated settlement in the Middle East.

Unfortunately, the interconnection between global and regional developments concerning peace and security can also work the other way.

The advent of the Reagan administration to power in the US brought with it intensified attempts to undermine and destroy the edifice of detente that had been so painstakingly erected by all genuine opponents of the arms race, of military and political confrontation, hegemony and aggression. While this suited the interests of the US military-industrial complex and transnational corporations it seriously jeopardised the positive shifts in Asia and other regions of the world.

Defying the often-expressed demand of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement that the region of the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace, the US administration has sabotaged, for over a decade and under various feeble excuses, the convening of a UN-sponsored conference in Colombo, to evolve practical steps to give effect to this demand. Instead, it has escalated its efforts to militarise the Indian Ocean region. It has done all it can to make the Indian Ocean a region of war preparations, an arena for an arms race that the peoples of the region neither want nor can afford, an area of undeclared wars, mounting tensions, threats and aggressive subversions, and gross interference in the affairs of other states. It has proliferated its military, naval and air bases in this ocean and seeks busily to set up new ones. Arbitrarily breaking off and refusing to resume its bilateral discussions with the USSR on reducing their respective naval presence in the Indian Ocean, the US has greatly expanded its naval armadas in this ocean and re-equipped them with nuclear weapons.

The US boosts its propaganda war against socialism and national liberation by setting up new centres for its operation in Asia. An example of this is the new Voice of America transmitter station that the US is presently installing in Sri Lanka. The biggest and most powerful radio transmitter that the US has built outside its own country, this station is also equipped to function, if and when needed, as a centre for naval communications with the US fleets operating in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Oceans.

The period of the Reagan administration has also witnessed an unprecedented escalation of US interference, subversion, destabilisation, threats, and proxy attacks against countries in Asia. Washington actively assists and orchestrates undeclared wars against Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In order to make the military dictatorship in Pakistan the replacement for the overthrown Shah of Iran as chief US gendarme in the region, the US continues a massive arms build-up in Pakistan, supplying it with extremely sophisticated and deadly military hardware which is far in excess of anything that country needs for self-defence. Washington also seeks to encircle India with hostile neighbours (including Sri Lanka) in order to pressurise her to abandon her independent and peaceful policies.

Efforts are also undertaken by the US to inject hostility into the relations between Asian states, even when these nations are linked by long-standing traditions of friendship and cooperation, so as to expand and strengthen its political and military presence in some of them. A striking example of this was the use made of Sri Lanka's unresolved and aggravated ethnic conflict by President Reagan's special envoy, General Vernon Walters (now US permanent representative at the UN), to introduce into Sri Lanka the representatives of the special agencies of its accomplice, Israel, in order to fan the flames of communal conflicts, encourage hostile confrontation with India, obtain political and other concessions for itself in Sri Lanka, and involve our country more closely in US war strategies in the region. During the first half of the 1980s, it has become clear that the increasing eruption of religious and ethnic strife (those ugly legacies of the divide-and-rule policies of the colonial past) as well as the many manifestations of fissiparous trends that have appeared in several Asian states have both direct and indirect links with the US.

The impact of the US-inspired global shift from detente to armed confrontation was not confined to South Asia. It led to new military conflicts in the Middle East where the US-NATO-Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinians shattered the myth of the 'peace-making potential' of the 'Camp David process'. In the Far East and Southeast Asia, Washington, while assisting the undeclared war against Kampuchea waged from Thai territory and numerous provocations against Vietnam, seeks to push the ASEAN states into hostile collisions with the socialist states of Indochina, to disrupt all efforts at the peaceful reunification of Korea, and to form an anti-socialist military alliance based on a Washington-Seoul-Tokyo tripod.

Any distinctions between the problems of global and regional security—which, at best, were extremely vague, relative and fragile—have been further erased after Washington extended to Asia and other non-European regions of the world its nuclear stockpiles and forces equipped with such weapons. US warships, especially its submarines, which can launch attacks on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Asia from points relatively close to their territory, are now, in addition to the nuclear weapons they carried earlier, also being equipped with nuclear-capable Tomahawk cruise missiles. There are reliable reports that medium-range delivery vehicles are being deployed in Japan, South Korea and the Philippines, while US ground troops stationed in South Korea have powerful nuclear mines, artillery shells and aerial bombs at their disposal. The recent US-South Korea war games, in which an unprecedented 200,000 servicemen on both sides took part, strengthen the conclusion that US imperialism now regards Asia as not merely a sphere of intensified neocolonial plunder but also as a potential 'second front' in a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. And, as everyone knows, if a nuclear war is allowed to start anywhere—be it in Europe, Asia or outer space—it will not be able to place or enforce geographical limits on the nuclear-active devastation it will cause.

In Asia, as in other continents, realisation of the awful consequences that can result, if the nuclear arms race and the dangerous confrontation course on which US imperialism has embarked are not stopped, has been growing apace in recent times. So, too, has opposition to this course at both governmental and mass levels. Although the scope of the mass peace movement in Asia tended to lag behind that of continents like Europe some years ago, the situation is changing rapidly. Mass actions for peace, involving millions of people, are now to be seen all over the continent of Asia, reaching heights hitherto unknown and even involving the peoples of countries which were spared the devastation of the two world wars in this country. This situation is not merely due to the widespread realisation that no country or people can hope to be spared if a nuclear war is allowed to start. It is also due to the widespread realisation that the nuclear arms race is a major obstacle to the Asian peoples'

common desire for rapid economic development, as well as a major cause for the continuing, and often worsening poverty, hunger, backwardness, high mortality rates from preventable diseases, debt, declining rates of economic growth, assaults on democratic rights and institutions, socio-economic crises, erosion of national sovereignty, and deepening political dependence that continues to plague them, especially in countries whose leaders opted for a capitalist road of development or accepted the neocolonialist formulae dictated by imperialism's financial agencies like the IMF and the IBRD.

Asian peoples regard US imperialism's intensified arms race on earth and its preparations to extend this into the new dimension of outer space as a criminal and intolerable squandering of funds, resources and talents that could and should be used to improve the lives of people and to safeguard the environment in which they live. They know that this arms race is sustained by various forms of neocolonial plunder of the developing countries, as is vividly illustrated by the fact that the mammoth military budgets of imperialism approximate roughly the immense foreign debts that strangle the economies and aggravate the socio-economic problems of these nations. Nor can they ever forget that US imperialism chose an Asian country, Japan, as the first testing ground for the atomic weapons on which it relied to further its postwar drive for world hegemony.

This is why many peoples and governments of Asia welcome and warmly support the ceaseless initiatives of the Soviet Union to halt and reverse the arms race and to eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons. Many in Asia, Africa and Latin America are appreciative of the Soviet Union's proposals that part of the money saved as a result of disarmament measures should be used to help the peoples of the Third World to overcome their grave and pressing problems.

Asian states have frequently demonstrated their keen desire for disarmament, peace and a durable system of global and regional security in the way in which they have voted when such issues are debated in the United Nations. They have also done so at regional and summit meetings of the non-aligned movement, which have invariably supported, sponsored and promoted important peace proposals for Asia and other regions. For example, the last summit meeting of the non-aligned movement, at New Delhi in 1983, forcefully reiterated the demand that the Indian Ocean should be transformed into a zone of peace, spoke in favour of the peaceful reunification of Korea, and stressed the inadmissibility of imperialist interference in West Asia and elsewhere. Non-aligned states have often pointed in recent times to the urgent need to normalise relations between states in the Asian region because tensions here are just as dangerous as elsewhere.

In speaking of the movement for Asian security that is gathering momentum, one cannot overlook the important initiatives taken by socialist countries of this vast continent. These initiatives include the well-known proposals about confidence-building measures in the Far East, about a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among Asian and Pacific countries; about a constructive dialogue between the socialist states of Indochina and the ASEAN countries to resolve disputed issues, including those relating to Kampuchea; about normalising the situation on the Korean Peninsula; and about a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union, itself a major Asian power, has also made several specific and valuable initiatives directed towards creating a system of stable peace and security in Asia. Particularly important is its recent suggestion about convening an all-Asian forum to exchange views and search jointly for constructive solutions designed to transform Asia into a continent of peace and goodneighbourly relations. Its stepped-up diplomatic activity in the Far East and South and Southeast Asia has also demonstrated the effectiveness of bilateral contacts as a way of establishing a

productive all-Asian dialogue.

It should also be mentioned that the USSR and the People's Republic of China are the only two nuclear powers so far to have pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

As we said earlier, the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva showed signs of a possible turn for the better in relations between the two world systems. This did not signify any change in the nature of imperialism, much less in the reactionary aims of the class forces behind the Reagan administration. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that, although it signed the Geneva Declaration that categorically states that a nuclear war is unthinkable and should never be fought, the Reagan administration stubbornly continues its preparations for Star Wars and has rejected appeals to end nuclear arms testing, despite a many-month moratorium unilaterally declared by the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, objective factors and changes in the international balance of forces have begun to create prerequisites for improving the international situation. Socialism has achieved a rough nuclear parity with imperialism in military capacity, and the more far-sighted and sober-minded representatives of the imperialist establishment have increasingly come to realise that any hope of regaining military superiority is illusory. Although the US military-industrial complex has amassed and continues to amass huge profits from the arms race, other advantages that imperialism hoped to gain from an escalated nuclear arms race have not materialised. The hope of subduing socialism, national liberation and the ever-growing democratic and anti-war movements of the world by nuclear threats has not been achieved. Hopes of using an escalated arms race to complicate and retard the economic progress of the socialist countries has also misfired, as socialism has proved its capacity to overcome these schemes, while imperialism has plunged into deeper and deeper economic crisis. The arms race has also failed to provide an answer to the acute problems of unemployment, which grows by leaps and bounds in all capitalist countries.

In the US itself, the huge budget deficit that the arms race has caused, as well as the savage cutbacks in social benefits have led to ever-increasing sharpening of the contradictions between the Reagan administration and the American working people. Differences have arisen, too, among United States' NATO allies. Even those who had originally supported the Reagan administration have begun to realise that pursuing its dangerous and reckless course any further is fraught with grave political and military risks.

But, as Mikhail Gorbachov told the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the "prerequisites for a turn are not the turn itself".² Even wider and more intensive struggles for peace and disarmament at all levels are required to ensure that the positive results of the Geneva Summit are converted into a decisive return to the policies of detente. The possibility of such a return has not merely encouraged and fortified peace fighters throughout the world but has had a real impact on the entire world climate.

Significantly, against this international background special notice should be taken of regional security problems. Quite symptomatically the Palme Commission pointed out in the final statement of its New Delhi session in early 1986 that the regional aspects of security are becoming increasingly essential for further progress towards global security. These aspects are growing in importance in Asia and in other regions of the world.

An important development after the Geneva summit has been the formation of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), involving Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Republic of Maldives, Nepal and Pakistan. It is significant that, in its initial Declaration, SAARC makes direct reference to the fact that the attainment of its economic and social goals depends on the establishment of

durable peace and security.

New developments in the ASEAN countries, in some of which peace movements were virtually outlawed for several years, are equally interesting. In Indonesia, for example, its foreign minister recently declared that this country advocates the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific. Djakarta also views the declaration of nuclear-free status for Southeast Asia as a tangible step towards this goal. Speeches and interviews by prominent political figures in the ASEAN community indicate that the realisation is growing in this area that, instead of the policy of confrontation with Vietnam which imperialism demands of them, it is infinitely more beneficial to the cause of peace and security in this area for them to pursue a policy of dialogue between the nations of the region, based on friendship, goodneighbourly relations and coopération and, through this means, to achieve a political settlement of disputed issues.

As in the case of the global situation after the Geneva summit meetings, there are encouraging signs that new possibilities to make Asia a continent of peace and goodneighbourly relations have begun to appear. But these signs have yet to be seized upon and converted into a decisive turn in this direction. This will require even greater and more coordinated efforts by all forces of peace on the continent.

The peace forces in Asia have already accumulated a valuable stock of experience in the struggle for peace and security, and add constantly to it with new initiatives. The anti-war movement developed there both before and after the historic Bandung Conference, sensitively reacting to events in the region and outside it. Today Asian peace forces are speaking out against imperialism giving the most menacing twist yet to the nuclear arms race, its projection into outer space. Their demands to stop it are shared by the non-aligned movement. This was shown in the declaration of the non-aligned foreign ministers, after their Luanda meeting, when, in reference to the Reagan administration's Strategic Defence Initiative, they declared that 'the maintenance of security through strategic defence is as illusory as the reliance on nuclear deterrence'. Countries in Asia and other parts of the developing world come to realise from their own experience that there is an intimate interconnection between global and regional security—namely, that it is extremely difficult to attain regional security without global security, and that regional security is not a mere adjunct but an essential part of the process of building global security.

The diverse mass movements for peace on the Asian continent have also accumulated invaluable experience in the course of many demonstrations, rallies and conferences. The Communists, who have been in the forefront of these peace struggles, have learnt how to mobilise the masses around the anti-war and liberation tasks, constantly showing them that the struggle for peace has today become central in all the struggle that they are engaged in, always stressing the intimate and indivisible connection between the fight for peace and their struggles to defend and consolidate their national sovereignty and political independence and to achieve the economic development that can bring them a higher standard and better quality of life.

Another important lesson learnt by the participants in the mass struggles for peace and security in Asia is that differences on other issues should not be a bar to their active cooperation on this vital issue. Indeed, the broader the social and political composition of those taking part in the fight for peace and security, the more comprehensive the ranks of their participants, the greater will be their ability to influence effectively the policy of the authorities. The fact that the governments of the new independent countries of Asia, even those who are most friendly towards the Reagan administration and its NATO allies, have never publicly sought to impugn the policy of peaceful coexistence or come out openly in favour of the policies of the arms race and military confrontation between the two world systems is a sign of the

influence of the mass peace movements.

It is important that the Soviet Union should have raised the matter of building a reliable system of peace and security in Asia at this time when the prerequisites for a favourable turn in regional affairs have begun to appear. The great merit of the suggestions made by Mikhail Gorbachov in this connection is that, unlike in the case of imperialism, no attempt is made to dictate to Asian states and peoples what forms and arrangements regarding regional security and cooperation they should adopt. His suggestions are in full accord with principles evolved by the Asian states and peoples themselves at the Bandung Conference and at various meetings of the non-aligned movement. They also correspond to actual developments towards regional cooperation that are taking place among the Asian states and peoples themselves. Nothing less could be expected from the representatives of a great socialist power, a large part of whose territory is located in Asia.

The movement for Asian security and regional cooperation is still in its early stages. But the movement and its potential are growing. It can make even more rapid and fruitful advances if, as the USSR suggests, the Asian countries pool their efforts and use the entire body of their accumulated experience in regional cooperation to elaborate a common, integrated approach to issues of regional and global security. This will not only help to transform Asia into a continent of peace and good-neighbourly also make it possible for the peoples of this vast continent to exercise an even more powerful influence on world development.

¹ Pancha Seela (five principles) include: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in one another's internal affairs; equality and mutual advantage; peaceful coexistence.—*Ed.*

² Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1986, p. 80.

A Nuclear-free Status for the Pacific

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TOWARDS the end of 1985 legislation on proclaiming New Zealand a nuclear-free zone, on disarmament, on arms control was introduced into parliament, just before the year's session concluded. The bill still has a number of processes to go through before it becomes law, including going before a select committee to which members of the public can make submissions. The opposition New Zealand National Party has promised to resist its progress through the house, especially on the key clauses which ban all foreign warships and aircraft carrying 'nuclear explosives' of any kind from New Zealand and all nuclear-powered ships from entering New Zealand's territorial seas. Despite the conservative resistance, however, it seems certain that New Zealand's anti-nuclear policy will become a law of the country. This will mark a major achievement for the peace forces.

This advance was the culmination of a long and bitter struggle between progressive and conservative forces. From 1949 to 1984 the National Party had governed New Zealand for all but six years. Its foreign policy throughout that time (and up till today) remained essentially the same. It is most suitably expressed in the words of Prime Minister Syd Holland who stated in 1950, "Wherever America goes we go!" That conservative policy took New Zealand troops into the war the United States launched

against the Korean people's struggle for liberation and independence. It later took them into the war against Vietnam. It also involved the country in a number of military alliances, including ANZUS, ANZUK and the now defunct SEATO.¹

At that time the US was increasing its military, political and economic presence in Asia and the Pacific, arbitrarily including these regions into its sphere of 'vital interests'. The alliances were instruments to be used by the US in consolidating its position as the dominant imperialist power in the postwar era. They were an integral part of its intense campaign against the USSR, other socialist countries, the communist and the national liberation movements. At the same time a dense network of air and naval bases was built up. In effect, the Asian-Pacific region became a sort of proving ground for the strategy of 'containing' and 'rolling back' communism; local or 'limited' wars were launched for the purpose. But US imperialism cannot halt the march of history—as was made all too clear by the victory of the peoples of Indochina. Regrettably, this defeat is a lesson still not properly learned by US ruling quarters.

Today, the US military presence in the Pacific includes 130,000 combat troops, 350 military bases and nearly 4,500 nuclear warheads. Vessels of the 7th Fleet are stationed here, including the battleship *New Jersey* which has Tomahawk cruise missiles on board (they are to be fitted with nuclear warheads) and the latest aircraft carrier *Carl Vinson*. The entire expanse of the ocean is patrolled by US strategic submarines. This military might is obviously deployed above all against socialist countries. The overwhelming proportion of the US Pacific forces is stationed in direct proximity to them—in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines. At the same time, these forces pose a constant threat to the security of all other Far Eastern countries.

It is undeniable that Washington's policy merely serves to compound instability and fans tensions in the region. Many countries there are tied into the militarist designs of the US, and this causes much anxiety to the sectors of the public dedicated to peace. They are naturally alarmed over developments such as the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military axis which is being formed to resist existing socialism and protect US imperialist interests in the West Pacific. Japan is ever more frequently being regarded in the White House as 'NATO's Far Eastern flank'. Washington is making every effort to militarise ASEAN. The US administration is paying particular attention to the ideas of a 'Pacific Community' consisting of Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the ASEAN countries, the US, Canada, and South Korea. Significantly, while the scheme was initially put forward as an economic alliance, there is now talk of extending its functions into the political and military sphere—that is, establishing another arm of the Western alliance.

Evidently, the new alliances are to complement NATO's efforts and to be ready to follow orders from Washington and open a second front against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community.

US imperialism is attracted by the well-placed strategic position of the Asian-Pacific region, by its rich resources and vast markets. Assisting in the expansionist drive of the US monopolies, Washington protects its interests here by every means it can—military, economic, diplomatic and ideological—and support the most corrupt and repressive regimes.

Public opinion in our region has become increasingly aware of the threat to security posed by the imperialist military presence. The Communists of New Zealand have been working vigorously to explain to the public the vital need and global significance of the struggle to defend peace. Indignation has grown, and with it the people's protest. Determination to turn this part of the world into a zone of peace, security and cooperation and to remove it from the sphere of military rivalry has been growing. The peoples of the region have already suffered enough from the nuclear age. The

only two nuclear bombs ever to be exploded in war were dropped here. The region has been subjected for decades to US, British and French nuclear tests. The French government is still proceeding with this despite the prolonged protests of the Pacific nations. All these explosions have had an extremely adverse effect on the local peoples: whole communities have had to be evacuated from their island homes, radiation-related diseases have spread, and there has been severe environmental damage. The area has also suffered from nuclear dumping.

The geographical isolation of the Pacific countries had for many years given the public a false sense of security with regard to nuclear conflicts. This illusion has been swept away in recent years as scientific data conclusively proved that no corner of the world would be spared the disastrous effects of a nuclear conflict. This lends particular significance to the fact that for many years New Zealand's peace forces were relatively small, but their work was unflagging and consistent and gradually made substantial gains. The spark that set popular activity alight was the concept of proclaiming the country and the entire South Pacific a zone free from nuclear weapons.

The visits of US nuclear warships and submarines to New Zealand became a focus for mass and varied protest. Supported by the trade unions, waterfront and maritime workers closed the ports; peace squadrons were formed which mobilised a large array of yachts and other small boats in the harbours; demonstrations were held. An extensive movement to establish nuclear-free zones in community areas gained ground, and political awareness at grassroots level rose. Homes, schools, churches, union offices and workplaces were declared nuclear-weapon-free, and this led on to the establishment of nuclear-free boroughs and cities. By the time of the snap elections in July 1984, peace was a major political issue. The positions of political parties on this question did much to influence the outcome. The masses threw their support behind the Labour Party which had long held a progressive position on this issue.

The third Labour government (1972-1975) withdrew New Zealand troops from Vietnam within a few months of entering office. It promised to pay reparations and actioned this pledge until it was removed from office. (The new government has not resumed these payments to date.) It took a strong stand against French testing in the Pacific and sent a frigate with a cabinet minister aboard into the testing zone. It took a case to the International Court of Justice at the Hague against the French government's actions. This was a principled position despite New Zealand's dependence on the EEC countries.

Labour Party conferences in recent years have voted for the withdrawal from ANZUS and for a policy of non-alignment and neutrality. However, according to press reports, the US embassy in Wellington believed there was no cause for alarm over Labour Party views, mistaking the depth of feeling of the people over this policy.

Unlike many social democratic governments, the new, fourth Labour Party cabinet under Prime Minister David Lange had not gone back on its pre-election promises concerning the peace issue and other aspects of foreign policy. Despite the pressure it sustained, New Zealand's leadership firmly rejected the pro-US course of the previous conservative government. This was a major advance towards an independent foreign policy to be pursued in the interests of our own people. A number of aspects of this policy have an anti-imperialist thrust. The anti-nuclear policy and the opposition to apartheid, which resulted in the closure of the South African Consulate in Wellington, come into this category. So, too, does the re-establishment of diplomatic links with India, David Lange's tour of the frontline African countries, his meeting with representatives of the African National Congress and the pending establishment of New Zealand's diplomatic missions in Africa.

The SUP, while noting the positive elements in the government's position, is aware

that its foreign policy is not always consistent and at times contradictory. Although it gives support to the struggle of the indigenous people of New Caledonia for independence, it has denied support to the liberation movement in some other countries.

Having advanced the concept of transforming New Zealand and all of the South Pacific into a nuclear-free zone, the Labour cabinet has taken practical action which the peace forces have welcomed. First all naval vessels with nuclear weapons on board and all nuclear-powered ships were barred from calling at New Zealand ports, and the government announced its intention of institutionalising the ban. Then, at the 16th session of the South Pacific Forum² which was held in Avarua, capital of the Cook Islands, in August 1985, New Zealand approved a treaty on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the area.

The treaty was promptly signed by eight members of the Forum, including the largest in the region—Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Western Samoa. The delegations of the other five countries submitted the treaty to their governments for final endorsement. One country, Vanuatu, did not sign because it believed the treaty did not go far enough. On September 16, 1985 it was signed by a ninth nation, Papua New Guinea, and under the terms set out in it, the treaty came into force.

This treaty bans in perpetuity the deployment, manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons on the territory of the signatory nations and also the disposal of radioactive waste in the ocean. It expressed the common intention to request the nuclear powers to sign a special protocol to the treaty containing the commitment to comply with this ban.

Our party sees the signing of this treaty as a major and far-reaching development that has set a good example. It will be recalled that the 1967 Tlatelolco Treaty on the banning of nuclear weapons in Latin America was the first concrete step towards the formation of nuclear-free zones. However, the innumerable plans for delivering other regions from these weapons of mass destruction were constantly voided by NATO countries, chiefly by the USA. The appearance, despite all imperialist intrigues, of another nuclear-free zone was a further significant regional measure to limit the nuclear arms race. Besides, the Pacific zone is bordered in the east by Latin America and in the south it is near the region covered by the Treaty on the Antarctic.³ There is thus a huge, almost unbroken nuclear-free region of the world.

This success in the struggle to ease the nuclear threat has had wide repercussions and was enthusiastically welcomed by peace champions in our region and in the rest of the world. Polls have shown that the treaty enjoys the support of the vast majority of the population of New Zealand (over 70 per cent) and its Pacific neighbours. The response of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, neutral and non-aligned nations had also been highly positive.

A totally different approach to the moves of our country and other parties to the treaty has been adopted by the US and France. The French government immediately declared that it would continue its nuclear tests on Mururoa Atoll in the Pacific. Washington at first ridiculed the treaty but then officially announced its opposition to it claiming the treaty could restrict the United States' freedom to act within the Pacific. Besides, the White House fears that, according to a revamped version of the 'domino theory',⁴ the decision of the South Pacific Forum will promote the creation of nuclear-free zones elsewhere.

But the US administration was particularly incensed by the ban on US nuclear ships' visits to New Zealand ports. Washington announced that this decision was tantamount to the disintegration of ANZUS, an alliance whose significance extends beyond the region, as US Secretary of State George Schultz has pointed out. He has declared that ANZUS is not an isolated bloc for one region of the globe but a part of a greater system of relations to 'deter' the global threat posed by communism and the

national liberation movement. The Indian Ocean is also included in the sphere of the bloc's activity. The question of visits by US warships with nuclear weapons on board to New Zealand should be perceived in this wider global context.

Our party believes that New Zealand's position truly has a wider, not only regional significance. ANZUS has been the major vehicle through which New Zealand has been tied to the United States and to the Western alliance. In addition to this we are enmeshed with the US machine by other means: the Pentagon uses New Zealand bases for its operations; besides, our country hosts US military navigation and electronic tracking stations which are part of the US Pacific network. This does not mean however that New Zealand is doomed to follow orders from Washington.

Although ANZUS is portrayed to New Zealanders as a treaty essential for their protection, it is nothing of the kind. One spinoff of the recent conflict between New Zealand and the US has been a greater public scrutiny of the treaty. It is now widely acknowledged that it offers no guarantee of protection for New Zealand—only the promise that the partners will consult in the event that one of them is threatened. There is no obligation for specific actions. Awareness is spreading that the importance of ANZUS is not to New Zealand but to the US, and the masses are increasingly active in the struggle to have the country withdrawn from the bloc. The Communists are in the forefront of this struggle.

A campaign of intense pressure on New Zealand's leadership and on its progressive and peace forces has been launched by the US and its allies—the conservative forces of New Zealand and Australia, the Thatcher government of Britain and elements of the Hawke leadership of the Australian Labour government. This campaign has taken the form of various threats and actions in an attempt to 'punish' and 'knock sense' into the disobedient ally and to force our country to abandon its anti-nuclear stand. In the main these have focused on the military and economic spheres (the US tried to take advantage of New Zealand's dependence on foreign trade) and on the psychological arena, striving to make people feel they are 'defenceless' against the mythical 'Soviet threat'.

This pressure however has helped our people to increasingly understand the correctness of the anti-nuclear policy and to consolidate support around it, as growing numbers of people have been rebuffing the attacks of external and internal opponents of this position. The masses saw these attacks as directed not just at the government's policy but at 'their policy'.

The pressure has also had the effect, together with other recent events, of increasing our people's political awareness. The sinking of the Greenpeace flagship *Rainbow Warrior* in which a crew member was killed in the New Zealand port of Auckland shocked the population nationally. It was an act of state terrorism by the French government which helped display the lengths imperialism is prepared to go to in protecting its interests. This act of violence has helped galvanise public opinion on a broader base than before against French nuclear testing and secure greater support for the anti-nuclear position.

On the other hand, Soviet peace initiatives have received a very positive response, much more so than has previously been the case. Many felt that it was now essential for Washington to reply favourably and in kind. People are refusing to believe that the blame for the arms race lies with the USSR and are more clearly seeing the true role of the US.

An obvious shift has therefore occurred in public opinion, although this is not to say that anti-Sovietism has disappeared. It has not, and remains widespread enough, with outbursts still coming from the government and some sections of big business.

The Communists are striving to consolidate these positive shifts in public awareness. Working together with Labour Party, union and other mass civic organisations, we are taking numerous actions in defence of peace and stability in the

South Pacific and are constantly expanding the scope of our activities. For example, a 20,000-strong march of peace activists in support of the government decision to ban the US warship *Buchanan* from calling at a New Zealand port was organised on short notice in Auckland in early 1985. A major demonstration was also held in Wellington. Various large-scale initiatives were staged to mark the Day of Trade Union Action for Peace and the International Week of Action for Disarmament. A 'peace watch' was held in the capital on the 40th anniversary of the US nuclear attack against Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

For the first time, delegates of the New Zealand public took part in the expanded session of the Presidential Committee held by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, in August 1985. The New Zealanders joined delegations from 25 other countries and several international peace organisations at a very representative International Conference for Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific in Sydney, Australia. It was noted with satisfaction at these meetings that the peoples of the region had begun to jointly discuss issues of security and cooperation.

Formed in 1980 to unite progressive trade unions of the South Pacific nations, including the New Zealand Federation of Labour, the Pacific Trade Union Forum has been playing an increasingly important role. This Forum is oriented specifically against imperialism and neocolonialism and works to strengthen the unity of the working people on the basis of a broad programme that couples the struggle for national independence with the struggle for peace, security and cooperation, and links the internal and international aims of the working class movement.

At its Seventh National Conference (Auckland, October 1985) which summed up its work in the preceding three years and mapped out the political direction for those ahead, the SUP once more accorded the preservation of peace a priority position. The Conference's political resolution noted the importance of the Soviet peace initiatives and defined the party's most urgent tasks for working towards peace and security. It emphasised that our party is a militant component of the international communist movement which constitutes the vanguard of the struggle against the threat of war. The Conference highly assessed the policy of the Labour government and emphasised the necessity of mobilising support to defend it. We spoke of the need to build on the positive steps taken by the Labour government and on its commitment to move along the path of independence and non-alignment. New Zealand's Communists expressed support for the non-aligned movement whose positive role in the defence of peace is steadily growing. The SUP is stepping up the struggle to stop the US plans for militarising outer space and to limit and end all forms of the arms race in every part of the world.

In supporting the consistent policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in asserting the principle of peaceful coexistence, curbing the nuclear threat and consolidating detente, our party welcomed the results of the Soviet-US summit in Geneva which, in our party's view, laid the foundation for improving the situation in the world. The major Soviet peace initiative undertaken to add tangible meaning to the Geneva accords, the plan for the complete and universal elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons by the year 2000, set forth in Mikhail Gorbachov's January statement, and the Soviet concept of ensuring comprehensive peace as advanced at the 27th Congress of the CPSU form a large-scale and realistic programme for joint action to be undertaken by the peace forces throughout the world, including the Pacific.

For their part, the Communists of New Zealand will do everything in their power to foster the process of strengthening security. We hold that all previous initiatives have a part to play in the establishment of a zone of peace in our region—the initiative to convene a UN-sponsored conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, Mongolia's proposal for a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use

of force, and the Soviet initiatives on confidence-building in the Far East.

Our party wholeheartedly supports the Soviet view, enunciated by Mikhail Gorbachov, that these and other ideas should be considered at an Asian forum in order to combine efforts in the quest for constructive solutions. It would also be useful to mention the experience of Europe, notably of the European Conference in Helsinki, the ten Bandung principles and the five principles of peaceful coexistence worked out by Asian states. The recent specific Soviet proposals on promoting peaceful cooperation of all Asian and Pacific countries are of great importance for the future of all nations.

Together with other peace forces, the Communists of New Zealand will work to turn the entire region into a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace and cooperation from which the threat of war should never arise.

¹ ANZUS includes Australia, New Zealand and the United States; ANZUK, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom.—*Ed.*

² The Forum comprises 13 states: Australia, New Zealand, the Cook Islands, Papua New Guinea, Niue, Nauru, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tonga, Vanuatu, Fiji, Western Samoa and the Solomon Islands.—*Ed.*

³ The 1961 Treaty on the Antarctic prohibits all military activities there and bans tests of any types of weapons, including nuclear weapons. Smaller in size than Latin America, the South Pacific zone extends from the equator in the north to the 60th parallel in the south. Its western boundary runs between the territorial waters of Australia and Indonesia, and in the east it is adjacent to the Latin American nuclear-free zone.—*Ed.*

⁴ According to this US theory which was designed to justify the US aggression in Vietnam, it was necessary to prevent communism from gaining ground by stopping its spread in explosive regions such as Indochina. Today this 'theory' is used against New Zealand and other countries who would like to avoid being drawn into any nuclear strategy. Washington holds that if Wellington 'gets away with it', others will try, and that it is therefore imperative to 'keep New Zealand in check'.

the party

A Profound Analysis and a Realistic Policy

George Toubi – Central Committee
Secretary, Communist Party of Israel (CPI)

THE 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel which was held in Haifa in December 1985 was an important landmark in the difficult struggle of the Israeli Communists. The congress, which aroused widespread public interest, received unprecedented mass media coverage and was attended by the President of the State (the Communists were in this respect put, for the first time, on an equal footing with other parties), by other prominent public figures and representatives of various political parties and democratic organisations, has demonstrated the growing strength of the CPI and stressed anew its role as an important factor in the country's life.

Our forum was convened at a time of grave international tensions, of a growing threat of nuclear confrontation and of an intensified arms race, brought about by the aggressive global policy of US imperialism and the monstrous plan of the Reagan administration to militarise outer space. Washington's imperial ambitions are clearly

expressed in the Middle East where a dangerous hotbed of war persists. The Zionist ruling circles in Israel are fully involved in these sinister imperialist schemes—as reflected in the strategic alliance between Israel and the USA. The aggressive policy of the Israeli government, aimed against the Arab national liberation movements and against the Palestinian people, at the continued occupation of the Palestinian territories on the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip, on the Golan Heights and in the South of Lebanon is fully backed by Washington. This expansionist policy carries in its wake the imminent danger of a new armed conflagration in our region. This policy of annexation, oppression and colonial settlement has adversely affected Israeli society and produced an unprecedented economic, social and moral crisis coupled with a growing danger of fascism and unbridled racism.

Under such conditions, the main questions which faced the 20th Congress of our party were to examine thoroughly the prevailing dangerous situation, to point out ways of establishing durable peace in the Middle East based on a just solution of the Palestinian problem and to expose the roots and causes of the crisis gripping Israeli society. The congress was to sum up the CPI's rich experience and to show how the party would continue mobilising new sections of the people for the struggle to bring about a radical change in Israel's official course and in its attitude to the policy of peace and national independence. The discussion also dealt with promoting joint action by the workers in defence of their rights and wages and against unemployment; setting up a broad militant front against the danger of fascism and the spreading poison of racism; and rebuffing the shameful policy of national discrimination and oppression directed against the Arab population of Israel. Last but not least, the congress advanced the task of strengthening the party ideologically, politically and organisationally so that it could cope better with its challenges and with its immediate tasks linked inseparably with the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist strategic goals of the Communists. Two months prior to the congress, the CPI Central Committee published its draft report to be submitted to the congress. The draft report was discussed in a comprehensive and concerned manner in all party organisations.

Comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI Central Committee, delivered the Central Committee's report to the congress. The report included a profound analysis of the various developments that had occurred since the 19th party congress in 1981 and of a number of ideological questions, laid down basic guidelines related to the future work and defined the immediate and long-term tasks and goals of the Communist Party. Eighty-two delegates (out of the 615 elected to attend the congress) took part in the lively discussion of many major issues related to the party's ideology, policy and overall work. Drawing on their experience in grassroots party organisations, the speakers stressed the need to overcome shortcomings in order to advance the work of the party and intensify its struggle. Marked by a bold spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the deliberations of the congress demonstrated the ideological, political and organisational unity of the Communist Party of Israel.

Special attention was focused at the party forum on the problem of war and peace and on the urgent need to promote and intensify a concerted struggle for peace. The summit meeting in Geneva and the constructive Soviet peace initiatives have produced new effective instruments for rebuffing the aggressive policy and the nuclear madness of the Reagan administration, for stopping the arms race and improving the international climate. Aside from declaring its appreciation of and support for the consistent policy of the Soviet Union aimed at preventing nuclear war, curbing the wasteful arms race and strengthening peaceful coexistence, the 20th Congress of the CPI called upon the country's peace forces to step up their struggle for Israeli withdrawal from the catastrophic strategic alliance with the United States, for transforming the Middle East into a nuclear-free zone and above all for bringing the Israeli government to accede to the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation which it

still refuses to sign.

The congress assessed the results and the repercussions of the US-Israeli aggression against Lebanon in June 1982. It was emphasised that despite the casualties, destruction and massacres, despite the methods of extermination and the scorched earth policy applied by the aggressors, this war was a complete failure since it did not attain any of its basic aims:

— The war did not succeed in liquidating the national existence of the Palestinian people or the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), its legitimate representative. The invaders proved unable to force them to cease their struggle. The Palestinian problem remains at the heart of the Israeli-Arab conflict in the Middle East.

— The aggressors failed to impose on Lebanon the rule of the fascist Phalangists, agents of US imperialism and of the ruling Zionist establishment.

— The war did not succeed in toppling the anti-imperialist regime in Syria or even in forcing it to abandon its independent policy and its relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

— Finally, the hostilities in Lebanon have demonstrated that US imperialism is unable to make the peoples of the region bow to its pressure and that the pro-imperialist Zionist establishment is powerless to 'solve' the Palestinian problem by force of arms or impose its will on the Lebanese people or the other neighbouring Arab peoples.

On the other hand, a popular mass movement against the war in Lebanon developed in Israel. For the first time in the country's history the Communist Party was not alone in its opposition to and struggle against this aggression, as had been the case in the previous aggressive wars. The truth, however, is that at first the Communists and their allies in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality were the only ones who opposed the reckless adventure in Lebanon. But as the heroic resistance of the Lebanese patriotic forces and the Palestinians gained strength and as the anti-war activities of the Israeli Communists and their allies who boldly explained the causes, goals and nature of the war to the masses assumed increasingly impressive scope, various other circles and organisations launched protest actions which gradually developed into a mass anti-war movement. The Communists played the most active and sometimes the decisive role. Sustained efforts were exerted by our party—and not without success—to promote the unity of the peace forces and to enrich their correct political vision.

Some Zionist activists in the various anti-war currents tried, as usual, to split the struggle on an ideological basis, claiming that it was impossible to cooperate with those who opposed Zionism. This was a transparent attempt to isolate the Communists and the Arab population of Israel and thus objectively weaken the anti-war movement. Our party opposed vigorously this anti-communist attitude and advocated the broadest possible unity of all those interested in stopping the criminal war irrespective of the ideological differences or party affiliation. The appeal did not fall on deaf ears, and the anti-war movement grew stronger. The CPI's vigorous involvement enabled it to reach new sections of the population, working to overcome their prejudice and distorted ideas regarding the communist positions and policies.

The lessons of the Lebanese adventure, its repercussions and the struggle against it have led many Israeli to reassess the nature of the previous aggressive wars and to question the policies of the Zionist establishment, especially towards the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab countries.

The congress called upon all peace forces and anti-war movements in Israel to remain vigilant, not to stop the struggle and not to be led astray by the formal decision of the government to withdraw from Lebanon (tantamount to an indirect confession of the failure of the adventure) since the aggression is still going on. Israeli troops still occupy part of South Lebanon under the pretext of preserving the so-called Security

Strip and carry out military raids on Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps. The danger of a war against Syria is not over either. It is imperative to continue the joint struggle for the complete withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces to within the existing international frontiers, for an end to all acts of intervention that violate the sovereignty of Lebanon and endanger peace.

Despite the failure of the aggression in Lebanon, US imperialists continue, with the help of the ruling Zionist establishment and Arab reaction, to hatch intrigues aimed at imposing their hegemony on the region. They continue to support the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and of the Syrian Golan Heights and ignore the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, thus blocking the attainment of peace in the Middle East.

The 20th Congress of the CPI shed light on what is referred to as the 'US peace initiative', hatched in common between the USA, Israel and Jordan. This scheme is designed not to establish peace but to advance Washington's strategic objectives and to foist on the countries of the region separate solutions in line with the Camp David accords and the Reagan Plan.

The congress examined with deep concern certain negative developments which complicate the activities of the anti-imperialist forces in general and the Palestinian national liberation movement in particular—such as the lack of unity among the Arab countries, the severe crisis within the PLO, the spread of defeatist views and the unfounded illusions fostered by the Arab reactionary regimes among certain Palestinian circles about the feasibility of solutions through the 'good offices' of the United States. The Amman Agreement¹ signed in February 1985 is one of its most prominent expressions; it is drawn up in the spirit of the notorious Camp David accords inspired by the USA and runs counter to the genuine interests of the Palestinian people and to the cause of peace. That is why our party holds that the sooner this agreement is abrogated, the better.

The crisis within the Palestinian Liberation Organisation has caused great harm and is a source of deep regret among all supporters and friends of the Palestinian cause. The restoration of the Organisation's unity is of prime importance in view of the proposals to step up the anti-imperialist struggle, put an end to occupation and achieve a just solution to the Palestinian problem. The restoration of Palestinian unity can be achieved by putting an end to imperialist intrigues and liquidationist intentions, by following a realistic and just peace plan, acting in cooperation with the anti-imperialist peace forces and upholding Palestinian independence. These principles, enshrined in the 16th Palestinian National Council resolutions and in the Aden-Algiers Agreement,² are essential for the success of the cause of the PLO and the Palestinian people.

The congress paid close attention to the situation in the occupied territories where the Zionist ruling establishment continues to perpetrate criminal acts of oppression, robs people of their land, sets up colonial settlements and resorts to mass arrests and deportations. These territories are being turned into a market for Israeli goods and a reservoir of cheap labour for the Israeli bourgeoisie. The congress reiterated the CPI's solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Palestinians in the occupied territories, and came out against the occupation and atrocities, for freedom, national independence and peace. Our party maintains firm fraternal relations with the Palestinian Communist Party which, under the difficult conditions of illegality, is playing a major role in the struggle against the occupation. As noted in the report, the CPI will continue to strengthen its solidarity with the fraternal Palestinian Communist Party for the happy future of both our peoples, for peace and for the noble ideals our two parties share.

The congress adopted a realistic peace plan for settling the Israeli-Arab conflict and for solving the Palestinian problem which is at its core. The plan is based on the

following principles:

- Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since the Israeli aggression of June 1967;

- recognition of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent state on the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip;

- a just solution of the problem of Palestinian refugees in accordance with the UN resolutions which recognise their right to choose between returning to their homeland and receiving compensation;

- the right of the State of Israel and of the Arab states, including the future independent Palestinian state, to sovereign existence and development in conditions of peace and security.

We believe that for the implementation of these internationally recognised principles and the achievement of a just and comprehensive settlement in the region it is imperative to convene, under UN auspices, an international conference for peace in the Middle East with the participation of Israel and the PLO as well as the Soviet Union, the United States and other interested countries.

One of the main objectives set by the congress was the establishment of a peace front in Israel which, irrespective of ideological differences, would rally all forces prepared to join the struggle against the policy of conquests, annexation and occupation, for just and durable peace in the region. The CPI will spare no effort to achieve this goal and is ready to cooperate with diverse quarters.

The communist forum also focused its attention on issues connected with the deep socio-economic crisis gripping Israeli society. The economy is on the verge of collapse due to the policy of aggression and occupation pursued by the Labour-Likud government. The workers and the popular masses are hit hard by this course. The Israeli economy is getting increasingly militarised and dependent on US monopolies. The military-industrial complex, which is controlled by the state, private companies and foreign capital, had become a dominant factor in the economic, social and political life of the country. It accounts for 30 to 40 per cent of Israeli industrial production and employs about 25 per cent of the labour force in industry. Arms exports, mainly to the racist and other reactionary regimes in Africa, Asia and Central America³ increased from 50 million dollars in 1972 to over one billion dollars in 1984 and amount today to some 25 per cent of all Israeli industrial exports.

According to official estimates, Israel spent about 60 billion dollars for military purposes from the October War of 1973 till the end of 1984 (i.e., five to six billion annually). In the draft state budget for 1986/1987 the military expenditure, including the repayment of debts and interest, will make up 69.1 per cent. Simultaneously, drastic cuts are being carried out in the budgets for health, education and social welfare; this deals a severe blow to all fields of public services.

The rate of inflation has assumed unprecedented dimensions: from 48.7 per cent in 1978 to 191 per cent in 1983 and to 445 per cent in 1984. The government is trying to curb inflation by mass layoffs, wage cuts and other anti-popular measures. In 1985 unemployment averaged ten per cent (125,000 people). According to official data, the average monthly wage declined by almost one-third from July 1984 to July 1985. The social gains won by the workers over many years of hard struggles are systematically curtailed.

The concentrated onslaught of the government and the capitalists on the living standard of the popular masses has impoverished wide sections of the population and sharpened social distress. According to official figures, the number of those living beyond the poverty line increased by 25 per cent in 1984 as against 1983 and is now estimated at 220,000. The workers have been fighting back in defence of their rights and wages, against the spread of unemployment. It was pointed out at our congress

that the strikes of wage and salary earners have reached a new high in recent years. Even during 1982, the year the aggression in Lebanon was launched, a wave of 112 strikes swept the country. This is an important fact since it indicates that, contrary to what occurred during the previous aggressive wars, this time the working class of Israel has overcome the pressure of the government and the employers to suspend the class struggle. The number of strikes continued to climb and reached 149 in 1984. In 1985 a new phenomenon in the class struggle developed and expanded: workers started to occupy their enterprises and factories to prevent layoffs.

The Communists played an important role in defending the rights of the workers. Despite the defeatist attitude of the Labour Party leadership of Histadruth which refrained from supporting the struggle of the workers, our faction in this trade union federation has always sided with the workers and supported their struggle with all its strength. At the congress we stressed the urgent need to strengthen and improve the activities of the party among the working class.

The party forum adopted a well-designed and practical economic programme showing a way out of the crisis. It was stated that only socialism will bring a fundamental solution to the economic and social problems of Israel. However, even prior to the victory of socialism, a policy of peace and social progress can open an opportunity of overcoming the burning socio-economic crisis which is shaking Israeli society. The basic principles of the communist economic programme are as follows: a substantial cut in military spending; an end to the dependence on foreign monopolies and services to imperialism; nationalisation of banks, insurance companies and foreign trade; abrogation of all privileges of the capitalist companies and foreign capital; a basic change in the taxation system in favour of the popular masses; a significant increase in the real value of wages and subsidies for vital commodities and services; and full employment. The implementation of this programme will be an important step forward in curing the economy and raising the living standard of the people.

Against the background of the deteriorating economic situation, mass unemployment, the government policy of occupation and war, Israeli society is facing a growing danger of fascism and raving anti-Arab racism which constitutes a serious threat to democracy and to the whole social fabric. Jewish fascist terrorist groups are active not only in the occupied territories but also in Israel proper. They receive covert and overt support from influential circles in the ruling Zionist establishment. Kahane's racist gangs commit criminal assaults on the Arab population and openly call for the expulsion of Arabs from their homeland. The CPI assesses positively the powerful opposition to these dangerous trends, calls for the establishment of the widest possible Jewish-Arab front so as to rebuff the racist onslaught and the fascist threat, and demands that an end be put to the official policy of national discrimination directed against the Arab population in Israel.

The congress held a detailed discussion of the party's organisational work. In the period under review, despite the difficulties, the stormy events and the bitter struggles, the party has gained strength and increased its membership by 30.2 per cent. This is an important achievement but more efforts should be exerted to add to the party ranks, especially from among the working class, women and the younger generation. All party organisations are to ensure strict observance of the principles of democratic centralism and party rules and to apply unhesitatingly the tested weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

The congress stated that the Communists should get to the roots of their problems and ascertain which weaknesses and shortcomings stem from objective causes and which are due to subjective factors. This will help to correct the shortcomings and improve the results of our work. The report of the Central Committee had this to say about the distinctive features of the CPI: 'Our Communist Party is internationalist in

its world outlook, in its programme, in its policy, and in its Leninist organisation based upon democratic centralism. Our party is a Jewish-Arab party and constitutes a model and an example for the future relations between the two peoples.'

The congress dealt with some ideological problems and emphasised the need to intensify the ideological struggle of the party and to systematically combat the infiltration of any alien ideological or political views. Regarding Zionist ideology it was noted that as a Marxist-Leninist party, we have always considered Zionism as a bourgeois nationalist and chauvinist ideology which should be opposed and defeated since it essentially contradicts the real interests of the Israeli people. While not ignoring or overlooking the differences in the positions of the Zionist parties, particularly on questions of democracy, the danger of fascism and some others, the congress rejected the false assumption of certain individuals and circles about 'progressive Zionism'. Nevertheless, our party does not rule out cooperation with Zionist elements on some practical and common issues as was the case in the anti-war movement during the Lebanese war.

In the report of the Central Committee and in the debate special stress was laid on the significance of combating all manifestations of anti-Sovietism, on the need to disseminate truthful information about the Soviet Union, its peaceful Leninist foreign policy and the achievements of existing socialism. This task should be carried on constantly and energetically, especially in the face of the brazen anti-Soviet campaign organised by US imperialism, the Zionist establishment and other reactionary forces. Our party will continue and intensify its militant struggle against the anti-Soviet slander, exposing its nature and motives. We will continue to express our solidarity with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party ever more forcefully.

The congress discussed some questions related to the international communist and workers' movement with the intention of contributing to the efforts aimed at consolidating its unity on the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In this context it was pointed out that more than 16 years have passed since the latest international conference of communist and workers' parties was held in Moscow in 1969. Since then deep changes have occurred on the world scene, many new and important events have taken place and major challenges are now facing our movement. The CPI supports the holding of regional and bilateral meetings of communist parties for discussing common ideological and political questions, but, in our opinion, this cannot be a substitute for an international consultative conference. Our party is of the opinion that such a conference is vitally needed.

The participation of 15 fraternal delegations and of a *World Marxist Review* representative, as well as the greetings received from many communist parties, including fraternal parties in the Arab countries, expressed the solidarity of the international communist movement with the CPI and its struggle. This is a source of pride and encouragement for the Israeli Communists in their struggle for just peace, democracy, equality, social progress and socialism.

¹ Between King Hussein of Jordan and Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.—Ed.

² Signed in July 1984.—Ed.

³ According to foreign sources, recipients of Israeli arms include South Africa, Kenya, Zaire, Taiwan, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile and Bolivia, as well as bandit gangs that engage in subversive activities against revolutionary and anti-imperialist regimes.

Lessons of the Greek Resistance in Today's Struggle

Dimitris Sarlis

THE history of the Greek National Resistance to the fascist invaders is still an object of sharp ideological controversies inseparable from the political struggle in Greece today.

Those who would like to isolate the Communist Party of Greece (CPG), to deprive it of popular support, conceal or distort the facts, each in his own way. Some minimise the achievements of the National Liberation Front (EAM) and misrepresent the role of the CPG in it. Others describe the Resistance as an entirely non-political movement and either ignore the Communists' active part in it or represent the CPG as a 'party of mistakes', putting on it the whole blame for the defeat of the movement in the struggle against domestic reaction and British imperialism that began immediately after liberation. Still others, including those in Greece who call themselves 'Eurocommunists', falsify the content of the 1944 Yalta agreements signed by the anti-Hitler coalition powers, alleging that the Soviet Union 'transferred' Greece to the British and US imperialists' sphere of influence.

In this article we will show by depicting events of those years that all those allegations are false. We will also try to answer the following important and perfectly understandable question: Why was it that a movement as widespread and powerful as the National Resistance failed to achieve victory after the country had regained freedom from the fascist invaders? A critical assessment of the Resistance and the role of the CPG will help draw conclusions which Greek Communists can also use in their current struggle.

Threatened with Aggression

By the time Greece was attacked by Italy and then by Germany (1940-1941), the Communist Party had been weakened organisationally. The fascist dictatorship which General Metaxas established in Greece on August 4, 1936, had dealt the party a series of heavy blows. It delivered into the fascists' hands nearly all of the party's leaders plus 1,600 activists, then in prison or concentration camp. Operating in the country were only small isolated party organisations.

Nevertheless, the Communists were politically prepared to play their role in those hard times. Long before the war broke out, our party evolved, in line with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, a policy of struggle against fascism and for the unification of the nation's patriotic forces. A resolution passed by the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the CC CPG (September 1935) read in part as follows: "In view of the danger of direct aggression by fascist Italy or some other imperialist power (such as Hitler Germany) and of the threat it would pose to the national independence and territorial integrity of our country, the party sees its paramount task in defending national freedom . . . In this struggle the CPG is ready to cooperate with all the organisations and parties that will really fight for national independence."¹ This policy was written into the decisions of the Sixth CPG Congress (December 1935).

¹The author, who died suddenly last March, was an active member of the Greek Resistance and a noted figure in the communist movement of the country. He was a member of the CC Political Bureau of the CPG and contributed constantly to the journal.

The letter which the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International sent to the CC CPG in 1939 played a big role in the framing of the correct line followed by the party subsequently, during the Italo-Greek war and then during the Resistance. It rejected the view that there was no defending national independence, then threatened by the fascist Axis, without overthrowing the dictatorship and restoring democratic liberties. The letter described the defence of independence as a priority task of the CPG. And it added that the party must go on fighting for the freedom of the Greek people to help strengthen the country's defences.

On October 29, 1940, or the day after fascist Italy had invaded Greece, 600 imprisoned Communists presented to the government a memorandum calling on it to offer resistance to the aggressor and demanding to be sent to the front. Similar memoradums were submitted by prisoners and exiles on the islands of Foelgandros, Anafi and Aegina. But the Metaxas dictatorship ignored these calls.

Nikos Zachariadis, General Secretary of the CC CPG, sent from his cell in the Athens prison of the secret police an open letter to the Greek people. The letter was published in the press on November 2, 1940. "Mussolini fascism," he wrote "has stabbed Greece in the back like a murderer in order to subdue and enslave it. We Greeks are now fighting for our freedom, honour and national independence. It is going to be a very hard and grim struggle. But a nation which wants to live must fight regardless of dangers and sacrifices . . . Let not only the main front but every rock, every gorge, every village hut, every town house become a stronghold of the struggle for national liberation . . . Every fascist agent must be mercilessly destroyed. In this war the Metaxas government is directing, we must unconditionally give our all. The working people's current struggle must and will be rewarded and crowned with the emergence of a new Greece, a Greece of labour and freedom delivered from all imperialist dependence and having its own, truly national culture."²

That was when the people as a whole took up arms. The army, fully backed by the population, fought courageously against the aggressor's forces, which were superior in strength and armaments. It stopped the enemy after 15 days of heavy fighting; thereupon it took the counter-offensive, expelled the invaders from Greece, pursued them all the way to Albania, overrun by Italy earlier, and tied them down in that country for no less than six months. In that way our people contributed their share to the fight against the fascist Axis even at the early stage of the war.

Rousing the People to Action Against the Invaders

On April 6, 1941, the German war machine broke into Greece. In spite of heroic resistance by the army and the people, especially on the frontier with Bulgaria and on Crete, the fascists had occupied the whole country by early June.

From the early days of occupation, the Communists called for a relentless war against the enemy. Those CPG leaders who were still free or had escaped from prison restored the party's central bodies and many party organisations and directed their efforts towards expanding the resistance to the aggressor. It was not long before underground groups and guerrilla units were formed, with the Communists as their core. Late in May, an organisation called National Solidarity³ was brought into being on the initiative of the CPG and two and a half months later—also on the Communists' initiative—the Workers' National Liberation Front was set up through which the Greek proletariat began to play the role of vanguard in fighting the invaders.

The plutocratic oligarchy, which had ruled Greece prior to occupation, behaved in an entirely different way. Some of its members fled the country, others took a wait-and-see stand or collaborated with the invaders on the sly, and still others collaborated with them openly. Many political spokesmen of the oligarchy entered

into puppet governments of traitors and formed 'defence battalions' which committed heinous crimes against the fighting people in common with the Nazis.

Credit is due to the CPG for doing its utmost to bring about national unity in order to free the country. The results of the Communist policy for unity were not long in coming. On September 27, 1941, the CPG Socialist Party of Greece, Popular Democracy Union and Greek Agrarian Party founded the National Liberation Front, a major Resistance force. Fighting in the ranks of EAM, the Communist Party became the Front's chief leader by rights. Communists were always in the fighter's front ranks. They organised the people, gave them inspiration and led them on. They were the first to sacrifice themselves. Tens of thousands of them gave their lives for national freedom and social progress.

The general policy line of the CPG in those years—the only correct line—followed three key slogans: saving the people, whom the fascist invaders wanted to starve to death; winning freedom and independence; and bringing about people's democracy in Greece. This line and the vanguard role of the party earned it deep respect among the people, and it soon developed into an impressive political force. Whereas in the middle of 1941 the party was relatively small, by 1944 it had over 440,000 members. The majority of the people united behind it at the time.

EAM gained ground fast. It comprised workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, many clergymen and members of the petty and middle bourgeoisie as well as members of the professions. From 1941 to 1944, over 1.5 million Greeks joined EAM.

In February 1943, the Panhellenic Youth Organisation (EPON) was founded on the initiative of the Federation of Communist Unions of Greek Youth, it grouped ten youth organisations. By the end of the war EPON had over 600,000 members. In 1944, the National People's Liberation Army (ELAS) and the people's militias were 140,000 strong. During the war ELAS carried out more than 600 major operations against the invaders and destroyed roughly 30,000 enemy troops. It forced the Nazi command to keep up to 12 divisions in Greece on a permanent basis.

EAM did not confine itself to military operations. It also strove to save the people from hunger (which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives in the first year of occupation) and resisted the invaders' attempts to deport Greek men and women to Germany for use at hard labour. To frustrate this plan, EAM organised protest strikes and demonstrations in many cities. The largest of them took place in Athens. Sabotage of the economic measures of the collaborationists and occupation authorities assumed a mass character. As a result of EAM's ideological and propaganda activity, anti-fascist sentiments gained undivided dominance among large sections of the population. All of the Nazis' efforts notwithstanding, not a single Greek fought against the Soviet Union.

By the spring of 1944, the People's Liberation Army had freed three-fifths of our territory. On March 10, 1944, the Political Committee for National Liberation was established. In the areas freed from the enemy, it became something of a government or central organ of people's rule brought into existence by revolutionary activity. With the formation of the Committee, the Resistance entered a stage of steep upturn. By then fighting was going on all over Greece, including Athens and Salonika, the biggest cities. When, in August and early September 1944, the Red Army was advancing victoriously in the Balkans, ELAS launched a general offensive against the fascist troops. The offensive ended in expelling all invaders from Greek soil in October 1944.

What Prevented the Democratic Force from Winning

However, our Resistance was not only a national liberation movement but a revolutionary one as well. Its policy and effort were aimed at both winning complete

independence for the country and accomplishing important tasks in the sphere of social progress.

The working class was at the forefront of the movement. True, some in Greece believe that this role was played by the peasantry; to prove this, they refer to the predominance of peasants in ELAS. There is no question that numerically the peasants were the strongest component in the Army and EAM. This was due to the class composition of Greek society; at that time, 60 per cent of the workforce was engaged in agriculture while industry, transport and the handicrafts accounted for a mere 25 per cent. Thus the peasants logically made up the bulk of ELAS. But the leading role in the national liberation struggle belonged to the working class. The workers were the first to begin fighting, and though few in numbers, they took a more active part in the Resistance than any other social force (in both urban and rural areas). It was their party, the CPG, that evolved a policy line which EAM subsequently adopted and implemented.

The experience of our Resistance showed once again that without the leading role of the working class the people's struggle can never assume the vast dimensions made possible by objective conditions or acquire a truly progressive content. Besides, to win such a role, it is not enough to advance correct slogans. Those who intend to take the lead must be at the forefront everywhere and at all times, must, with due regard to objective factors, work out a policy line meeting real national interests and help the masses satisfy themselves of its correctness.

The experience of the Greek Resistance also bears out the Marxist-Leninist idea that the working people's struggle must not be restricted to meeting demands of the moment but must be intended to create political conditions for achieving both immediate and strategic goals.

In spite of its heroism and countless sacrifices, EAM was unable to achieve its ideal, which was to make Greece a completely independent state governed by its own people. Of course, this was also due to the efforts of British imperialism and a section of the Greek reactionary forces who were united behind the Cairo government in exile and tried, even in the years of occupation, to weaken and undermine EAM. The decisive factor which prevented the Front from attaining its objectives was Britain's armed intervention, which started in October 1944 and was primarily aimed at crushing the revolutionary movement in our country. An analysis of the events of the time indicates that the victory of the Front would have been almost certain but for the intervention. In those years EAM grouped the majority of the people and had powerful armed forces. People's rule had already been established in the greater part of the country, and as for the weakened Greek oligarchy, it could do nothing to prevent that rule from spreading wider and consolidating itself.

We consider it very important to make an accurate appraisal of the role which the imperialist armed intervention played in Greek history. Without this there can be no proper understanding of developments in the period after Greece had freed itself from the Nazi invaders or of the situation in the country today, and hence no correct guidance of the current struggle for national independence, people's democracy and, ultimately, socialism.

However, the foregoing does not imply that we minimise the mistakes made by the leadership of the CPG and EAM. One has only to look into these mistakes to realise that had they not been made, the imperialists and the Greek plutocratic oligarchy would have had much greater difficulty in implementing their plans, the domestic situation would have shaped up differently and EAM would have had greater opportunities for victory.

Before proceeding to analyse those mistakes, which certainly did not detract from the vanguard role of the Communist Party in organising and leading the Resistance, we must point out that they were made within the framework of a correct general

policy. Nor must we discount the fact that the struggle had to be carried on in very difficult conditions. The revolutionary forces had to resist both the fascist invaders and international imperialism, which had gained vast experience and was prepared to go to any lengths in order to re-establish the power of the Greek oligarchy and regain control of the country.

Of the causes of the mistakes and miscalculations of the CPG, we will only examine those from which instructive lessons can be drawn for our party's policy at this stage. The chief mistake was that the party leadership of the time devoted greater attention to the national liberation aspect of the fight and not to its revolutionary class content. It approached the issue of power without proper Marxist-Leninist consistency and was not clear enough about the aggressive nature of the British imperialism. The position adopted by the party was a reflection of the relatively low ideological and theoretical level of its membership. Besides, the CPG was not being led collectively, and this had a negative effect on important decision-making.

The overall result was that the party, committed in principle to a correct combination of the struggle for national liberation with the policy of bringing about people's democratic rule, made a strategic mistake by artificially dividing these two goals in terms of time. It believed that the former goal had to be achieved before moving to the latter. Here is what the Tenth CC Plenary Meeting (January 1944) said in its resolution on this matter: "The CPG considers people's democracy the only suitable form of government for the postwar rehabilitation of Greece and will strive to win a popular majority in elections for a constituent assembly."⁴ Accordingly, the party leadership ignored the revolutionary experience of the world proletariat, which suggested that the struggle for the strategic goal must not be made conditional on a hundred per cent fulfilment of immediate tasks and should begin as soon as the balance of forces allowed it. And so, at a time when the majority of Greeks declared for people's democracy and when people's rule was becoming established in the liberated areas according to CPG guidelines, the party leadership called for winning a majority in elections for a constituent assembly, aiming to bring about people's democratic rule *after* that.

This strategic mistake entailed several others, such as the conclusion of the so-called Lebanese Pact.⁵ By signing the pact, the CPG and EAM agreed—contrary to the declaration on the formation of EAM, which said that a provisional government of the Front would be formed immediately after the invaders had been expelled—to the formation of a government in which their members found themselves in a minority although both were supported by the overwhelming majority of the people. That step was wrong, since it was out of keeping with the balance of forces. The CPC and EAM signed the agreement in the interest of national unity yet real national unity existed already in EAM, an organisation grouping 90 per cent of the people. By contrast, the oligarchy and its delegates who signed the Lebanese Pact did not represent any substantial part of the population and, indeed, were opposed to the nation's aspirations.

Some say that the CPG and EAM signed the agreement under pressure from one of the EAM parties, meaning the Popular Democracy Union, which threatened to withdraw unless the pact was concluded. To be sure, it was necessary to do everything possible in order to prevent that party from stepping out. But priority should have been given to the general interests of the struggle and not to the effort to maintain unity. The CPG and EAM chose a different approach and made impermissible concessions to the Greek oligarchy and the British imperialists.

The consequences of these concessions showed again that as far as a revolutionary party is concerned, unity with allies is not an end in itself but a means of achieving definite goals. Any departure from them, even in the name of unity, is impermissible since it hampers success in the struggle. Marxism-Leninism calls on Communists to

approach such problems in a principled manner and with a proper sense of responsibility.

Refuting the Arguments of Falsifiers of Yalta

The Yalta agreements are said by some people in our country to have been among the causes of EAM's defeat. They argue, for example, that at Yalta the Soviet Union divided the world into two spheres of influence together with British and US imperialism and 'ceded' Greece to Britain. This is the alleged reason why the Red Army stopped short of our frontier.

Leaders of the co-called Communist Party of the Interior put the blame for the postwar troubles of Greece on the Soviet Union and not on British or US imperialism. From what they say, even the mistakes made by the CPG leadership in those years had no particular effect on the progress of the struggle since the Soviet Union 'sacrificed' the Resistance, being concerned solely with its own interests.

This is an obvious falsification of Yalta. Its purpose is to foment hostility towards the Soviet Union and also to make exploited and oppressed peoples believe that there is no hope for them, that any struggle for liberation is futile since the 'superpowers' lord it over their destiny. However, Yalta agreements are also attacked as such. In our country the propaganda which the monopoly oligarchy is carrying on, often in common with various opportunists, echoes attacks on these agreements from imperialist forces trying to revise the postwar frontiers of Europe and undermine existing socialism.

The allegation that Soviet policy doomed the revolutionary forces to defeat is not only groundless but deliberately anti-Soviet. This will be deduced from the facts and circumstances mentioned below.

The interests of the Greek nation, of all Greek working people, called for the establishment of people's democratic rule after liberation. Now common sense suggests that its establishment, far from contradicting the interests of the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, would have been entirely in harmony with them. The Soviet Union could only wish the revolutionary force of Greece such an outcome of their fight. In short, there was an objective coincidence of interests and goals. Of course, the Red Army in 1944 did stop at the threshold of Greece. But the reasons for this were entirely different from those cited by falsifiers of the history of the Resistance. When the Red Army reached the Bulgarian-Greek border, there was already a so-called National Unity government in our country, one dominated by members of the plutocratic oligarchy while EAM and the CPG were in a minority. This government had already called in British troops. It follows that had the Soviet armed forces entered Greek territory, the move would have led to a conflict with Britain and endangered the anti-Hilter coalition. As for the leaderships of the CPG and EAM, they accepted Britain's military presence in Greece under agreements with bourgeois organisations and British government representatives signed in 1943 and 1944; in fact, they had nothing against General Ronald Scobie of Britain becoming supreme commander-in-chief in Greece. Hence there is no reason whatever to blame the Soviet Union for imperialism's deeds in Greece or for the consequences of the mistakes made by the leadership of the national liberation movement.

Against the background of British armed intervention and rampant domestic reaction, Resistance fighters were persecuted with unprecedented brutality. Thousands of them were killed or executed, tens of thousands more were banished or imprisoned for many years. At the same time, reaction did its utmost to efface the memory of the Resistance from the Greek people's minds. It took the democratic forces years of struggle to win the movement official recognition, which was given legal shape after the defeat of the Right in October 1981. This was an act of restored

justice. But we must note that attempts are still made to represent the Resistance as a politically neutral movement. Certain quarters, while affirming that the Resistance was a popular movement, are careful not to say anything about the Communists' role in it; they only mention the Communists' mistakes and even try to take credit for the movement.

Yet it is perfectly clear that the people could not have organised so powerful and vast a movement without the Communists' leadership. Besides, how could the Communists have made any mistakes in the Resistance had they had no part in it? The fact that the Resistance was a cause of the people united in EAM, an alignment organised and led by Communists, is a big obstacle to reaction and various opportunists who often make common cause with it in trying to isolate the CPG. And this explains why they are at pains to conceal or distort the record.

All hurdles notwithstanding, the people's struggle for the triumph of the ideals of the Resistance—peace, democracy, national and economic independence, progress towards socialism—is continuing and, indeed, growing from day to day. The Communists, remembering the valuable lessons of the Resistance, devote all their energies to expanding this struggle.

¹ CPG: *Official Documents*, Vol. 4, 1934-1940, 1968, pp. 249-250 (in Greek).

² Ibid., Vol. 5, 1940-1945, 1981, pp. 9-10.

³ National Solidarity was the largest organisation of the Greek people and an appreciable force of their national liberation movement during Nazi occupation. It provided relief and other aid for the hungry, camp and prison inmates, and the families of those who had fallen in the struggle.—*Ed.*

⁴ CPG: *Official Documents*, Vol. 5, p. 202.

⁵ It was signed in Beirut in May 1944 by delegates of the Greek government in exile and of EAM-ELAS, with Britain acting as mediator.—*Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews Overcoming Our Growing Pains

Gilberto Rincon Gallardo – Political
Commission and Secretariat member,
Central Committee, United Socialist Party of
Mexico (USPM)

Your party is now preparing for its Third Congress, to be convened during the last quarter of 1986. What has been its record since the Second Congress,¹ the record it will present at the forthcoming forum?

THE USPM is approaching this important juncture with a record of more than four years.² I would say that the image of the party is now better defined, that its unity has

gained strength. Although considerable difficulties are yet to be overcome, the integration of the party's constituent elements, its very existence is now an accomplished fact. Opportunities are opening up for the incorporation of new political groups. We are negotiating with those we are acting jointly with on the basis of largely identical views.

The problems our party is facing are chiefly connected with its organisation and build-up, primarily with the search for organisational forms that would suit the actual capabilities of the USPM. For example, it is clear that we should not work in the same way at industrial enterprises where only small party groups exist so far and in Indian communities where conditions are ripe for the establishment of mass organisations. Medium-size groups have been set up in residential areas and neighbourhoods. We have not yet taken up the establishment of USPM committees in electoral districts, something that is dictated by the specific exigencies of political struggle. Drawing on the experience we have accumulated, the forthcoming congress will enable us to advance in the study and solution of pressing issues connected with the party's build-up.

We will have to expand our work in the trade unions. The USPM is active in the Labour Congress, a kind of coordinating centre in the country's working class movement. Our party cooperates with all trade union currents and is gradually overcoming the previously isolated position of the Left in this sector, an isolation whose impact we still feel. One can confidently say that the struggle against sectarianism will feature prominently on the agenda of our congress. This is indispensable for the continued consolidation of the party's role in mass organisations: without it, all our policy goals and objectives will be 'suspended in midair'.

We strive to conduct diverse and flexible work among the masses, we are looking for new forms of organisation and trying to ensure a steady growth of the USPM ranks, although progress is still slow here. Difficulties of this sort, also experienced by other left forces, are largely connected with the acute crisis that has hit the country and forces the popular masses to assume a defensive posture. The rightists are advancing and, realistically, we are in a difficult position. But this prompts us to search ever more vigorously for ways leading forward.

For over two years now, the party has been working on an alternative economic programme for Mexico. The programme includes a project for Latin American integration that would counter the 'anti-crisis' policy the government conducts in the spirit of IMF recommendations. Within the framework of the project, we envisage a moratorium on external debt servicing; this would enable our country to use the modest resources it has. The programme also substantiates a plan for promoting this integration by the establishment of new subregional groups for national economic activity, etc.

On these and other matters the party strives to rely on a policy of alliances and searches for common ground with other forces on a national scale. The aggressiveness of imperialism and its new forms of interference through economic pressure affect new and broader sections of Mexican society. This makes it possible to attain a national consensus on a number of problems among the principal political currents.

This is the course our representatives on local self-government bodies are steering; we now have more than 200 such representatives. They are working successfully on seven municipal councils, and we expect to double this figure in the elections that will take place in 13 states this year. USPM members have also been elected to more than half the municipal assemblies.

While on the subject of work at the grassroots level, we would appreciate it if you could touch on its salient features in Mexico's northern states where clashes with the rightists are particularly acute.

Yes, the rightist offensive is particularly forceful in the North. These quarters are connected with big US capital that has gained a firm foothold in the region and is using cheap Mexican labour. So far the left forces have been on the defensive here. We have drawn up a number of anti-imperialist proposals of particular relevance for the North of the country. For example, since financial speculation is rampant in the zone bordering on the United States, the party has advanced a specific programme of struggle against this practice, including strict control over currency exchanges.

The USPM Central Committee has set up a special section to deal with distinctly local problems. The section coordinates our work in the seven border states. A propaganda bureau operates within the section, striving to reach Mexicans north of the Rio Grande. There are more than 14 million of them in the United States now. It is a heterogeneous and fluid mass of people most of whom carry no identification and leave Mexico illegally. We consider it our duty to care for their welfare, and we strive to establish regular contacts with organisations of our countrymen abroad.

What are the USPM's relations with the Revolutionary Institutional Party which has been controlling the country for 50 years now?

On the whole, these are relations of political confrontation. We hold different views of the way Mexico should develop. However, when our positions on this or that domestic or international issue coincide, we use every opportunity for joint action. For example, last year supporters of both parties jointly took part in a mass rally in favour of nationalising the banks, and this played an important part in the implementation of the move. We have also backed government-imposed controls over currency exchanges. Both parties display particular understanding in the struggle against the war threat. Both are active in the Mexican peace movement and, within its framework, we cooperate vigorously with many political forces and figures.

¹ The Second Congress of the USPM was held in Mexico City from August 9 to 14, 1983.—*Ed.*

² The USPM was formed in November 1981 by the merger of five left parties and organisations: the Mexican Communist Party, the Party of the Mexican People, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Movement of Socialist Unity and Action and the Movement of United Popular Action.—*Ed.*

A Foundation to Propagate Marxism

Richard Kumpf – Board member, Marx and Engels Foundation (Wuppertal, FRG)

When was the foundation established and what is its status?

THE history of our foundation is rather unusual. In 1970 a group of political activists, scholars and businessmen announced the foundation was being set up as a socially useful organisation. But the then Federal Minister of the Interior, a member of the liberal bourgeois Free Democratic Party, claimed that the purposes of the foundation were allegedly in conflict with the West German Constitution and refused to grant permission for its official establishment. We took the case to court and, after several

years of litigation, the verdict was that the study and propagation of the scientific legacy of Marx and Engels did not transgress the fundamental law. We also had to sue the financial authorities who refused to recognise the foundation as socially useful. Again, we won the case.

Since January 1980 the foundation has been granted the same rights that are enjoyed by other similar organisations active in our country. But only on paper: while other foundations that are close to political parties receive hundreds of millions of marks from the government, we are completely cut off from subsidies. The pretext is that we are allegedly not engaged in research. But that is a clearly biased approach: after all, the foundation is officially on the list of organisations and associations precisely as a research centre.

What does the foundation actually do?

It has a twofold mission: to study the legacy left by the founders of scientific communism and its relevance in today's world and to publicise their works. Our contribution to research is rather modest because our opportunities in terms of financial resources and personnel are limited. Currently, our primary concern is to help publish the *Complete Works* of Marx and Engels, a joint project of the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and Berlin. We coordinate the work of West German Marxist scholars (some of them are not GCP members). The foundation sponsors the establishment of groups of philosophers, historians and experts in social sciences; a range of specific tasks is set before each group, and deadlines are worked out. We also conclude contracts with individuals and teams for the necessary research. The results appear in the foundation's publications and in academic journals.

The foundation supplies a framework for international and national conferences, workshops, symposiums and seminars which are usually timed to coincide with historic landmarks, with anniversaries of Marx's, Engels' or Lenin's works. Over the past few years scholars have gathered to discuss subjects such as 'Marxism and the National Question', 'The Current Level of Research into the Works of Marx and Engels', 'Productive Forces, Machine Systems, Nature of Labour and Workers' Position' (jointly with Hannover University), and 'Centenary of Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*'.

Considerable interest was generated by the international colloquiums we held to mark important anniversaries which concerned the life and work of Georgi Dimitrov, Gyorgy Lukacs and Jose Marti and which were celebrated in different countries. I would also like to mention last year's academic conferences on the world-wide significance of the defeat of Nazism, on new issues for a Marxist analysis of the position of intellectuals, and on historical aspects of the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism (the latter event was attended by representatives of the ANC, SWAPO, the People's Republic of the Congo, and Cameroon).

These discussions not only yield specific academic results—we publish verbatim records—but also promote international understanding and cooperation among progressive scholars.

As far as the foundation's efforts to propagate Marxist-Leninist ideas are concerned, I would like to stress that we have prepared and published a Braille edition of the *Communist Manifesto* for the blind.

Your foundation is also known in the FRG and abroad as a sort of museum of Marx and Engels. Does this mean that your publicity effort is not confined to the publication of their works?

True, the publication of Marxist-Leninist classics is an important but not the only

form of our effort to publicise their theory. A permanent exposition at the foundation's premises highlights the lives, revolutionary activities and work of Marx and Engels, the history of the working class movement, the October Revolution and the Weimar Republic. A special section of the museum is devoted to the current political state of the world.

People from Wuppertal and neighbouring cities and towns come to see the exposition individually and in groups. We are particularly glad to welcome—not infrequently—schools and college students who show they are interested when during their visits they learn things official textbooks and manuals hush up. The foundation maintains a free library which offers basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, various textbooks, reference literature, fiction and foreign periodicals.

Finally, there is another key aspect of our activities. I refer to our Marxist evening school which has been in operation since the establishment of the foundation and on its basis. Anyone interested in Marxism can enroll: there are no limitations. Essentially, the courses are free, but those who wish to do so contribute a small fee to help cover our expenses. The faculty is made up of foundation staff members, members of the GCP Board and Regional Committee, experts from the Frankfurt-based Institute of Marxist Studies and college and university teachers.

Classes begin in September and continue through April or May. By our standards, the enrolment is quite sizable—30 to 40 students, mostly young people, 12 to 15 of them Communists. But we do not overlap with the GCP political education network which has no courses for beginners. Our study groups meet in the evenings, twice a week, for two or two-and-a-half hours. Lectures are delivered on subjects the students are insufficiently familiar with; on others, seminars are held: brief background information is followed by a discussion. The subjects include the fundamentals of Marxist philosophy, the political economy of capitalism, the history of the working class movement, socialist utopia and existing socialism, and the economic and socio-political system of the FRG.

It is an important advantage of the courses that the students can study the subject not only theoretically but also visually, using the permanent exposition. We also have a projection room, a slide projector and a video-recorder; these teaching aids are used extensively. Short films on the lives of Marx ('Dear Blackamoor') and Engels ('A Young Man Named Engels') are also shown to visitors of the museum. To sum up, the foundation uses a broad range of opportunities to introduce the public, first and foremost young people, to the great revolutionary theory of our age.

Documents

Philippines

THE COMMUNISTS' RESPONSE

THE Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP) has addressed an open letter to President Corazon C. Aquino. The letter states that the Communists, who are fighting for a just and progressive society, cannot ignore the call issued by the head of state for national unity, especially today, when the country is confronted with the worst postwar economic crisis.

The letter stresses that in defining its attitude vis-a-vis any Filipino administration that comes to power, the PKP has always adhered to the principle of support for all progressive moves that promote the interests of the people, loosen the foreign hold on the country and oppose imperialist policies.

When the PKP entered into a national unity agreement proposed by the Marcos government in 1974, the party was ready to support the programme that was announced by the regime and included, among others, land reform and a more independent foreign policy. The PKP declared in no uncertain terms that it was (and still is) against the policy of giving a free hand to foreign capital at the expense of the country's national sovereignty. But the warnings of the PKP went unheeded. Graft and corruption at all levels of the government bureaucracy destroyed whatever had been left of the reform programme, while extreme dependence on foreign capital had resulted in a monstrous and unpayable 26 billion-dollar external debt. The Communist Party therefore was very critical of the government, as reflected in the decisions of its latest congress (1980) and in other documents.

The letter to the new President notes that the popular support enjoyed by the new government springs from the hunger for meaningful change as well as widespread discontent for the previous regime. The hope is expressed that the President will use the popular mandate wisely to institute thoroughgoing reforms in society, not merely to change the faces of those running the various government agencies.

The Communist Party expects the present head of state to manifest greater independence from outside dictation. Reagan's flip-flopping posture in relation to the results of the last election indicates the unreliability of the US government as a partner. The Americans' support of Mr Marcos while the latter was useful to them and the subsequent withdrawal of such support when he was no longer of value to them reveal the cynical essence of US diplomacy.

The PKP does not hide the fact that it conducted an active campaign to protest against the recent elections. The Communists did not vote either for Marcos because of his sordid record or for Aquino because the programme of government she espoused appeared vague and did not differ very much from the IMF-dictated course which was pursued by the previous regime and which brought untold sufferings to millions of Filipinos.

Viewing the initial efforts of the President to reorganise the government and to release political prisoners as encouraging, the Communist Party demands that steps be taken to broaden democracy and liberate the economy from the stranglehold of foreign capital. In the efforts to attain these goals, the document states, the Communists are ready to extend their all-out support to the administration.

The PKP emphasises that it is a revolutionary party seeking radical changes in the socio-economic system based on the socialist vision, guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology and by the ideals and aspirations of the Filipino people. The party intends to pursue these goals through the exercise of constitutional liberties and democratic rights. As a political party not waging an armed struggle, the PKP claims the right to operate legally in a pluralistic society, just as other parties are operating, and to cooperate in the spirit of patriotism, in the name of consolidating the country's national independence.

In the Mirror of the Press

Nepszabadsag

FOR A DEMOCRACY THAT WORKS FOR REAL, NOT FOR SHOW

AN article published by the organ of the HSWP Central Committee raises important questions concerning the development of democracy in the party and the dialectical

unity of this democracy and centralism. The newspaper notes that centralism in the party is democratic because the party's common will is realised through majority decisions taken as a result of an open and free exchange of views.

The article says that the restoration of the Leninist norms within the party and the unflagging efforts to improve the style of leadership are a historic achievement of the HSWP. Special mention is made of the role played by the grassroots organisations which are to become true leaders of the masses and be responsible for the implementation of the party's policy. Their decisions, while taken independently, must remain within the mainstream of the overall political course and be consonant with the decisions of the higher bodies. Sometimes however, too many instructions from above make it difficult to tackle specific questions. In the final analysis, this adversely affects grassroots independence and initiative.

History has taught Communists that there are neither 'higher' nor 'lower' levels in the shaping and implementation of policy. A division of functions whereby some 'make' policy and others merely follow orders is inadmissible in the party. Wherever democracy is infringed, wherever party forums fail to fully discharge their functions, the activity of Communists declines and apathy sets in. HSWP members approach party work with dedication only if they are involved in decision-making on important issues, if they see that their proposals are taken into consideration. It is essential, the article concludes, to put an end to democracy for show as soon as possible and to make it really work.

Komunist

AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST NATIONALISM

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia reards it as a foremost task to combat any manifestations of hostile ideology aimed at eroding the country's socialist gains, writes the LCY organ.

The weekly continues that the difficulties Yugoslavia has encountered in the course of its development have resulted in increased activity among the anti-socialist forces. Nationalism has developed into a serious problem. Life shows that today, all those who oppose our revolutionary gains are rallying around the banner of nationalism. The party is paying close attention to the exposure of the counter-revolutionary essence and roots of nationalism and is mobilising the working masses to a resolute struggle against it. *Komunist* notes that the recommendations adopted at the national conference of ideological workers early this year are helping the party to launch an offensive against all forms of nationalism.

The Story Behind the Fact

THE LAW IS IN EFFECT, THE RESISTANCE CONTINUES

Shortly before the March 1986 parliamentary elections in France, the previous parliament approved legislation 'On Flexible Employment'. The official claim is that it will help expand production, solve the mass unemployment problem and accelerate modernisation of the economy. Pitched political battles were fought over this bill in and outside Parliament. Even after its adoption, the

Communists and all other progressive forces in France are continuing to fight against its application. What is involved? Why has this seemingly minor decision provoked such a sharp reaction on the part of the FCP and such forceful resistance of the working masses? We have asked *Jean Charles Negre*, deputy chief of the FCP foreign policy section, to explain.

INDEED, one may interpret the name of the law as meaning that it concerns merely the duration of the workday. In actual fact though, it pursues a much broader objective by making it possible not only to change the daily, weekly or monthly work schedule in accordance with the employers' interests but also to cut wages. Besides, a reduction of the workweek can result in the worker losing his right to social security under the labour legislation provisions. In case of an arbitrary suspension of production (that's what is called 'technical unemployment'), the employer is no longer bound to pay for the enforced period of idleness.

Our party is explaining that invocation of this law will lead to worse working conditions and a greater degree of exploitation and of the wage and salary earners' direct dependence on the employers' arbitrary decisions. The principal objective is to destroy the collective social guarantees contained in the Labour Code, in collective bargaining agreements for the private sector and in the status of the public and nationalised sector. Essentially, many rights won by the working people in the course of a long and arduous struggle are being eliminated, although these rights are the main means that limit the possibilities of capitalist superexploitation.

The term 'flexible employment' is used above all to conceal an attempt to introduce partial and temporary employment for most working people: this type of employment is not subject to regulation under national agreements on social issues. Besides, the intention is to reduce the number of people earning fixed wages and to change the social security system by granting extensive rights to private companies. Finally, the sphere of application of social legislation as a whole, as an institution ensuring the equality of citizens, will contract.

Our party believes that this law affects not only the working class but all society by promoting polarisation of the latter between a privileged minority and an overwhelming majority of underpaid workers enjoying little social protection and suffering from unstable employment and forced mobility. The project is aimed at bringing about a change in social behaviour by promoting profound individualism, fatalism, fragmentation and social passivity.

This is why the FCP cannot accept the passage of this law. This is why such intense clashes were fought when it was discussed. Our party and the General Confederation of Labour (GCL) have mounted numerous and powerful initiatives to mobilise working people for the struggle against this step of the bourgeoisie. We have thus made it possible for a large part of the country's working class movement to become involved, including trade union associations such as Force Ouvrier and the French Confederation of Christian Workers which also oppose this legislation.

Attempts to 'adjust working hours' to suit the interests of capital were made in the late 1970s. They were frustrated thanks to the vigorous action taken by the FCP and the class-oriented trade union movement. During the negotiations on contractual changes in late 1984 the National Council of French Employers failed to persuade the unions to agree to most of the provisions later incorporated in the bill.

Nevertheless, in the autumn of 1985 the government and the President of France arbitrarily decided to submit this draft legislation to Parliament despite the widespread opposition to it among the working people. For the first time since the end of World War II, a massive offensive was launched against the rights of the working class in the sphere of employment. It is also important to emphasise that the then Socialist government hastened to help the employers.

Under these conditions our party fully discharged its parliamentary duty, the duty of a political organisation upholding the interests of working people. Our party has acted in this way each time an attempt was made to undermine the position of the popular masses, the interests of the country and its national independence. FCP members of parliament submitted many substantive amendments, spoke often in the debate, organised numerous meetings with representatives of different social strata and extensively informed the public of their initiatives, positions and proposals. A major effort was launched in the mass organisations in which Communists were active.¹

Despite the powerful opposition, the parliament endorsed the bill with the help of the anti-democratic tricks built into the 1958 Constitution and of the manoeuvres of the right-wingers and the Socialist Party.² But the formal endorsement of the bill cannot hide the most important fact: the struggle is not over yet; it continues, and its success will depend on the alignment of forces at different levels—from factories to the parliament. The Communists will do all they can to upgrade the mobilisation of the masses and create a situation in which it would be impossible to apply this anti-labour legislation.

¹ In the course of the debate, the FCP parliamentary faction submitted a total of 410 proposals to amend the bill or make it more specific. Simultaneously, the mass struggle against 'flexible employment' gained strength. The GCL circulated a petition which demanded that the bill be withdrawn and which millions of wage and salary earners signed. The GCL-sponsored nation-wide days of protest which featured work stoppages, mass demonstrations and petitions handed to the Prime Minister and members of parliament were the biggest workers' action in France in years.—*Ed.*

² Twice—in the National Assembly and in the Senate—the government invoked a constitutional provision under which the debate can be adjourned and the matter put to the vote.—*Ed.*

In Brief

ALBANIA

A recent Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour has decided to hold the next, Ninth APL Congress on November 3-8, 1986.

ARGENTINA

A festival of the communist newspapers *Qué Pasa* and *Aquí y ahora* was held in Buenos Aires. It culminated in a meeting addressed by General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina Athos Fava.

BELGIUM

A memorial plaque reading 'Karl Marx lived here in 1846-1848' was inaugurated at a ceremony in Brussels at No. 50 Rue Jean d'Ardenne.

BRAZIL

After over 20 years in the underground, the Brazilian Communist Party held a festival of its chief publication, *Vos da Unidade* newspaper, in Sao Paulo, which ended in a big meeting.

FINLAND

A Communist-organised mass festival of labour and peace action in Helsinki was attended by party activists, veterans of the communist and working class movement and members of various public and trade union organisations.

GDR

Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG CC, Chairman of the GDR State Council, spoke at a meeting which drew thousands of people to the inauguration of a Memorial to Marx and Engels in downtown Berlin.

USSR

In Moscow, a CPSU/SDPG working group met in their fourth session to discuss cutbacks in military spending and using part of the money released to help developing nations.

exchange of views, discussion

What High Technology Has in Store for the Working People

Werner Cieslak – GCP Board Presidium
and Secretariat member

Fritz Rische – head of social policy
sector under the GCP Board

The intensive application of new technologies was begun in the FRG in the 1970s, as in all the other industrialised capitalist countries. Microchips and computers made deep inroads into the sphere of production, control, communications, and other sectors of the economy. High technology¹ is being applied above all where that is dictated by the interests of capital, and helps to maximise profits and capture new markets on a national and international scale.

The German Communist Party (GCP) has proposed other alternatives for the use of modern means and instruments of labour in the light of its economic and social analysis of the problem of their development. These proposals are focused on the interests of the industrial workers, office employees, and of the society as a whole, the GCP's assumption being that there is a need to look at the social basis on which the high technology is being created, what it actually means, and how it is applied. Its destructive application and the urge to use it for the purposes of annihilation are not a problem of technology and hardware as such, but of the nature of the social forces using and abusing them, as exemplified by the imperialist powers' arms race policy. The real issue for the Communists and for many of our allies in production and in public life is that the faster the advance of technical progress, the more important it is

to achieve social progress, which means that the revolutionary social process must keep pace with the scientific and technical revolution.

The GCP Programme says that the present level attained in the development of the productive forces marks a new stage in the development of social production, and notes the dual nature of the process under the domination of capital: "In such a highly developed country as the Federal Republic, major scientific and technical achievements create the possibilities for easing and improving human life... but the profit urge of the ruling monopoly capital prevents scientific and technical progress from being used for the benefit of the working people. It increasingly turns technical progress into a scourge: rationalisation reduces the number of jobs, skill standards lose their value, and there is ever greater pollution and destruction of the environment — air, water, soil, wildlife and vegetation. Science and technology are made to serve above all the constant growth of armaments, so being used to pose a threat to human survival."²

The use of microchips in production has long since gone beyond the individual workplace. It is being extended on the national and international scale, making up entire chains and systems. Design offices, production and management are integrated by computers. Integrated administrative complexes involving the most diverse production sections have emerged. Electronic data processing produces important labour economies, as labour organisation and the content of work keep changing. One GCP high technology document says: "The working people's very way of life and social conditions are increasingly affected by these changes."³

Entrepreneurs are motivated for such modernisation mainly by the prospect of boosting output with far fewer people. The redundancy of living labour has become a major social problem, causing acute class clashes over high technology which the capitalists strive to use to maximise profits. Such precedents will be found in history. Even before the advent of microchips, there were technological leaps, as in Henry Ford's introduction of the assembly-line in automobile-making decades ago, a novelty that multiplied labour productivity. It is a system that has an effect on the development of mechanisation to this day.

In this period of protracted crises and especially in view of the growing mass unemployment, high technology tends to acquire a special, social dimension. The consequences of the capitalist rationalisation for the working people were clearly brought out at a technological policy conference held in Bonn from September 12 to 14, 1985, by the Federation of German Trade Unions. A spokesman of the metal-workers' union, Karl-Heinz Jansen, said that this has now become a "massive problem for millions of wage-workers at tens of thousands of enterprises". What did he mean? Let us consider the three key spheres of such rationalisation.

1. The areas of the economy in which the new data-processing facilities can be installed have over 10 million jobs, of which nearly 2 million will be jeopardised over the next 10 years; 1.6 million could be wiped out through the rationalisation of managerial operations, as these are plugged into electronic "data banks"; hundreds of thousands of men and women are faced with a change of working conditions by being switched to a curtailed working day and home-contract work with display facilities.

2. Every new-generation industrial robot operating on a two-shift basis at an enterprise substitutes for an average of four working persons. Some studies indicate that one-half of the 1.2 million assembly-line jobs could be wound up with the introduction of robots and microprocessors.

3. One should expect a massive redundancy of living labour in consequence of the use of modern informatics, for instance, at post offices and in communications.

But that is only a part of the consequences of capitalist rationalisation. Trade union studies and data collected at enterprises show the changes in the labour processes in even greater detail.

Our trade unions have been concentrating their attention for several years on the

results of the application of high technology, summing up the experience in upholding the interests of the industrial workers and employees. The board of the metal-workers' union has published a report on the state of affairs in the metal-working industry with this characteristic title: "They Need Machines, Not People!".⁴

This study was made in 1982 and 1983 at 1,100 enterprises in the metal-working industry employing nearly three million people, i.e., over one-third of the total employed in the industry. Factory councils reported on a spate of diverse measures in rationalising production. Plant-wide data gathering systems, display centres and special dialogue systems were already in operation at more than one-half of the enterprises. Computer-aided design systems, production control, flexible production systems and new robots and assembly automations were being introduced. All of that was done in complete accord with the employers' logic: "The worker must do more and more work in the same period of time. He is being squeezed like a lemon! Rationalisation, as a rule, implies more intense labour, i.e., ever greater expenditure of effort in one and the same period of time."⁵

The redistribution of capital and production capacity within concerns and primarily "optimisation" of their deployment are among the main lines of the monopolies' strategy. Industries which have been traditional for some areas, such as shipbuilding, steel-making, and coal-mining (Ruhr) have either been completely run down or reduced in scale, and this has always gone hand in hand with a shift or elimination of jobs. There has simultaneously been ever faster installation of modern equipment, such as numerical control machines, whose number has annually increased by more than 6,000. Programme control also helps to slash the working time of managerial personnel and to multiply their productivity, which in most cases means an end to some of the jobs.

Technological changes in sections, shops or at entire enterprises, and often well beyond their boundaries, involve, for instance, the factories of subsidiaries, being carried out mainly through ever wider use of computers and to a lesser extent through the installation of new equipment, such as machine tools, assembly-lines, etc. As a result, rationalisation processes become "invisible", although they have an impact on the workers in the form of stress, as machine tools have to be handled over a wider area, and also because of the redundancy of labour-power. This also leads to the establishment of total control over the pace of labour on the behaviour of personnel on the shop floor, the elimination of decentralised forms of labour, and the corresponding responsibility, and to the disappearance of inter-person relations. The study carried out by the metal-workers' union emphasises three points: marked growth in labour productivity can be achieved without major investments in industrial equipment; the establishment of "unmanned factories or shops", which the employers want, is effected most rapidly through the installation of computer systems; they can be introduced at various sections for the purpose of rationalising production and cutting costs.

The aim is often to regroup labour-power, to mobilise all the reserves and to secure maximum returns by hiring younger and more able-bodied persons.

The report says: "The most typical example of labour intensification is greater control over the number of days spent on sick leave and absence from work, as reported by 72 per cent of production councils. Such methods, frequently supplemented with subtle methods of data gathering about personnel, are used in view of the widespread fear of job loss to intensify labour, which often in fact leads to the redundancy of labour. Personnel can be substituted within an enterprise through transfer to other sections. But this can also be done through the labour market with the hiring of new workers, while those with lower output are simultaneously dismissed. The use of industrial robots presents an especial problem."⁶

Car-making is the prime sphere in which robots are now used, mainly in painting and welding, the handling of blanks, removal of finished parts, etc.⁷ We find a similar

picture in other fields, e.g., managerial operations. More and more displays, devices for the processing of texts, and computers are rapidly making office work one of the main objectives of automation. Not a single section, whether in the design office, computing group, store-room, marketing outlet, accounting, text-handling, book-keeping or personnel department, has escaped this process. One should especially stress that managerial operations are being ever more closely integrated with production. Thus, 70 per cent of the costs of product manufacture is now determined at the stage of design. Shifts are also occurring in the skill structure: many types of occupations and trades which used to require trained specialists have been disappearing. At the same time, non-skilled workers, especially foreigners, women and less able-bodied people, have been losing their workplaces, mostly without any prospect of finding another one.

But the changes tend to affect not only the number of workers. High technology produces changes in the structure of employment, the system of state administration, the functioning of repression machines, and every sphere of social ties. Structural shifts are also in evidence within our country's working class. A comparison of data for 1960, 1970 and 1984 shows a re-grouping within the wage-labour army. The number of those whom statistics regard as workers dropped from 13 million to 12.5 million, and then to just over ten million, while the number of employees went up from 5.9 million, to 7.8 million and then to 9.6 million. The category of officials evidenced a similar dynamic: 1.5 million, 1.4 million, and 2.4 million.

The lowest trades are especially threatened in the services, which takes up nearly one-half of all the working women, of whom 24 per cent are employed in production. Such persons tend to be ousted from offices, banks and insurance companies into the category of partially employed workers.

Computers, office mechanisation facilities, and display handling require an ever greater volume of work from personnel. It is indicative that the number of personnel subject to mandatory social insurance dropped from 1982 to 1984 in all the sectors of production.

Research is now under way into the diverse potentialities for using modern types of microprocessors in management, for data gathering and processing, and for instant retrieval of available experience stored in computer memory banks. The prospect is also being analysed for setting up "unmanned" factory shops, offices, and planning and design departments. What then is the future for labour under the capitalist system of production and economic management?

Let us try to find the answer by looking at assembly shop No. 54 at Volkswagen, the car-makers, where industrial robots have been used to automate assembly operations almost completely. It also turns out that before mechanisation and automation of processes had reached the present level, many people were employed in putting together the old Golf model. The installation of new universal and low-cost production systems and techniques has led to a fivefold increase in the number of robots over a few years. Assembly operations in the shop are already mechanised to over 25 per cent, and the figure is expected to go on rising fast, because the new Golf model is adapted to such operations. Ever more preassembly operations can be done by robots. It is planned to increase their number in assembly operations as fast as possible, since such rationalisation will help to do away with roughly one-third of those employed by the year 1990. The Volkswagen management expects a fresh effect from the next generation of robots, which are capable of carrying out fine-tuned assembly operations.

GCP party groups at Volkswagen enterprises have warned the working people of the consequences: not only jobs are at stake. The use of robots in the interests of capital could also step up the sweatshop, make work more monotonous, lead to excessive stress, and reduce demands on skills. The robots' high precision makes quality control and post-assembly operations increasingly superfluous, and this would in itself be

welcome, if it did not lead to a sharpening of the employment problem in the present conditions.⁸

This goes to the heart of the "factories of the future" problem. A business magazine describes these factories as follows: "Here man is superfluous. Electric-driven trolleys move between assembly lines as if moved by invisible hands. Industrial robots stolidly perform the motions for which they have been programmed."⁹

It is the opinion of the director of the Fraunhofer Institute for Production Technology and Automation at Stuttgart that all the factory structures which took shape earlier are largely expected to be dismantled.¹⁰ In the light of the already available technology, the magazine endorses the technological revolution for the benefit of capital: "For the factory, the motive force will spring from the integration of known elements — numerical control machines, industrial robots, automated transport systems. . . And while the production process has up to now consisted of two parallel subsystems — the processing of materials and data — integration holds nothing in store except their combination."¹¹

One should not expect the notions about "unmanned" factories, which are so popular among employers, to be fully realised in the foreseeable future, but a start on the process has already been made. Billions of marks are being invested in the attainment of complete automation, while the human factor largely remains overboard. Employers do not want to increase the working people's leisure time by reducing the length of the working day or to raise wages in view of rising labour productivity.

Another spurt in creating the "factories of the future" is certainly to be expected over the next two or three decades. The major concerns are already preparing for it today, by stepping up the drive for their share of the markets. In the FRG, it means a sharing out of the market between a handful of leading concerns, including the US IBM and Siemens. The extensive concentration on capital — as reflected, for instance, in the merger of AEG and Daimler Benz under the sponsorship of Deutsche Bank — clearly testifies to the activities of West German finance capital. These processes are a component part of the programme for stepping up the production of armaments and also for participation in the US Star Wars plans.

Public opinion has been increasingly focused in recent years on the social consequences of the use of modern technologies. Employers as a rule operate with spurious arguments, and speak, for instance, of "humanising labour", when they mean hard rationalisation. Production councils, trade unions and the political working class movement are faced with new challenge posed by the capitalist use of hardware and technology. There is, first of all, the preservation of jobs.

The Communists want timely information to be made available on the proposed scientific and technical innovations at enterprises and offices. This could be done through an "early warning system", providing the necessary information to the work collective and organisations representing its interests, the production councils in the first place. This is necessary not only for controlling compliance with the law, basic rate agreements, and contracts, but also for the timely descriptions of the measures planned in investments, technology, labour and personnel, with such data being available at the stage of planning so that they could be actually reckoned with. The working people must also have the right to propose alternative solutions on a wide range of issues.

Innovations in technology or labour organisations are designed to reduce the old overloads and to avert new ones so as to slow down assembly line speed, and introduce rest pauses. Basic rate agreements must include measures for protecting the working people from the effects of rationalisation, and should be reviewed as the need arises.

In the context of the FRG, this means the need to work up and renew, in the light of the new conditions, the provisions of the law on the rights and duties of employers and work collectives, and also of the law on the representation of workers and employees on state institutions. The Communists believe that legislation should be passed to

entitle production councils at private and state-owned enterprises, trade union shop stewards, workers and employees to vote — and to prevent, whenever necessary — implementation of measures for rationalising production. Their complaints about job assignments without regard for job classification, about overloads, about worsening working conditions and other shortcomings must be the subject of negotiations and must be taken into account in basic rate agreements.

Together with the trade unions, the GCP rejects, as a matter of principle, computer-aided control over the behaviour of workers and employees, and this also applies to the whole state system of surveillance and shadowing of citizens. Personnel departments at enterprises feed into computer memory banks more than 200 so-called "basic data" per person. Apart from facts relating to the individual's personality, information is also collected on his way of life, membership in various organisations, connections, with the trade union, etc. All of this puts individuals under constant pressure, produces in them a sense of dependence, and induces them to adopt time-serving attitudes.

Organising the struggle against "redundancy" of labour-power presents a serious problem. The GCP and the trade unions believe that the mass unemployment, which has become a permanent feature could be eased through a reduction in working time. The working people's demands in 1984 for a 35-hour week and the subsequent agreement on the establishment of a 38.5-hour week in the metal-working industries, show that it is quite realistic to expect the development of the productive forces to be used socially, although the process has to run in extremely bitter class battles.

The GCP has worked out a programme for the preservation of jobs and the creation of hundreds of thousands of new ones through state investments under democratic control. Our party wants qualitative economic growth ensuring fuller satisfaction of reasonable social and individual requirements. We connect such growth with calls to prevent the predatory use of national resources and utmost efforts to improve and protect the environment. Radical legislation is required to assure young people of apprenticeships to train for a trade, and thereafter to obtain a fitting job.

The transnational and multinational corporations make new hardware and technology serve their profits and power, relying on the objective process in which various types of production interweave, and also on the bourgeois governments' anti-union measures. The GCP wants a sound system of international cooperation and solidarity between working class organisations of the capitalist countries of Europe as a prerequisite for their common struggle. The important thing is to coordinate the work of production councils and trade union shop stewards within the framework of corporations and to counter their divide-and-rule methods with multinational acts of solidarity by the working people. Joint programmes of struggle for the rights of workers and unions are an effective strategy for mobilising the masses to oppose the use of high technology mainly for the benefit of national and transnational concerns. We believe that it is impossible to limit the negative effects of the capitalist use of scientific and technical progress without affecting the capitalist system of profit making, and this means effective participation by the working class and the trade unions in management, nationalisation of all key sectors of industry, the banks, and the insurance companies under democratic control, democratic economic planning, and control of investments.

The advocates of the interests of big business and many champions of "social partnership" claim that unemployment is technically inevitable, and try to divert attention from the sharpening class struggle at the enterprises and offices, by offering a false dilemma: acceptance or rejection of technology as such. The GCP counters such concepts with its own social, democratic and public alternatives. It supports class actions by the trade unions, workers and employees against the tide of capitalist rationalisation, about which Heinz Oskar Vetter, one-time chairman of the Federation of German Trade Unions, said in 1978 the following: "There could well be technical progress with which we would be unable to cope socially at the moment. We should

then refrain from encouraging it until we are able to cope with its social consequences."¹²

The development and all-round strengthening of the working class movement is of crucial importance for success in the progressive use of new hardware and technology. Sound organisation, massiveness, common interests and class consciousness make it a force which can most effectively challenge the power of the concerns and transform social relations. As in the past, so today, there is a need for consistently and independently operating trade unions.

The GCP, a party of the working class advocating socialism and guided by the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, believes that the interests of the working class, the majority of the society, and the use of modern technology can ultimately be harmonised only under socialism. The successes and long-term programmes of the socialist community in the use of the new revolutionary productive forces for the benefit of the society indicate the true way of social progress, for that is the way along which technical innovations can be used comprehensively for the benefit of the society to create working conditions worthy of man, for overcoming the hunger and poverty in the less developed countries, and ensuring a world without wars. All of this refutes the claims that working class organisations are no more than camouflaged "machine wreckers", a claim the capitalists and their subservient mass media make to dupe the public.

But experience shows that all the democratic and peace forces involved in the struggle against the destructive power of monopoly capital should join the working class movement in meeting the new challenge of the burgeoning productive forces. The first thing that now needs to be done is to prevent any further use of science and technology for the extraction of profits from the arms business, for war preparations, and for other anti-humanistic purposes. That is why it is so important to extend and strengthen unity of action by the working class, its organisations and parties, and to set up broad alliances of peace and democratic forces. Acting together, they can bring about a turn in the use of scientific and technical achievements for the benefit of human beings, as a part of the social and democratic turn in the development of the society as a whole.

¹ High technology also includes biotechnology, nuclear technology, opto-electronics, etc.

² *Programm der DKP, beschlossen auf dem Mannheimer Parteitag der DKP in Oktober 1978*, pp. 27-28.

³ *Kommunisten und neue Technologien. Stellungnahme der DKP zur Technologiepolitik*, Neuss, 1985, p. 10.

⁴ See *Maschinen wollen sie-uns Menschen nicht. Rationalisierung in der Metallwirtschaft*. Herausgegeben vom Vorstand der IG Metall, 1983.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁷ The FRG had 8,800 robots on December 31, 1985, as compared with 6,600 in 1984.

⁸ *Arbeitsplätze sichern - Standorte erhalten*. Herausgeber: DKP-Bezirksvorstand Niedersachsen, Hannover, 1985, p. 9.

⁹ *Wirtschaftswoche*, No. 42, October 12, 1984, p. 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹² *Vorwärts*, March 23, 1978, p. 19.

viewpoints

Strategy for Developing Socialism: Leading Element

Aleksei Antonov – CPSU CC member,
deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers,
USSR permanent representative at CMEA

Acceleration of scientific and technical progress was designated by the Economic Summit of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in Moscow, in 1984, as the leading element in the strategy for developing socialism in our day. General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachov, delivering the CC Political Report at the 27th Congress of the party, demonstrated that mastering the achievements of the STR would be crucial in accelerating economic and social processes and in advancing to "an economy having higher level of organisation and effectiveness with comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist relations of production, and a smoothly-functioning economic mechanism".¹

The CPSU's course has been given active support in the decisions of the congresses of several fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and by their leaders, who addressed the CPSU Congress. To conduct this course, it must be organically linked to efforts to consolidate and qualitatively improve economic cooperation, above all realisation of the jointly formulated Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member-Countries Until the Year 2000, which was adopted at the CMEA's 41st (extraordinary) session in late 1985 year.

The main thrust of the programme is transition to concerted scientific and technical policy along priority lines of the community countries' economic development. Henceforth, joint development of the advances in science and technology and large-scale cooperation in every sector of production, especially in the manufacture of high-technology machinery and equipment, will be pivotal to the whole effort of deepening socialist economic integration carried on by the CMEA agencies and member-countries. They face a fundamentally new prospect of further extending and strengthening their mutual economic ties, accelerating the fulfilment of economic and social tasks, and consolidating the inner fabric of their community and its international positions.

The sharp turn by the CMEA countries towards faster scientific and technical progress has been objectively determined by the entire course of their social development and the vital requirements of its present phase.

The fraternal nations have relied on the advantages of socialism and their planned economy, together with close mutual cooperation, to build up a powerful economic potential under the leadership of the communist and workers' parties. From 1971 to 1985, their national income doubled, and industrial output went up by 120 per cent, which means that they grew at roughly 50 per cent faster than the industrialised capitalist countries. Our community now accounts for one-third of the world's industrial output, and leads the world in the extraction of fuel, production of steel, mineral fertilisers and several other indicators (see table).

Output of Key Products by CMEA and EEC

	CMEA			EEC		
	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985
Electric power (bln kwh)	988	1,729	2,038 ¹	860	1,269	1,419
Fuel (in terms of equivalent) mln tons	1,634	2,382	2,658 ¹	459	613	645
Steel (mln tons)	156	210	214	138	129	121
Mineral fertilisers (nutrients) mln tons	20.5	37.1	46.6	15.1	18.5	16.9 ²
Cement (mln tons)	137	195	193	137	147	120
Fabrics (bln sq.m.)	13.0	15.7	16.3 ¹	9.6	10.7	—
Sugar (mln tons)	14.1	20.3	24.4 ¹	8.1	11.8	12.1 ²

¹ Estimate.² 1984.

But there were also signs of some negative trends within the economy of the USSR and some of the fraternal countries: there was a slowdown of growth rates in the economy and mutual trade, and difficulties in the supply of fuel, raw and other materials, and labour resources. It was increasingly evident that no further development could be achieved by the old methods, i.e., an extensive increase in output and involvement of additional resources.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of the communist and workers' parties of the other CMEA countries stressed the need for a resolute break in these unfavourable trends so as to ensure stable and dynamic economic growth through the utmost intensification of production and its drastic transformation on the basis of the latest hardware and technology, essentially entailing radical and truly revolutionary changes in economic development and cooperation between the community countries.

The need for such a change-over also springs from the exacerbating confrontation between socialism and capitalism in the world arena. The centre of gravity in the competition between the two economic and social systems has now shifted into the sphere of science and technology, and the growing attractiveness and international influence of the new society — socialism — will largely depend on the CMEA countries' accelerated progress in this sphere.

The key to the practical solution of all these problems is provided by the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress, as the recent congresses of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries noted. It provides for a concentration of funds and resources on five priority lines: electronisation of the economy, complex automation of production, nuclear energy industry, development of new materials, and bio-technology.

There is, of course, good reason for such a choice. Generalisation of our own and world experience shows that that is where the radical shifts in science, technology and production are now taking place, and it is they that will largely determine the society's development not only for the rest of the century but also well into the next one. Mastery of these lines will enable the socialist community to make a spurt in the leading areas of scientific and technical progress and to build up the material and technical facilities for at least doubling labour productivity and reducing material-intensiveness and energy-intensiveness of products by between one-third and one-half by the year 2000.

Consider the sub-programme for electronisation, whose basic task is to supply every sphere of the economy and everyday life with massive and advanced computer and information facilities, and to computerise production, management, public health, education, science, the consumer services and family households. The development of a new-generation super-computer performing more than 10 billion operations per second will be of tremendous significance for the management of the socialist economy

and for the improvement of plan computations, on the scale of the economy as an integral whole.

Complex automation of technological processes is an effective and reliable means for a drastic increase in labour productivity and product quality. Under socialism, it opens up broad vistas for easing labour and making it creative. Fulfilment of the tasks set in this field will make it possible to avoid mass work in the second and third shifts (while machines are run round the clock), to rid them of monotonous and hazardous operations, and to lease much-needed resources for consumer and social services.

The thrifty use of organic fuel, a highly valuable chemical raw material, is likewise an important problem. That is one of the reasons for which the CMEA countries have been developing their nuclear energy industry at an accelerated pace as a source for supplying the economy with electric power and heat.

Over the next few years, fundamentally new types of materials — those resistant to corrosion, radiation, wear and heat — will be broadly in use in the industries of the CMEA countries, as industrial technologies for their production and treatment are developed. This will help substantially to improve the quality of machinery and equipment, to make them more reliable, less material-intensive, and much more durable.

The faster development of biotechnology will help to create a large number of medical preparations for the prevention and cure of grave diseases, a sharp increase in foodstuff resources, fuller supply of raw materials to the economy, development of new sources of energy, and of waste-free and economically clean lines of production.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress envisaged by the Comprehensive Programme is ultimately aimed to further raise the people's well-being, the working people's living standards, and quality of life, and give them ever wider access to material and spiritual values. We do not regard technical development as an end in itself, but as a means which helps to solve major social problems more rapidly and realise the ideals of socialism. Such is the law of life in the socialist society. The new edition of the CPSU Programme emphasises: "The drive for all-round intensification and rationalisation of production, for its highest efficiency through scientific and technological progress is being organically combined, under the conditions of socialist economic planning, with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, with full employment and steady improvement of all aspects of life."²

The ruling class under capitalism uses technical progress to exploit the working people and maximise profits. The antagonism between labour and capital is aggravated and new ganglions of tension emerge not only in the individual countries but within the capitalist system as a whole. Employment has kept shrinking, as many trades disappear, and "technological unemployment" ensues. The number of unemployed in the capitalist world has gone up from 19.0 million to 30.5 million only in the past five years. The development gap between the "high technology centres" and most of the other countries within the capitalist economic system has simultaneously widened.

The picture is quite different under socialism. The planned and crisis-free economy in the USSR and the other socialist community countries makes it possible to tie in scientific and technical progress with the working people's requirements, to prepare for redundancies in due time.

The socialist states consistently tackle the large-scale problems in improving public education and raising skill standards through their state-run retraining system. Programmes in this field include the training of those who are already employed in the national economy, who have just taken their first job, or who are expected to do so in the near future. Whenever this requires off-the-job training, the costs of mastering the new trade are borne by the state, and the person concerned is paid an average wage. Up to 4 million workers are to be annually retrained over the long term, another 4 million

are to acquire a new trade, and about 20 million will raise their skill standards in the USSR alone. That is two or three times more than the present figure.

The CMEA countries' collective Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress opens up fresh prospects for making good the economic lag of some countries within our integration community and evens up their development levels. Here, socialist cooperation has already scored some major successes. At the time the CMEA was founded (1949), the gap between its European members in national income per head stood at 3 to 1, and in industrial output — at 5 to 1; it has now been reduced, respectively, to 1.5 to 1, and 1.6 to 1, that is, down to one-half and one-third. Bulgaria, Poland and Romania have built an industrial base from the ground up, precisely in the period in which they have been active within the CMEA, and the bulk of their exports now consists of machinery, equipment and other manufactured products, so that they can be classed among the industrialised countries.

The problem of evening up development levels is now being tackled with respect to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia, to whom the Soviet Union has been giving large-scale and disinterested assistance in economic development.

The Comprehensive Programme envisages considerable privileges for the economically less developed members in mastering the collective scientific and technical achievements, including the funding of R and D projects and the use of their results. This epitomises the principles of socialist internationalism and comradely mutual assistance, which are characteristic of the new type of relations between states.

An organic blend of realism and innovation is an important distinctive feature both of the Comprehensive Programme and of the methods used to implement it.

The enemies of socialism spare no effort in trying to convince people that the programme is unrealistic, and that is not the first time they have tried to do so. They used to prophesy the inevitable collapse of socialist industrialisation and the early five-year plans in the USSR; later on, they predicted the Soviet Union's inevitable defeat in the Second World War, and then its incapacity to rehabilitate its war-ruined economy in a short time; they presented "scientific" prognostications to show that it was unrealistic to expect the East European countries to become industrialised, and that socialist economic integration was ineffective and retrograde. All of these inventions have been exploded by life itself, and they are even more groundless now that our community has established solid positions in the world economy.

Roughly five million persons are now employed only in the sphere of science in the CMEA countries, which have one-fifth of the world's patent fund for new hardware and technology, and in 1983 accounted for 43 per cent of the world's inventions portfolio.

The Soviet Union, which is in the van of scientific and technical progress, has the leading role in realising the Comprehensive Programme, and our partners regard this as a reliable guarantee of successful fulfilment of what has been planned. Soviet achievements in space exploration, including the unique studies of Halley's comet by the Vega spaceships, and the orbiting of the Mir (Peace) space-station, have won world-wide acclaim.

The USSR has made the world's most powerful turbogenerator — 1,200 mw — and is now designing another one of 1,500 mw; it has in operation one of the largest fast reactors, the most powerful channel uranium-graphite reactor of 1,500 mw, and it is working on a 2,400 mw reactor. Among our outstanding achievements are also the world's first thermonuclear Tokamak installations with a super-conducting magnetic system, and the world's largest magnetohydrodynamic (MHD) generator, for the time being the world's only industrial facility of this type.

The USSR has pioneered the building of electric-power super-high tension long-distance transmission lines and is now working on a set of equipment for 1,500 kw lines. Soviet scientists have developed highly effective modes for the production of new ceramic and polymer materials with preset properties, unique alloys, new methods of

casting, powder metallurgy, electroslag refining, electron-beam and vacuum processes, multi-layer pipes for gas pipelines, and so on.

A wealth of experience in production, research and technical cooperation involving thousands of enterprises, associations, and R and D organisations has been accumulated within the CMEA framework, where joint efforts are used to realise mammoth projects, many of which cannot be tackled even by the most powerful TNCs. Among these are the erection of gigantic oil and gas pipelines, the integration of national energy grids, and large-scale cooperation in the making of sophisticated hardware.

Multilateral agreements have already been concluded and are being realised on a number of problems provided for by the Comprehensive Programme, for instance, in electronics, computers, and nuclear energy industry. Thus, integrated, multi-purpose computer systems have been developed, including peripherals and software. Their production has been started in most fraternal countries and on the whole helps to meet the community's requirements in modern computer facilities.

Common basic components for electronic hardware have been developed for the unified supply of components for computers and microprocessors, means of communication and transmission of information, robot control systems, other high-tech equipment, and consumer radio sets made in the CMEA countries. Close cooperation has been arranged between more than 50 enterprises and associations turning out complete equipment for nuclear power plants, including that for new-generation fast reactors.

In short, our multifaceted experience in cooperation testifies that our community has real prerequisites for solving the most formidable technical and production problems through its own efforts.

The socialist countries have now got down to a great effort in fulfilling the adopted decisions, and making creative use of the vast potentialities latent in the new economic system, and their powerful producer, research, technological, intellectual and personnel potential. Under a joint decision by the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers, Soviet organisations have the duty to take an active part in this effort. Mikhail Gorbachov has stressed that our party regards implementation of the Comprehensive Programme as a political task for the whole party and the state.

The priority pace of scientific and technical progress is reflected in the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development for the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, which were approved by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. They set the task of steadily implementing the Comprehensive Programme. Relevant assignments will also be written into the current five-year plan. Similar plan documents are now being adopted in the other states of our community, with special emphasis on the rapid introduction of joint projects, and the engineering of their results through specialisation and co-production on a scale that would meet the requirements of the community in new hardware and technology.

The urge to blend science and production, and to arrange cooperation for the whole cycle — from the origination of a scientific idea to its materialisation in concrete machinery, equipment, instruments and other items, that is, to its embodiment in life — runs right through the Comprehensive Programme. The CMEA countries have agreed in advance, before projects are completed, to concert efforts in their practical use, to build up the necessary capacities, gear production and arrange for mutual delivery of the new products.

Realisation of the Comprehensive Programme is organised in a new way. In the past, agreements and contracts containing the concrete obligations of the parties and the terms of cooperation were prepared mainly by the central administrative organs. Now, the actual performers — the research, technological and economic organisations — take an active part in this work from the outset.

A new form of cooperation is being applied in CMEA practice on a large scale for the

first time: head organisations responsible for the elaboration of each of the 93 research and technological problems of the Comprehensive Programme have been designated from among the most authoritative research centres, and science-and-production associations, which have the duty to coordinate work throughout the whole cycle: from research to the production of sample batches of the new product.

Cooperation between these head organisations and their partners in other community countries is based on the extensive development of direct ties between them: they are empowered to conclude economic agreements and contracts with each other to implement projects, and transfer to each other scientific and technical documentation, prototypes, instruments, equipment and material. This helps to create the conditions for close research and producer cooperation on the level of the basic economic units and to accelerate works in fulfilment of the programme.

Progressive forms for the pooling of efforts, like the establishment of international research and production associations, joint research centres, laboratories, design offices and producer enterprises are also to be actively developed. Several joint organisations have already been set up: two Soviet-Bulgarian science-and-production associations in machinetool-building have been in operation since October 1985; an international science-and-production association, Interrobot, has been established, and a number of other similar projects are now under consideration.

The CMEA has been modifying its activity in the light of the new tasks, aiming above all to organise fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme and the understandings reached during the economic summit in Moscow. The CMEA is to have a greater role in the collective elaboration and solution of the key problems in the fraternal countries' economic development and cooperation, to impart the necessary dynamism to its work, and improve its style and methods.

We intend firmly to conduct the line of the 27th Congress of the CPSU in realising the programme: there has to be less administration by fiat, all manner of committee and commission meetings should be reduced, and more attention given to economic instruments, initiatives, social enterprise, and the involvement of work collectives in this process.

Such, we believe, is the main prerequisite for the CEA countries' successful implementation of their joint programme.

The purposes for which the fruits of the STR are used are among the main issues in the ongoing class struggle. Science and technology already have the power to provide a cornucopia on the Earth and to create the material conditions for the flourishing of the society and the individual's harmonious development. Unfortunately, that is being impeded by the policy of imperialism and its arms race, in particular the notorious Strategic Defence Initiative, which is aimed to transfer the arms race into space.

Something like \$5 billion is to go into the Star Wars programme in 1987 alone. In the eight years of research for the sole purpose of leaping forward in every type of weapons — nuclear and conventional, space, beam, kinetic, and others — the United States is to spend \$70 billion, i.e., almost five times more than it did on the Manhattan Project under which the first A-bomb was developed.

Some bourgeois politicians claim that, by contrast, the West European Eureka programme for technological cooperation has nothing in common with Reagan's "initiative" in militarising space, and that R and D under that programme are purely peaceful and humanistic. But the Eureka sponsors admit that the results of their joint research could be used for military purposes.

The CMEA countries' collective Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress sets totally different tasks. It has humanistic goals and is not aimed against the interests of any nation or state. It is a document designed for the use of the best achievements of the STR for the benefit of the peoples, for wiping out hunger and disease, poverty and illiteracy, and economic backwardness throughout the world.

The socialist community countries take a resolute stand for the broadest international cooperation for the peaceful uses of the revolutionary advances in science, hardware, technology and production, for averting the arms race in space and ending it on the Earth, and for disarmament. They are prepared to coordinate their efforts in realising the programme with the activity of outer countries in accelerating scientific and technical progress for peaceful purposes on an equitable and mutually acceptable basis.

The Soviet Union and the CMEA states have been rendering all-round economic, scientific and technical assistance to less developed countries. We believe that, as the programme is realised and as new intricate scientific and technical problems are solved, such cooperation in various economic fields is bound steadily to grow, so helping the Third World peoples to develop high-tech lines of production, to advance their science and technology, and to become more independent of the leading imperialist powers, which keep using trade and economic relations for their neocolonialist purposes.

The achievements of science and engineering in the socialist world create a good basis for deepening mutually advantageous cooperation with the capitalist countries. Trade, economic, scientific and technical relations have been successfully developed with those of them which are prepared to do so on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis, and the record shows that these are fruitful for both parties. The combination of our technology with the experience of leading Western firms has in many cases helped to develop fundamentally new types of technology and equipment. Such relations are also important in providing jobs for hundreds of thousands of working people in the capitalist countries.

But these potentialities can be translated into reality only if the US administration and its allies change their attitude. Meanwhile, they have been further tightening up their control over East-West cooperation.

It used to run in an atmosphere of detente in the 1970s, but nowadays the background is one of sharply aggravating international tensions. Imperialism has repeatedly used all manner of restrictions, sanctions and embargoes in its efforts to slow down the socialist community's development and to isolate it from the world high-technology market. It is Washington that has organised these acts. The policy of seeking to exact social revenge, and applying the methods of economic and technological warfare trample the elementary principles of relations between states. That is why the CMEA countries have been developing their socialist economic integration in such a way as to make themselves technically and economically more invulnerable to the hostile acts of imperialism and to protect themselves from the influence of economic crises and other negative processes.

That does not at all imply an urge for self-sufficiency. It is not we who invented COCOM, the NATO-sponsored international organisation of capitalist states seeking to restrict trade with the socialist world to obsolete goods and technologies. Such an approach is totally unacceptable in relations between sovereign states, and it is a "division of labour" which we shall never accept.

It is altogether absurd to claim that trade with the socialist countries is a "one-way street" for the movement of high technology without which our plans are allegedly doomed to fail. Goods made with the use of Western equipment, for instance, are an insignificant percentage of the USSR's gross industrial output. Business circles have seen for themselves again and again that the socialist community has all it takes to surmount any discrimination and any attempts to hamper its development and participation in international economic cooperation.

Thirty years ago, the Soviet Union put at the disposal of scientists throughout the world its research into controlled thermonuclear synthesis, thereby inaugurating the development of international cooperation in technologies helping to find a radical solution for the world's energy problem. With the participation of specialists from

various countries, and on the USSR's initiative, work has been started on a project for an international thermonuclear reactor on the basis of the Soviet Tokamak system. Our recent proposal to invigorate this important work has met with a positive response. It is the opinion of scientists that the first such reactor could well be started before the end of the century.

Our country put before the United Nations a full-scale programme for peaceful cooperation in space, and the establishment of a world-wide organisation to coordinate efforts in the exploration and development of the Universe. This implies basic research and the application of its results in geology, medicine, material science, climatology and the environment; the creation of global satellite communications systems and remote probes of the Earth; the use of new space hardware for the benefit of all the nations, including large orbital research stations, various types of manned spaceships, and industrialisation of near-earth space in the long run.

The Soviet Union's initiatives, set forth in its well-known January 15, 1986 Statement, and reaffirmed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, which proposed the establishment of a comprehensive international security system and formulated its principles, are designed for highly humanistic and peaceful purposes. They are comprehensive and complex, and for the first time link up all the aspects of the modern concept of international security: military, political, economic and humanitarian.

That is the latest word in world politics, giving great scope for constructive activity by all governments, parties, public bodies and movements concerned with mankind's destinies, thereby creating the conditions for direct and regular exchanges of views — both bilateral and multilateral — between the leaders of the countries of the world community.

The socialist community countries have no illusions and do not close their eyes to the dangerous state of the world when putting forward these novel ideas, principles, plans and proposals, which are aimed to ensure security and cooperation of the peoples. The consistent and purposeful activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state creates the prerequisites for improving the situation in the world. By contrast, the militaristic and aggressive forces of imperialism seek to perpetuate the confrontation, to whip up the arms race, and to impede any improvement in the international situation in every possible way. But this dangerous policy now has a powerful counterweight: the great potential of peace, reason and goodwill of the fraternal countries and of all the other forces fighting for peace and social progress.

¹ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 28.

² *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (A New Edition)*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, p. 28.

Brief Commentary

ACT OF CRIMINAL 'NEOGLOBALISM' AGAINST LIBYA

Independent Libya has again been the target of US imperialist aggressive actions. During provocative war games off the Libyan shores in the Gulf of Sidra in late March US warships and planes attacked several Libyan targets. In mid-April, on personal orders from President Ronald Reagan, US bombers took off under the cover of night from bases in Britain and aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean to devastate Libyan residential areas. People were jostled out of their sleep by bomb explosions and the rumble of crushing buildings. Many, among them women and children, died, never knowing what had happened.

By this gangster raid against a sovereign Arab state the US administration has again

shown the whole world that rabid chauvinism, violence and state terrorism are now an element of its policy. Peoples could once again clearly see the reasons behind the presence of US naval armadas thousands of miles away from their shores and the network of Pentagon bases which have barbwired the entire globe. Their threat to the forces of freedom and social progress, those who want real independence and refuse to act as imperialist puppets, this time materialised in a barbaric air raid using the latest in the means of destruction.

The aggression against Libya is an insolent challenge to world public opinion. The planet has been swept by a spate of protest. Ordinary people and statesmen, political organisations and mass movements have condemned the banditry of the US military, and the readiness of US imperialist quarters to act world-wide as they please, flouting international law, elementary norms of humanity, and the responsibility of this major power for the world's future. The extraordinary session of the non-aligned movement coordination bureau described the US actions as a threat to universal security. A delegation of non-aligned states left for Tripoli and reaffirmed there its solidarity with the Libyan people, just as did participants in demonstrations in many countries of the Arab World which had been agitated by a new act of US aggression.

Characteristically, most US allies, and even countries ordinarily following the US lead, have dissociated themselves from this act of aggression. France, Spain and Italy had closed their air space to the US bombers bound for Libya, and Cairo refused, under domestic pressure, to use its army in hostile actions against an Arab neighbour. The Greek ruling party, PASOK, sharply denounced the act of armed violence against Libya.

Among the few who unreservedly abetted the monstrosity were Britain, which obsequiously allowed the use of its territory as a springboard for the attack, and Israel, which has quite many such terrorist acts to its credit — atrocities against people in occupied Arab lands, banditry in Lebanon, a bombing raid on a nuclear research centre in Iraq, an air attack on Tunisia, and the seizure of a Libyan passenger plane, to name just a few. But even most US NATO partners later sought to justify, if not the form, then the essence of anti-Libyan actions only under overt US pressure and in deference to Atlantic solidarity.

The excuse for the attack against Libya was its alleged complicity in a series of terrorist acts made shortly before. Surely, no evidence was forthcoming, which was lamely explained by the impossibility to "disclose sources of information". Washington ignored, too, official statements by the Libyan leadership flatly denying complicity in actions it had no part in. The US reaction is quite clear — what was needed was a pretext to swing the state terrorism machine into top gear to "teach a lesson" to a small but freedom-loving nation reluctant to knuckle down to overseas diktat, and, in the process, to browbeat other liberated countries daring enough to conduct an independent anti-imperialist line.

The present US administration, more than any of its predecessors, is bent on checking historical progress and matching its social revenge idea with action. It is obsessively nostalgic of long-passed times of "gunboat diplomacy" or the American "Wild West", where the fist and the Colt were the law, laid down by the sheriff, who passed the sentence and took care of its execution.

Pretensions to act as some "supreme arbiter" in world affairs and decide who is "right" or "wrong" are even couched in the form of official documents. Not long ago the US Senate passed a bill on "punishing terrorist crimes" against US citizens abroad. Actively backed by the White House, the bill "authorises" it to persecute and punish persons involved in terrorist acts of murder of or attack on US citizens abroad, as well as "accomplices in crimes", irrespective of where they are and where the crime occurred. How this is to be done was clearly shown even before the attack on Libya — just remember the interception of an Egyptian aircraft last autumn by US jets, which made the whole world indignant.

US Secretary of State George Schultz went even further. "A purely passive defense," he claimed, "does not provide enough of a deterrent to terrorism and the states that sponsor it. It is time to think long, hard and seriously about more active means of defense — defense through preventive or pre-emptive actions against terrorist groups *before* they strike."¹

This view was reflected in national security directive No. 138 approved by President Reagan in the spring of 1984. This is essentially an attempt to make a general practice of international gangsterism and legitimise state terrorism.

International law sees such actions as a most grave international crime. Such is the gist of Resolution No. 39/159 passed by the UN General Assembly in late 1984. It condemns the policy and practice of terrorism against states and forbids actions to change or subvert political systems in other countries and destabilise and topple their governments under whatever pretext. But the US not just openly issues calls to overthrow Libyan leader Moamer Qadhafi but even to physically eliminate him. Edwin Feulner, who heads the Heritage Foundation closely linked with the Reagan administration, demanded from it assurances that it was willing to do so. It seems the US power structure is convinced that if its wishes disagree with international law, so much the worse for it.

While styling themselves as "fighters against terrorism", overseas officials are certainly aware that effective resistance to it necessarily requires strict compliance with generally recognised international norms and cooperation by all interested states. Such has always been the consistent stand of the socialist countries, specifically the Soviet Union. The 27th CPSU Congress emphasised that "the USSR rejects terrorism in principle and is prepared to cooperate actively with other states in order to uproot it".²

Evidently, this is precisely what goes against the US grain. It is no secret that the US is a haven for thousands of former Nazis and their accomplices guilty of mass executions of innocent people; air pirates like the Brazinskases who hijacked a Soviet plane and killed an airhostess; numerous terrorist gangs ranging from the Jewish Defense League to Cuban "gusanos" and Nicaraguan "contras", from Sikh extremists who planted a bomb in an Indian airliner to dushmans and thugs from the UNITA organisation committing atrocities in Afghanistan and Angola.

It is easy to see that the "global" policy of the US administration is perceptibly shaped by purely domestic factors which thereby influence, too, the international situation. US leaders, more than their counterparts in any other capitalist nation, are primarily guided by national chauvinism and self-serving political motives, sacrificing the interests of their own people for their sake, let alone the interests of other peoples. They will go to infinite lengths to get election votes to come to power and stay there — risk any adventures and illegal actions, spurn the world public and even endanger the security of their own country and that of the whole planet. Such people are aptly described as being prepared to burn down their own home to make themselves an omlet.

Reactionary mass media are working hard to whitewash imperialist aggressive actions. Americans are being fed spurious stereotypes, like the one that Libya is allegedly a source of international terrorism, and, admittedly, quite a few of them are swallowing them. An opinion survey held shortly before the gangster attack on Libyan towns showed that most Americans, duped by government chauvinistic propaganda, were in favour of such a military action.³ This is how people are brainwashed and cheated.

What adds to Washington's cynicism is the fact that aggression is practised against small countries which, militarily, are obviously no match for the United States. Just remember the invasion of the tiny island of Grenada or the shelling of defenceless Lebanese villages by the *New Jersey* battleship from a safe distance. Now being presented as a big military "success" is a direct aggression against Libya, a small Arab state of less than 4,000,000 people, the murder of its civilians and devastation of its

towns. Such "victories" leave their imperialist architects intoxicated with their own power to show "firmness and determination" towards those who venture an independent political line disagreeing with US recipes.

Also, this flexing of muscles is clearly a signal to someone else. This past March President Reagan sent a message to Congress pretentiously titled "Freedom, Regional Security and Global Peace" and containing basic elements of a "neoglobalism" concept, also known as the Reagan Doctrine, which has been recently taking shape. In a nutshell, it declares the "right" and even "obligation" of the US, "in case of emergency", to use force and militarily intervene in any part of the globe, its chief aim being, as Reagan sees it, "to convince the Soviet Union that the policies on which it embarked in the '70s cannot work".⁴

This proves that one of the most menacing aspects of "neoglobalism" is the attitude of the US imperialist quarters to the Soviet Union, hallmarked by rabid anti-Sovietism and all-out effort at military superiority over it. The Pentagon views the whole world as a potential military theatre and individual nations as potential US arms depots and barracks.

The White House would like us to believe that what has produced "hot spots" on this planet is Soviet policy in Asia, Africa and Latin America and that its continuation in Third World countries precludes any agreement on cardinal problems of Soviet-American relations and the entire world situation. In building up its aggressive posture and deliberately escalating tensions throughout the world, the US administration is apparently looking for something to excuse its responsibility for lack of progress on chief negotiating issues with the Soviet Union — security, disarmament and ways to avert nuclear war.

The inhuman and criminal aggression against Libya, a totally unjustifiable act, is one in a series of US provocations mounted in response to Soviet dynamic peace initiatives. Their purpose is clear — to disrupt the search for ways to improve the world situation and reverse positive trends and hopes generated by the Geneva summit. This is a deliberate move to worsen Soviet-American relations.

The hard facts indicate that the "neoglobalism" is a policy of aggression, inciting regional conflicts, perpetuating confrontation, and brinkmanship. What makes it global is that it threatens all peoples and nations without exception; its added dimension is that the mounting tensions are accompanied by a rampant arms race and the swelling of already mammoth nuclear stockpiles. Indifference towards this policy, to say nothing of connivance or collaboration with it, can plunge world relations into disarray with unpredictable repercussions. The Libyan people's fortitude, vigorous moves by its friends, primarily the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the unequivocal denunciation of the state terrorism act by the international community frustrated the plans of those who had stage-managed it. The gangsters found themselves in isolation, but imperialism has many more such dangerous tricks up its sleeve.

There is no time to lose. We should reactivate the mechanism of human self-preservation and check the progress of those who irresponsibly try to manipulate the lives of millions of people, contrary to present realities and common sense. As we see it, Communists and all democratic and peace-loving forces in the world could do a lot in this respect.

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¹ *Time*, April 14, 1986, p. 30.

² Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p. 79.

³ *U.S. News & World Report*, April 7, 1986, p. 20.

⁴ *International Herald Tribune*, April 12-13, 1986.

In Bondage to Insatiable Usurers

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The capitalist world is faced with the problem of the external debt of developing countries, which is very hard to solve in purely economic terms.¹ Their debt totals about \$1 trillion and is much higher than the limit of payability. These countries are now trying to shake off the heavy burden of the debt as they search for ways and means of curing their economies. Monopoly capital's International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) offer remedies, yet it is precisely their activity that is to blame in great measure for the present plight of many countries.

Both the IMF and the World Bank admit the gravity of the present situation. It was not accidental that at their latest joint annual meeting (Seoul, 1985) they gave promises of granting new credits and advanced "economic stabilisation" programmes. On the other hand, they voiced objections to the "radical methods" of running the economy used by some developing countries. These are expected to pursue an economic policy convenient for imperialist powers, transnational monopolies and military business.

While recommendations of this nature disappoint more and more those whom they are meant for, both institutions mentioned above insist on continuing a ruinous policy. They oppose new trends and would like to secure compromises benefiting them and to silence the discontented. They impose on countries dependent on imperialism remedies making for a bigger debt.

The economies of certain countries alleged to achieve success by acting on the recommendations they get are held up as "exemplary". Turkey was described as a "model" in this respect at the Washington meeting of the IMF and the World Bank in 1984. But when its delegate met with his Brazilian colleague, the latter said: "We have been told that Brazil was described to you as an example."²

At last year's meeting, Turkey was again extolled as an "exemplary" country whose economy is allegedly recovering by taking the advice given. Alden W. Clausen, President of the World Bank, said that the economic growth rate had increased in countries where economic activity in the private and the public sector alike was allowed freedom, as in Turkey. How true is that? Can the economic policy of our regime serve as a model?

Remedies Aggravating the Illness

Turkey has been affiliated to the IMF since 1947, and throughout the past years the Fund has been trying hard to influence the development of our country. An acute crisis in 1978-1979 enabled the IMF to assume control of the situation in Turkey. At that time, our country was short of foreign exchange for various reasons, such as increased oil prices. The trade and balance-of-payments deficit was up. Unable to pay off its debts, Turkey met nearly all the demands of the IMF. Its reactionary government, which early in 1980 had accepted certain measures known as the January 24 Decisions, was removed from power in a military coup. But the military regime which took over pursued the same policy even more obediently.

The IMF is always willing to offer its members a programme for a "way out of economic crisis". The starting point of the programme is the balance of payments, seen as an indicator of the depth of the crisis. Where the balance is deteriorating, the Fund considers it a sign of trouble and imposes its remedies to "stabilise" the situation.

Foremost among the measures offered to Turkey was the devaluation of the lira, said to be a sure means of gradually improving the situation. The lira was devaluated more than once after 1980. As of March 25, 1986 one dollar equalled 657 liras against

47 liras in 1980. Although our country succeeded in increasing exports, its balance of payments showed no substantial improvement, and the deficit still runs to several billion dollars.

Another important measure offered by IMF experts is to limit consumption, made out to be the main source of inflation. To this end, Turkey was advised to keep wages and salaries below the level of inflation, and it did so. As a result, real wages fell by more than half against 1980. Between 1980 and 1984, their share in production outlays dropped from 14.7 to 9 per cent in the private capitalist sector and from 15.1 to 8.2 per cent in the public sector. Income distribution in our country can only be analysed approximatively, for the State Statistics Institution keeps information on it secret. Nevertheless, all experts' estimates indicate that in the 1973-1983 period the share of 80 per cent of the population in the national income decreased noticeably while that of the highest-income group, or 10 per cent of the population, went up considerably.³

The IMF and Turkish advocates of its remedies claim that lower pay makes it possible to cut export costs. From what they say, limited consumption and a reduction in sales on the home market will compel manufacturers to export their output and this, in turn, will improve the balance of payments. Nevertheless, production costs are not diminishing, nor has inflation been stopped. At the same time, curbs on consumption strongly affect the living standards of wage and salary earners without helping in the least to improve the economic situation.

Cuts in government spending are another measure recommended by the IMF. True, they do not affect appropriations for defence and armaments, which increased by 15 per cent last year. What is meant is primarily cuts in investments in the public sector and a reduction of the share of industrial investments. They averaged 27 or 28 per cent before the adoption of the January 24 Decisions and dropped to 17.6 per cent in 1984. One result of this was the suspension of a number of construction projects. It is only some industries, chiefly the power industry and telecommunications, that went on expanding. The 1986 budget provides for a 20 per cent cut in appropriations for economic development.

Revealingly, this situation causes concern even to ex-premier Suleyman Demirel, who headed the government when it adopted the January 24 Decisions. "If Turkey stops industrialisation," he said in August 1985, "I think it will be tragic. Present-day Turkey cannot be considered an industrial country. What do we have today? Four million tons of steel, 30 billion kwh of electricity, 25-26 million tons of coal, 12-13 million tons of wheat. These indices do not make Turkey an industrial country. It must go on with industrialisation."⁴

The social needs of the population are a further sphere affected as a consequence of the adoption of measures recommended by the IMF. Government expenditures for health care, education and social security have gone down by a substantial margin. Whereas formerly medical service for working people covered by the system of sickness benefit was fully paid by the state, today patients must pay 20 per cent of the costs. Higher education was free in the past but now students must pay tuition fees.

Lately the IMF-the World Bank duo has shown particular zeal in pursuing a strategic goal of international monopoly capital, which is to involve developing countries in the world capitalist economy as deeply as possible. Hence the recommendation to abolish the public sector by privatising it or at least to facilitate its infiltration by transnationals. This sector holds an important place in Turkey, where it accounts for 40 per cent of all industrial production. Steel, energy, oil, and chemicals are under state control. State enterprises are much more powerful in terms of concentration of production and capital as well as technical standards. It is this sector that helps balance diverse economic fields and contributes to further extended reproduction. Efforts aimed at running it down or transferring it to private capitalists or transnationals have not been fruitless. In line with recommendations of the IMF and the World Bank, a US firm is now drafting a plan for the liquidation of a number of

state-owned industrial enterprises. The World Bank has granted a \$2 million credit for the purpose.

The demand that developing countries should repeal protectionist measures, which safeguard their economies to a degree, serves the same strategic goal, if in a somewhat different way. To meet this demand would mean deteriorating the situation still further and turning our country into an imperialist colony. It is perfectly clear that the industries of countries such as Turkey cannot develop on their own without applying protectionist measures. They can exist only if the home market is safeguarded. Competition in any form makes their situation difficult, and to abolish protectionist measures would spell disaster. As for going to the foreign market, it can only be done with ample support from the state.

Turkish realities bear out these conclusions. Many enterprises became bankrupt after protectionist measures had been eased. For this reason alone, roughly 10 per cent of the employed lost their jobs. Non-payment of debts hit the banks, and some of them closed down. Numerous companies merged, and this strengthened the positions of big monopolies. Enterprises geared chiefly to supplying the home market proved unable to adapt to the new situation. Many of them asked the state to make up for their losses, and it allocated substantial funds to some companies and certain privileged export firms.

Bitter Experience

The economic policy determined by recommendation of the IMF and the World Bank is nearly six years old. We have said that the Turkish government which adopted it was brought down in a military coup. But Turgut Ozal, then under-secretary at the Prime Minister's office, became vice-premier because he enjoyed the full confidence and support of international and US capitalists, and now he heads the government. It was he who did a good deal for the realisation of this policy and is largely responsible for the present situation.

The economic development model imposed on Turkey has turned out to be completely unworkable. The balance of payments has not improved in spite of the flow of foreign exchange. The external debt went up from \$17.3 billion in 1979 to \$25 billion early in 1985. The biggest leap came under the Ozal cabinet, which repeatedly solicited foreign loans. In 1984 alone, the debt grew by \$3 billion.

These facts invite the question: Could Turkey have raised its economy by carrying out the "stabilisation measures" of the IMF? Irrespective of differences in political views, many Turks feel that there is no coping with the crisis through this kind of policy because it leaves the main causes of the crisis intact and leads to a general deterioration in every sphere of life.

In 1980, the economy went through a slump, with output falling by 1.1 per cent. Later years saw a revival but it was slight. Last year output was down again. With the population growing by one million per year, we are witnessing, in effect, protracted economic stagnation. Unemployment has been growing by 300,000 per year and affects four million people today. Many new workers who replace the dismissed are paid lower wages than their predecessors. However, the monopolies are satisfied with the economic policy of the past six years. Research has shown 500 leading companies to have made 55 per cent more profit in 1984 notwithstanding inflation.⁵ Small wonder that the monopolies support the regime's current policy. As inflation unquestionably benefits them, they say outright that they would not like its rate to drop below 40 per cent.

Repeated devaluations of the lira led to a substantial increase in exports at lower prices. At the same time, however, there was some increase in imports meeting the requirements of industry. Besides, the gradual abolition of protectionist measures was accompanied by the import of luxuries to meet the demand of the bourgeoisie. As a result, the foreign trade deficit showed no decrease; it tells above all on relations with

West European countries and the United States. After easing its protectionist measures, Turkey came up against the protectionist barriers of the United States and the Common Market, which charge high duties for its textiles.

These facts shed light on the unfairness of the criteria applied by the IMF and the World Bank. What they consider important is the balance of payments and the ability of the country concerned to pay its debts. This leaves out the key problem of who shoulders the chief burden.

Both institutions are of the opinion that Turkey can regularly pay principal and interest on its external debt, and therefore they allow it to seek new loans. They hold it up as an example for "recalcitrant" countries which declare that they cannot repay their external debt. If it is a question of paying off old loans by obtaining new ones, the problem may be regarded as solved. But this is no way to end the economic crisis. This "solution" only meets the interests of a small handful of speculators and monopoly bosses cooperating with imperialism. Besides, the results of the years-long hunt for new loans to repay earlier debts make themselves felt more and more. In 1985, Turkey paid foreign creditors \$3.5 billion, including \$1.5 billion in interest. Last year its debt stood at roughly \$25 billion, which means that the debt, far from declining, has been mounting in recent years. Loans are granted on tougher terms and for shorter periods. The share of short-term loans in the total amount of the external debt is 22 per cent now against 12 per cent three years ago.

It is indicative that in 1985 the International Finance Corporation assessed Turkey's solvency as unsatisfactory and classed our country among the ten countries owing the biggest external debt.⁶ Turkey's balance of payments tends again to worsen sharply, nor does inflation drop below 50 per cent. This is an obvious indication of the hypocrisy of the IMF and the World Bank in representing Turkey as an "exemplary" country.

What is in store for our country if the government abides by its IMF-imposed policy? Official forecasts say that in the 1985-1989 period the total amount needed to service debts and pay for imports will rise to \$89,100 million while foreign exchange earnings will only total \$71,400 million. This means that to meet the deficit, the government will have to solicit new loans amounting to \$17,700 million.

The Communist Party of Turkey believes that rather than seeking new loans and running into new debts, Turkey should stop servicing its external debt for a time. Otherwise our country will be back where it was in 1978 and find itself once again among the countries which implore the IMF to cancel the old debt and grant further loans.

It is not only the economy that is strongly injured by the policy based on recommendations of international imperialist usurers. The military coup led to the strangling of democracy. All protest is brutally crushed. The country's military political dependence on US imperialism has increased. General Dynamics, a company representing the US military-industrial complex, has secured a highly profitable contract for the assembly of F-16 fighters in our country. The Turkish side will have to invest \$4 billion in the project. The government has set up a special fund to bolster the arms industry and introduced new taxes to obtain the requisite means. In this way, Turkey is becoming involved in the arms race in the interests of the United States and NATO. And while the flow of foreign investments is small, many banks, including US and Arab ones, which are closely associated with transnationals, have opened subsidiaries in our country. It follows that the six years since Turkey began to implement directives of the IMF and the World Bank have been a period of savage suppression of democracy, preservation of backward economic structures, and increasing dependence on imperialism, primarily US imperialism.

Needed: A New Policy

A wide spectrum of political forces ranging from Left Unity, an alignment formed by

six left parties, including the CPT, to the reformist Social Democrat Populist Party and even the Correct Way Party led in fact by ex-premier Demirel, take a common stand on the current economic policy. They recognise the need to reveal its failure and to evolve an alternative economic programme. All of the country's anti-dictatorial forces consider that implementation of this programme should lead to an expansion of the home market and not to its restriction, to rapid economic growth and industrialisation and not to curbs on investment and production.

True, these forces approach the provisions of the programme differently due to their class positions and political views. There are those who hope that the IMF can be persuaded to agree to a different policy or to accept measures meeting the nation's interests. These are unrealistic hopes. One cannot treat the problem of defining economic policy as purely technical, ignoring the influence of imperialism, which operates through its international financial organisations.

The CPT and Left Unity consider that in evolving an economic alternative, it is necessary not to make concessions but to seek agreement on the pursuit of an anti-imperialist line, the restriction of monopoly activity and steps to improve the working people's standard of living. These are the points forming the basis for an alternative economic policy, which should be carried on without directives from the IMF or the World Bank.

Having revealed the economic picture of Turkey, we can answer the World Bank President Clausen's question whether Turkey is an example for developing countries. Yes, it is an example but an entirely different one, for the case of Turkey shows these countries the economic policy they should *not* pursue.

¹ For more details, see "Financial Instrument of Neocolonialism" in this issue.—Ed.

² *Cumhuriyet*, September 27, 1985.

³ See S. Kesim, "A Study on Distribution of Incomes", *Düşün* (monthly journal), September 1985.

⁴ *Cumhuriyet*, August 25, 1985.

⁵ See *A Research of the Chamber of Industry of Istanbul on 500 Big Industrial Enterprises*, Istanbul, 1985.

⁶ *Milliyet*, July 27, 1985.

Growing Confrontation The Struggle for Joint Economic Management in Peru

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The working people of Peru have scored important gains in the course of the class struggle, among them the right both to joint management and to self-management of enterprises.

As in other Latin American countries, cooperatives in Peru first appeared at the dawn of the century. They were set up by trade unions and peasant and artisan communities, and were mostly consumer, credit and housing co-ops, with just a few producer co-ops, i.e., self-managed enterprises in the full sense of the term.

Transport co-ops first appeared in the 1950s and 1960s on the basis of bankrupt transport companies whose working people were usually reimbursed for outstanding social benefits and wages with battered buses and equipment. In some cases, the workers and employees objected to the closure of allegedly bankrupt industrial and commercial enterprises, took them over and demanded their reopening on a

cooperative basis by the personnel.

The situation changed when the progressive patriotic government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) effected deep economic and social transformations with the establishment of agricultural producer co-ops, labour communities on private and state-owned industrial enterprises, and so-called social-property enterprises. Although most of these gains were then effectively invalidated by the governments of General Francisco Morales Bermudes (1975-1980) and President Fernando Belaunde Terry (1980-1985), the experience left a deep imprint on the minds of the working class in Peru, which is why it has kept fighting for the restoration and extension of the rights it had won.

Under the 1969 agrarian reform act, the large landed estates were expropriated and parcelled out to the peasants, and this created the conditions for their association in cooperatives. Large mechanised farms, constituting economic production units, were handed over to the workers and employees permanently employed on these in the form of agricultural producer co-ops (APCs), with the land and other means of production and equipment obtained as property by the working people to be redeemed in instalments over a period of twenty years.

Credits were made available to the APCs by the state. Wages and social benefits were increased, the living standards of cooperative members rose, and there was a growing demand for consumer goods. In some districts, the APCs became the major producers of some types of products. For example, the sugar agro-industrial co-ops, for all practical purposes, satisfied the country's sugar requirements and also provided some of the export deliveries. The authorities later made the mistake of freezing sugar prices and depriving the co-ops of subsidies, which led to the depletion of their financial resources.

The APCs economic potentialities were substantially curtailed by the fact that they had to bear the brunt of the compensation payments to the former owners. The situation was further complicated when some APRA¹ party groups and ultra-leftists made play of the working people's just demands for higher incomes and issued demagogic "economist" slogans, proposing that all the profits and even some of the APCs assets should be shared out among the members. As a result, the investment plan to develop production and modernise and extend the product mix was not fulfilled, and this, in turn, had grave consequences when world sugar prices plummeted.

There were fierce clashes over the expropriation and transfer of the property to the working people and the organisation of the co-ops between the peasants and workers employed at the agro-industrial units, and reactionary groups resisting the agrarian reform. Other difficulties also arose. Thus, in the early years, APC self-management was limited in view of the procrastination by the civilian and military representatives entrusted with arranging the transfer of the enterprises, and this caused growing discontent among the working people until they secured their full right to self-management.

The Morales government announced that the agrarian reform was at an end, and left the APCs to fend for themselves, which meant a snowballing debt. The Belaunde government issued special decrees to annul the reform and so legalised the break-up and division of the co-ops under the pretext of enabling their members to set up independent farms on the principles of private enterprises. This decree deprived the sugar co-ops of their control of the market and cut back credits, so stifling them economically and pushing them to the brink of bankruptcy, with the result that one-third of the co-ops in the country were ruined and broke up.

Just now, the working people expect Alan Garcia's Aprist government to live up to its promises to respect and defend the gains attained in the course of the agrarian reform, and in particular to protect and support the co-ops. They demand an end to the fragmentation of the co-ops and the privatisation of their land. They also want a write-off of the APC debts which resulted from the reactionary policies of previous

governments.

In the early years of its existence, the APRA announced its intention to set up a new and mainly cooperative society, rejecting what it called "communist statehood". The incumbent president has suggested an "anti-imperialist state" and "socialism in freedom". The popular masses believe that the time has come to honour the old promises of the "Aprist Revolution".

The industrial community was instituted in July 1970² under the Velasco government's industrial act,³ which was on the whole progressive. That was the first form of joint management of enterprises in Peru. Fisheries, mining and telecommunications communities were soon set up in some sectors of the economy, all of them being designated as "labour communities". Despite the promises of the authorities, such communities were not established either in commerce or the services.

Industrial communities were set up at private and state-owned enterprises employing at least six persons, which included all the full-time wage and salaried workers. They held general meetings to elect the managerial committee, and their representatives on the directorate and the share-holders' council (at privately owned enterprises). Neither trade union leaders, nor share-holders of the enterprise could be nominated for these posts.

Ten per cent of the net (after-tax) annual income (profit) of the enterprise was shared out among its working people in accordance with the number of days worked, regardless of their wages or salaries; 15 per cent went to purchase the shares of the enterprise, so that the community became its co-owner with a growing stock of shares from year to year. Proportionately, it had the power to increase the number of its members on the share-holders' council and the directorate. As soon as the community's holding reached one-half of the joint-stock capital, the principle of joint management became effective, and was to be maintained in the future.

The capitalists could prevent such an undesirable development in two ways: by concealing the actual profits (at the risk of exposure, because community representatives exercised the right of audit of the financial records) or by making new investments. With the help of some military commanders and senior government officials, the owners of the enterprises effected a sizable part of the investment using subsidies from the state. Meanwhile, their own capital was transferred to other sectors or surreptitiously remitted abroad.

Industrial communities in the state sector did not acquire shares, but interest-bearing bonds of the enterprises or of the Finance Development Corporation, so that the community was not a co-owner. It could elect a directorate of only three representatives and could not command one-half of the seats. In other words, this was restricted joint management, but there again the working people had the right to ten per cent of the profits.

The Velasco government strove, on the one hand, to improve the condition of the working people by gradually increasing their share of the national income and extending their social rights, and on the other, to ensure class peace and cooperation between the capitalists and the working people, thereby simultaneously creating the incentives for production growth and higher labour productivity, which, for its part, helped to develop the country. The industrial act laid down, for that purpose, some privileges for state-owned and private national enterprises, guaranteeing markets, credits, etc. They also had the duty to allocate two per cent of their income for the needs of scientific and technological development.

In fisheries, mining and telecommunications communities, the share of the income up for distribution was different, with "compensation communities" set up to transfer a part of the profits of the high-profit enterprises to lower-income working people and enterprise communities.

The industrial community act was at once resisted by the bourgeoisie, which openly demanded its cancellation or modification. The entrepreneurs were even prepared to

accept a sharing out not only of ten per cent, but even of 25 per cent of the cash incomes among the working people, provided the rule on the 15 per cent stock appropriation was lifted. They threatened retaliation, including the withdrawal of their capital. APRA found itself in opposition, on the side of the right-wing forces, and poured oil on the flames with its "exposures" of some kind of efforts to "implant communism". Diverse ultra-leftist circles joined the opponents of the industrial communities, but for very different purposes. They argued that it was an "imperialist move" designed to ease the social conflict and "domesticate the working class".

The right-wingers were crucially rebuffed by the mobilisation of the working people, who insisted on implementation of the law and respect for their rights. They rapidly set up communities and elected their leaders. Rank-and-file Aprists and ultra-leftists were forced to take part in this process. In 1973, the first national congress of industrial communities, attended by representatives of more than 200,000 working people, set up a national confederation of industrial communities.

Monopoly circles won the middle bourgeoisie over to their side and stepped up their fight against the working people's participation in management, which tended to undermine their domination. The reactionary leaders were perfectly well aware that the joint-management mechanism gradually increased the influence of the working people in the country's economic, social and political affairs. It was obvious, moreover, that a close scrutiny of the state of affairs at the enterprises, organisations and management showed that the workers and employees were found to reach the conclusion that they themselves were perfectly capable of running not only the economy but the state as a whole.

That is why the rightists declared a downright war on the industrial communities. Displaying a high degree of cooperation, the enterprise owners staged provocations, boycotts of community establishment and activity, and harassment of their leaders. There followed dismissals of elected community leaders, delegates and trade union activists.

The working people intensified their struggle and exposed these moves. In the situation, the government issued a labour stability act, prohibiting the dismissal of any person who had worked at the enterprise for over three months, with the exception of cases of grave breaches as expressly stipulated in the law. That was another gain for the masses.

The reactionary offensive then took another tack. More capital was taken out of many enterprises, which led to the closure or ruin of some of them, and this, for its part, threatened to develop into a grave social problem. The working people began to take over such factories and plants, insisting that these should be handed over to them for the purpose of resuming production on a cooperative basis. The authorities eventually decided that the enterprises which had declared themselves to be bankrupt would, as an option, be handed over to the labour communities as their cooperative property. In this way, a number of units were transferred to the workers and employees, being converted from jointly managed to self-managed enterprises. These were grouped within the framework of the Committee of Enterprises managed by the Workers.

In 1977, the Morales government rescinded the industrial community act and passed a new act largely limiting the rights of the workers and employees at the enterprise, depriving them of joint ownership of joint-stock capital and, accordingly, of representation on the share-holders' board. It retained the sharing out of ten per cent of the income among the workers and employees, but not the community's right to receive 15 per cent of the earnings. This amount has now been reduced to 1.5 per cent, and is earmarked exclusively for administrative needs. The other 13.5 per cent is now being shared out individually in the form of so-called labour shares, which are nothing but an entitlement to the receipt of profits. These "labour shares" can be accumulated up to a point at which they make up an amount equal to one-half of the joint-stock capital, but they are not a part of it. The "property" of the workers and employees

(labour shares) must not exceed one-third of the aggregate property of the enterprise (ordinary and "labour shares"). Since the representation on the directorate is proportional to that, the working people, as represented by the industrial community, can have at their disposal only one-third of the votes. Besides, the "labour shares" can be freely sold, mortgaged, and impounded, and this further reduces the already limited possibilities of joint management.

Industrial communities at small enterprises have been abolished, so that a large number of working people have lost their right to joint management, merely retaining the right to receive a part of the shared-out profits (25 per cent in manufacturing).

The labour stability act has been effectively abolished, and the "trial period", the period in which anyone can be dismissed, has been extended to three years. Besides, it is now allowed to hire a large number of temporary or "contract" workers and employees to whom the labour stability right does not apply.

The Belaunde government tried to put an end to the labour communities, but was faced with massive protests. Thereupon it enacted a law entitling the working people to give preference to one of two systems: the first provided for the preservation of the communities in their present form, and the second, for their abolition through a direct transfer of 25 per cent of the cash profits for individual sharing out among the workers and employees. The overwhelming majority of the working people came out for the community, and demonstrated a high level of class consciousness.

The working people demand the fulfilment of the promises made by President Garcia on behalf of APRA that the community's rights would be upheld.

In April 1974, the Velasco government issued an act on social-property enterprises (SPE), under which such enterprises were to be set up only by the working people with funds lent by the state. Workers and employees were to have the use of these enterprises on the principles of self-management, without being the proprietors either of one or more SPEs. All the workers were to be the collective owner of such enterprises on a national scale.

The board and manager were to be elected by a working people's meeting — the highest organ of the enterprise — which was also to lay down the main lines and plan of activity. It sent its representatives to the regional associations, which, for their part, elected delegates to the national assembly of the social-property sector, the supreme body coordinating the activity of the SPEs and taking the decisions.

The Velasco government assumed that the SPEs were to play the leading role in the new economic and social structure, with state-owned factories and plants having the second role, private (reformed) enterprises with labour communities, the third, and small private enterprises, the fourth.

While the law was a marked stride forward, it contained a number of elements limiting the scale and effectiveness of the transformations. At the same time, there were various erroneous views in the institutions and among those who were responsible for implementing the law and who took, on the whole, a progressive stand. The negative consequences of these views made themselves known much later. Finally, the reactionary forces tried hard to prevent the establishment and development of the new structure.

Some highly profitable private monopoly enterprises could have been converted into SPEs under the constitutional provision outlawing such monopolies, and that from the outset could have given an impetus to the development of the sector. It would also have been possible, in view of the indebtedness of the private enterprises to the state, its banks, the social insurance system, etc., to confiscate, legally, the factories and plants from the owners concerned and to transfer them to the working people, but the authorities did not want to come out against the bourgeoisie. Preference was given to long-term bureaucratic methods in forming projects for new enterprises, scrupulous substantiations, establishment of organising commissions on investments and, finally, the hiring of workers who would start being involved in self-management virtually at

the same time as the labour collective took shape.

The need to repay borrowed capital put the social-property enterprises at a disadvantage, as compared with private enterprises, whose capital was withdrawn only in the event of their liquidation, and state-owned enterprises, which got their capital without compensation.

With their good intentions, the framers of the law set forth the elimination of unemployment as one of the main goals of such enterprises, which is why the stake was mainly on production with a low level of technological facilities (with the employment of large numbers of workers), that is, less profitable lines of production which were doomed to fail in the scramble for markets. The authorities either failed or refused to understand that unemployment could be eliminated only by replacing capitalism, and not by abandoning technological improvements.

Some departments deliberately erected impediments and rejected, for instance, some SPE applications for establishing the product mix under the pretext that it was unprofitable or that there was no market for it, while similar applications from private factory owners were approved.

That notwithstanding, over 60 social-property enterprises were set up, some of them being taken under control by the working people because of their insolvency. It is true that their sales came to less than one per cent of the country's gdp. Initially, the workers and employees displayed much enthusiasm and creative initiative, but they were soon faced with difficulties because of inadequate appropriations. The absence of official support under the Morales government and the boycott by private capital produced a very difficult situation. Even state enterprises refused to conclude contracts with the SPEs because many of their leaders used to work for transnational corporations before nationalisation. Senior government officials tried hard to prevent the social sector from receiving credits for the purchase of machinery and equipment and the assembly of modern, efficient and profitable production lines offered by the socialist countries. The work collectives in this sector had to fight the corrupting influence of the surrounding capitalist environment and to fend off hostile acts by reactionary and opportunist forces.

Some progressive provisions were written into the 1979 Constitution under popular mass pressure, although on the whole it is designed to consolidate capitalism. It "recognises the working people's right to participation in management and distribution of enterprise profits in the light of its specifics", i.e., it lays down curtailed joint-management without joint ownership of property. But, it adds, "the working people's participation extends to the property of enterprises in the absence of judicial impediments", an ambiguity which allows of various interpretations for and against greater participation. The Constitution also says that the state ensures economic pluralism and the coexistence of state, private, cooperative, self-managed, communal and any other types of enterprises. But the Belaunde government preferred to ignore this constitutional prescription on the need to assist and encourage the free development of cooperation, to stimulate and protect self-managed enterprises, and other forms of association. Indeed, the government tried to eliminate the new structures, so that some of them were closed down, while most continued to exist only because of the dedication and sustained resistance of their working people.

In the course of his 1985 electoral campaign, President Garcia promised to support the cooperatives, self-management and communal enterprises, and the working people now want to see effective measures taken to rescue and consolidate the enterprises from the crisis into which they were deliberately plunged. But there are differences within the APRA itself, among the mass of rank-and-file members coming out in favour of these demands, and the group of leaders linked with the bourgeoisie and so resisting the working people's joint management and self-management. That was only a part of the set of contradictions on the main issues of the Aprist policy, with the arguments running mainly between those who favour deep progressive economic and

social reforms, and those who want to make a deal with imperialism and the local financial oligarchy in an effort to make no more than moderate concessions to the middle and petty bourgeoisie. It goes without saying that, on the one hand, there are the sinister reactionary forces craving to establish fascism, and, on the other, broad masses of working people in town and country who, having toppled the government of the oligarchy and the transnational corporations, strive to establish a democratic and patriotic regime capable of solving Peru's present and future problems. The United Left including our party, is in the front ranks of the people.

The Communists have always given resolute support to the cooperatives, the labour communities and the social-property enterprises, which they regard as the people's historical gain. There is good reason why many of our party's activists were elected to responsible posts in these organisations.

The Peruvian CP and the United Left now demand, as a minimum, the re-establishment of the basic rights of the labour communities held out under the Velasco government. What is more, they want to see an end to the shortcomings in their activity brought out by practice, and implementation of the measures proposed by the labour community congresses. However, the workers and employees have learned from their own experience that the realisation of these measures is closely bound up with the political situation and respect for democratic and trade union freedoms.

The left forces propose that joint management should be extended to the services, commerce, building and transport. It is the view of the Peruvian CP and the United Left which advocate the nationalisation of the banks and other financial institutions, that self-management should also be introduced at these institutions on the model of the state enterprises (without participation in property).

The Peruvian CP and the United Left demand the abolition of legislative enactments aimed against the formation, development and strengthening of cooperatives and social-property enterprises. We believe that a large number of SPEs need to be set up in industry, transport, commerce and the services in all the districts of the country, and that they must be given financial, technical, commercial and other support, with priority over private capitalist enterprises.

Self-management of enterprises cannot, of course, be consolidated without a growth and consolidation of the state sector, which should have control, the Communists believe, of all the commanding heights of the economy, without exception: banks, oil, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, mining, chemicals, cement, engineering, road transport, etc.

The building of genuine democracy for our people at the present historical phase of our struggle means primarily utmost extension of joint management and self-management.

The Peruvian Communist Party, which is leading the masses together with its allies in the United Left, has been studying and summing up the experience in the struggle of the working class and of the entire people. The Communists are preparing for their Ninth Congress, which is to map out their further activity.

¹ The popular name for the ruling Peruvian Aprist Party.—*Ed.*

² The relevant law was approved in September 1970.—*Ed.*

³ With reference to manufacturing.—*Ed.*

Looking For a Way Out Together

Carlos Canache Mata — Leadership
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The blame for the explosive situation in Central America falls squarely on US

imperialism. Day after day Washington increases its military presence in the region. It has converted Honduras into a beachhead. As part of its undisguised interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations, the White House is making frenzied attempts to crush the patriots of El Salvador opposed to the anti-people puppet regime. The threat of direct armed intervention now overhangs Nicaragua. The undeclared war, in the course of which the North American administration is proclaiming without mincing words that it wants to change system in the Sandinist republic, is endangering stability in the region and in the continent as a whole.

All this is causing agonising anxiety in large sections of international, including, of course, Latin American opinion, among people adhering to diverse world-views and ideological positions. What are the ways of solving Central American problems, how is lasting peace to be established in this flashpoint and throughout the planet, and what role can be played by international solidarity in cutting short American imperialism's aggressive designs? These questions, at *WMR's* request, were put by Jeronimo Carrera, CC member of the Communist Party of Venezuela, to Carlos Canache Mata, a prominent political and public figure in Venezuela and leader of the parliamentary faction of the ruling Democratic Action Party, which is affiliated to the Socialist International.

The following is a transcript of the interview, which took place in Caracas.

What, in your view, is the reason for the present tension in Central America and, in particular, for the exacerbation of the situation over Nicaragua?

I would say that we should look for the roots of the crisis in the prevailing socio-economic circumstances. For many years the huge majority of the region's population has been living in abject poverty and misery, as outcasts. Dictatorial regimes have pared down civil rights, banned parties and trade unions, and denied people the opportunity to state their opinions freely. These basic reasons have now been complemented by external factors. The latter are what has compounded the situation created by popular uprisings generated by internal factors.

Would you discuss these external factors?

One and the most essential of these is US policy towards the new Nicaragua. While formally maintaining diplomatic relations with the Sandinist government, Washington carries out actions against it that conflict with the norms of international law. Among them are actions such as the mining of Nicaraguan ports by CIA agents, the economic blockade imposed on that nation on instructions from President Reagan and, lastly, the open financial and military aid to the "contras", in other words, the forces trying to overthrow the lawful government of Nicaragua.

The policies pursued by the White House have caused the situation in Central America to deteriorate seriously. True, it must be noted that there are elements inclined to blame this on the Nicaraguan leadership with the allegation that it is getting offensive armaments from the Soviet Union via Cuba. But there is no evidence to support accusations of this kind.

What, would you say, could be the role of the governments and other official quarters of Latin American republics to prevent attempts to settle the problems of Central America by military means?

It is my party's view that the governments, other official quarters, and peoples of our continent can play a significant role in preventing US intervention in Central America and in looking for ways out of the dangerous situation in the region.

As a first step, it must be made clear to the United States that direct armed

intervention in Nicaragua would have unpredictable consequences for the whole of Latin America and generate protests throughout the continent. Moreover, if one bears in mind the present conflicts of the region's nations with industrialised states over the enormous external debt, such intervention would, naturally, only aggravate the relations between the former and the latter.

Further, we feel that official quarters in Latin America should not confine themselves to statements (which should not be an empty sound). They could use conventional diplomatic channels to submit concrete proposals for a peaceful settlement of the crisis to be considered by the Latin American governments themselves and the US administration. It would not be superfluous to recall that the parliaments of the continent's democratic republics have on many occasions passed resolutions and appeals calling for a quest for ways of settling problems by negotiation.

Lastly, economic assistance should be extended to countries of the region, particularly to Nicaragua, since the USA has imposed a blockade against it, while relative to other nations it pursues a discriminatory financial policy.

What is your assessment of the efforts being made by the Contadora Group and of their further prospects?

Our party thinks highly of the Contadora Group's peace-making efforts. Nearly three years ago it drew up a document on objectives setting out the fundamental principles for agreement. Among other things, these envisage: the withdrawal of foreign military personnel presently in Central America, and the formation of the appropriate verification mechanism; the establishment of approximate military parity among the states of this region; lastly, the restoration of civil liberties in countries where such liberties are non-existent, and the formation of democratic governments in accordance with the results of general elections.

The concepts advanced in that document were reflected in the Contadora Group's draft Act for Peace submitted to Central American nations for their consideration. However, it was approved only by Nicaragua. Reliable sources later revealed that Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador were compelled by US pressure to object to individual provisions of this document. In the circumstance the Contadora Group had to conduct a new round of meetings, conferences, and negotiations. After some amendments were introduced into the initial text, the Act for Peace was again sent to the relevant governments for final endorsement.

I should like to believe that the Contadora Group's efforts will be successful. In other words, I hope that the reply of the interested sides will be affirmative and that this will make it possible to sign the Act for Peace.

The growing number of obstacles being raised, not without United States participation, for the Contadora Group is, in our view, the result of patent North American interference in Central America. The focus today is on the aim of making the US administration see the necessity of looking for mutual understanding with Nicaragua and halting its policy of state terrorism, which is the main obstacle to a just and peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict. The Contadora Group must not only survive but grow stronger on the basis of a firm and dignified stand, as Latin American opinion demands.

What, in your view, could be done by international, particularly Latin American, opinion in terms of promoting solidarity with Nicaragua and halting the attempts to start armed aggression against it?

To some extent I have answered the first part of your question. Of course, I do not feel I can speak on behalf of all Latin American, much less international, opinion. But speaking of the regional associations of Christian Democratic parties and the Social

Democratic parties affiliated to the Socialist International,¹ I would say that they are in a position to create a smoother functioning mechanism designed to prevent insolent armed intervention and the further escalation of war in Nicaragua and ensure more efficient coordination in extending economic and financial assistance to the homeland of Sandino.

What is the stand of the Socialist International on all the problems we have mentioned?

Following the triumph of the Sandinist revolution the Socialist International pledged its support for the liberation movement that put an end to the 40-year plus tyranny practised by the Somoza family. It followed this up with showing understanding for the democratic programme of a mixed economy and for the principles of non-alignment to which the Nicaraguan government declared its adherence in the Organisation of American States and before Latin American and world opinion.

As regards the mixed economy project, it is my firm belief that it is being strictly implemented. One has only to consult statistics to see clearly that in Nicaragua most of the economic activity continues to be controlled by the private sector. Further, I should like to mention an important development that has strengthened the democratic system in the country. I mean the elections of November 1984 when Daniel Ortega became the Republic's President. True, there were some who made an attempt to question the legality of the election process on the grounds that the most influential section of the opposition did not take part in it.²

Regrettably, a group led by Arturo Cruz did indeed refuse to take part in the election. The way we look at it, it would have been logical for the group to have used the opportunity before it. However, I am quite certain that even if this group had participated in the elections, the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the forces supporting it would have won an indisputable victory.

And, lastly, there is one more distinctive feature of the Sandinist revolution — its orientation towards the non-aligned movement in international affairs. Circumstances compel the Nicaraguan government to deal with the US administration. For its part, the latter encourages the "contras", the armed gangs that operate against the new authority. Of course, Nicaragua is compelled to come into confrontation with the US ruling circles, and this produces a sort of optical illusion. Some people are inclined to argue approximately along the following lines: since Nicaragua is opposed to the USA, it cannot be considered a non-aligned nation.

What validity is there in the contention that the existence and development of the Sandinist revolution are a threat to Nicaragua's neighbours or any other nation of the Western Hemisphere? What is your attitude to the assertion that Nicaragua engages in the 'export' of revolution?

Small Nicaragua threatens none of its neighbours, much less the USA. The statement of a White House spokesman that "considerations of safety" would one fine day compel the USA to "neutralise" Nicaragua by an invasion is ludicrous and absurd. How can such a small nation threaten a great power? For whom are these fables manufactured?

There is a system of collective security on the continent. True, it failed to operate during the Malvinas crisis,³ but in theory at least the OAS Charter contains the appropriate provisions. Of course, were Nicaragua to invade any country of the region it would not be difficult to neutralise it in line with the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro.⁴

It is my opinion, however, that it is Nicaragua that is suffering from attacks by its neighbours. Honduras, a nation bordering upon it, has become a base from which the

"contras" raid Nicaragua,⁵ which invokes the legitimate right of defence (the aforesaid by no means signifies that I have no reservations about Nicaragua's regional and international policies).

I should like to state bluntly and unequivocally that Nicaragua has never sought to export revolution. It is making every effort to safeguard its own revolutionary process.⁶

What is the significance of the situation over Nicaragua to the destinies of peace in the region and the world at large?

World peace is threatened as long as there is no tranquility in Central America, as long as tension persists in the Middle East or any other part of the planet. Peace is indivisible, as indivisible as democracy. As long as there is a dictatorship in even one country of the continent, the democratic regimes in other republics will remain exposed to danger.

Peace is not universal on our planet. Since the Second World War ended there have been hundreds of regional military conflicts. Their tragic outcome is that many millions of people have lost their lives.

Peace must be established in Central America, for to guarantee peace on our continent means to help achieve peace world-wide.

I hope that the Geneva meeting between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachov and the President of the USA Ronald Reagan will lead to a gradual improvement of relations between the two countries; help to put an end to the economic crisis that is rocking the market for oil, which is a key raw material; and contribute to the strengthening of world peace, including the quest for ways of settling regional conflicts, such as in the Middle East and Central America (needless to say, to the extent to which each of the great powers has any relation to them).

What would be the impact on Latin America if an agreement were signed by the Soviet Union and the USA on ending nuclear tests and curbing, to say nothing of halting, the arms race?

The impact would be most favourable indeed. First, fear would abate. We know, of course, that a nuclear clash would annihilate the whole of humanity. If, as a first step, agreement is reached on stopping nuclear tests and reducing nuclear arsenals and if this is followed by a more all-embracing decision, the peoples will unquestionably live in incomparably greater tranquility.

The signing of an agreement of this kind would make it possible to channel many billions of dollars, earlier designated for the production of sophisticated armaments (nuclear weapons and anti-missile systems designed to move war into outer space), for assistance to Third World countries and thereby deliver them from hunger, poverty, disease, and the high illiteracy rate.

¹ This is a reference to the Christian Democratic Organisation of America and the Committee of the Socialist International for Latin America and the Caribbean.—*Ed.*

² The Democratic Coordinating Commission headed by Arturo Cruz. Six numerically small, extreme right parties and organisations are affiliated to it. These adopted an obstructionist stand in the hope of disrupting the elections, while at the last moment they withdrew from participation in it. Later, many of the Commission leaders sided openly with the counter-revolutionaries.—*Ed.*

³ The conflict over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) between Argentina and Britain. In this conflict the USA sided with its NATO ally.—*Ed.*

⁴ The inter-American treaty on mutual assistance signed in Rio de Janeiro in 1947.—*Ed.*

⁵ This is dealt with in some detail in *WMR*, No. 3, 1986, pp. 16-17.—*Ed.*

⁶ Due to the actions of the Washington administration over the past five years 11,000 citizens of Nicaragua have died, 5,000 have been wounded, and 250,000 have been compelled to leave their homes and move deep into the country.—*Ed.*

surveys, information and mail

The Reader Wants to Know

A Financial Instrument of Neocolonialism

There has been a spate of reports about the vast external debt which the "South", i.e., the less developed countries (LDCs), owe to the capitalist "North", it being suggested that in many cases the debt cannot be repaid. How has such a situation arisen? What is the way out?

Tarik Ourbawi, Tunisia

The "WMR" Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation considers the causes, origins and effects of the debt crisis and the conditions in which the problem can be solved.

The Mexican government announced in August 1982 that it was temporarily in default on its \$80-billion external debt and was suspending payments. A similar decision was soon taken by Brazil and Argentina. These forced steps made it known that the debt crisis, which was coming to a head within the world capitalist economy, had become an international public fact. Such a turn of events seriously alarmed banking circles in Wall Street and other financial centres of the West (the transnational banks, primarily US banks, the leading creditors of Mexico and the other major Third World debtor nations). In order to prevent the further spread of the Mexican syndrome, protective mechanisms of state-monopoly regulation were set in motion, and there was an alert of some Western central banks and international financial institutions, notably the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which was to orchestrate the "rescue" operations. Protracted negotiations began between the IMF, which is controlled by a handful of industrialised capitalist countries led by the United States, and Mexico. Under an agreement reached in September 1984, the banks agreed to defer for 14 years the start on Mexico's repayment of most of its debt, in return for its promise to conduct a policy of austerity and meet certain other IMF conditions.

LDCs' debts have had to be rescheduled in the past (postponement of payment datelines), but the amount involved has been relatively modest. The situation underwent a substantive change when the current debt crisis surfaced: in the eight years from 1975 to 1982, the amount involved totalled \$20.1 billion, but in 1983 it was up to \$62.9 billion¹, in 1984 to over \$115 billion, and to an estimated \$87 billion in 1985. The debtor countries' acceptance of IMF "stabilisation programmes" has become an almost mandatory condition for debt-restructuring agreements. These programmes, ostensibly aimed to re-establish the debtor countries' ability to pay, in effect serve to bolster private enterprise and the positions of international finance capital within the LDCs' economy. The austerity policies they dictate mean a reduction of state investments and current expenditures, encouragement of private enterprise, reprivatisation of

some state-owned enterprises, national currency devaluation, higher cost of borrowing, a freeze on wages, the lifting of price ceilings on the prime necessities, attraction of foreign investments, and so on.

However, the agreement between Mexico and the IMF did not — and could not — pave the way for overcoming its economic difficulties, which were, in fact, aggravated. The external debt has come close to \$100 billion, while the annual service payments on it come close to \$12 billion, which is much more than the country's foreign-trade surplus (\$7.5 billion in 1985)² which is the main source for servicing the debt. Besides, this year there was a sharp cutback in this source of revenue in view of the drop in the price of oil, the basic item of Mexico's export,³ and the country needs at least \$6 billion in new borrowing to make ends meet.

Apart from Mexico, dozens of other LDCs find themselves in such a vicious circle. Among the superdebtors on the Latin American continent are Brazil (about \$102 billion), Argentina (\$50 billion), Venezuela (over \$30 billion), Chile (\$19.6 billion), Peru (about \$14 billion), Colombia (\$13.4 billion), Ecuador (\$7.3 billion), Uruguay (\$4.9 billion) and Bolivia (\$3.2 billion). Their debts add up to \$368 billion. The major debtors in Asia are South Korea (\$47 billion), Indonesia (\$22 billion), and the Philippines (\$27.5 billion); in Africa — Nigeria (over \$20 billion), Egypt (\$15 billion), and Morocco (\$10 billion).

The African countries' total debt (\$170 billion) comes to less than half that of the Latin American countries. However, it is not the absolute magnitude of the debt that matters, but the capacity to keep paying it, and that is most difficult to do for the economically least developed countries lying to the South of the Sahara. Thus, Ghana's debt servicing in 1985 was to have absorbed 85 per cent of its export earnings, which means that, for all practical purposes, exports cease serving the needs of national-economic development. Stepped-up exports inevitably result in a narrowing down of the domestic market, the basis of the national economy, leading to even greater dependence on the capitalist centres.

The LDCs' total debt, according to the IMF and the IBRD, went up from \$610 billion in 1980 to \$950 billion in 1985 (including \$630 billion owed to private banks).⁴

LDCs' External Debt from 1980 to 1985
(\$ bln)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
End-of-Year Total	610	702	775	843	908	950
Growth (per cent on previous year)	—	15.1	10.4	8.8	7.8	4.6
Medium and long-term debt	471	528	582	658	717	—
Growth (per cent on previous year)	—	12.1	10.2	13.1	9.0	—
incl:						
from government sources (A)	177	192	240	229	245	—
growth (%)	—	8.5	25.0	-4.6	7.0	—
from private sources (B)	294	336	372	429	472	—
growth (%)	—	14.3	10.7	15.3	10.0	—
Ratio of A to	37.6	36.4	36.1	34.8	34.2	—
B (%)	62.4	63.6	63.9	65.2	65.8	—
Short-term debt (incl. IMF credits)	139	174	193	185	178	—
Per cent of total debt	22.8	24.8	24.9	21.9	19.6	—
Source: IBRD data (estimates for 1983-1985)						

The table shows that in the early part of the 1980s, the LDCs's debt continued to grow, even if at a slower pace.

The slowdown was to some extent due to a reduction in short-term commercial borrowing since 1982. Short-term debt dropped from nearly 25 per cent in 1981-1982 to under 20 per cent in 1984. But the main thing is the slowdown in medium-term and long-term borrowing, which is much larger than short-term borrowing. Both government and, especially, private credit institutions in the West have continued to make available to LDCs large loans, being guided by the strategic objective of keeping these countries in neocolonial exploitation, and by the more pragmatic urge of preventing them from stopping their debt payments. From 1981 to 1984, medium-term and long-term borrowing went up by 52.2 per cent, including 38.4 per cent from government sources, and 60.5 per cent from private sources, but on the whole there was a downturn: over 12 per cent in 1981, and 9 per cent in 1984. Last year, apprehensive of the exacerbating debt crisis, the commercial banks, sharply cut back Third World countries, and this had an effect on the slowdown in the rate of their debt growth (to 4.6 per cent).

This brought out in bold relief a fundamentally new situation in the movement of borrowed funds between the centres and the periphery of the world capitalist economy. Even with the large deferments accorded to the LDCs in recent years, debt payments began to outrun revenues; IBRD experts estimated that in 1985 the difference on long-term (over-one-year) loans may have come to at least \$22 billion, as compared with \$13.7 billion in 1984. The financial instrument of neocolonial exploitation is "working": the importers of borrowed capital have been forcibly converted into exporters of capital, so that the former colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries suffering from tremendous economic and social difficulties have to turn out their pockets to stuff the moneybags of their imperialist "benefactors".

How has such a situation arisen? What are the causes of the debt crisis, which is a noose on many Third World countries?

These countries had to turn regularly to external borrowing in view of the large scale of the tasks in their efforts to overcome their economic and social backwardness. It is quite another matter that far from everywhere or at all times were these funds used for truly vital needs and in the most rational manner. It has been estimated that only 20 per cent of the funds obtained from abroad were actually used for productive purposes, and here one has to note at least two important factors.

First, the spread to the Third World of the arms race, which was started and is being stepped up by imperialism, above all US imperialism. Many developing countries have rapidly increased their outlays on the purchase of weapons and military equipment, the maintenance of growing armies, and so on, and this has undoubtedly acted as a drag on their economic and social progress.

In the 1960s, military budgets for the whole group of LDCs grew at an average of about seven per cent a year (more than double the world figure); in the 1970s, more than nine per cent; and in the early 1980s — nearly 15 per cent. At that time (1982), they accounted for 33 per cent of the military personnel of all the countries of the world (as compared with under 23 per cent 20 years earlier), i.e., roughly nine million men; for over 62 per cent of the world's military procurement (more than \$16 billion was used only to import the basic types of weapons: aircraft, tanks, warships, missiles); and for 17 per cent of the world's military expenditures, or \$104 billion.⁵

Second, there was the influence of internal social and political conditions on the way the borrowed funds were spent. Many LDCs put large amounts of money into economic and social "white elephants" and prestige projects; corruption was rife in

their administration; there was a "liberal" attitude to foreign-currency remittances abroad, and so on.

"Much of Mexico's foreign debt is the result of capital flight over the years, and no solution to the debt crisis is likely to work very well as long as wealthy Mexicans continue to move their money out of the country as fast as they make it."⁶ "Much money has been squandered, badly used or simply stolen. Deposits by Latin American residents in New York, Zurich, London or Miami banks make up almost a third of Latin America's total external debt. In some countries, the amounts of the debt and of the fugitive capital are equal."⁷ The Western press has not, of course, missed the opportunity to speculate on such facts, which are also in evidence in other regions, conveniently forgetting that the roots of the LDCs' economic difficulties, notably the debt crises, lie much deeper.

These roots go back to the economic backwardness inherited from the colonial and semi-colonial past, the structural disproportions, the low national-economic efficiency, and the inequitable positions of the LDCs within the international capitalist division of labour. In short, these roots lie in everything that enables transnational monopoly capital to intensify the actual exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Indeed, this exploitation, together with the cyclical downturns in the world capitalist economy, and the energy crisis, is the immediate cause of the very much larger borrowing by the LDCs over the past 10-15 years, namely, the worsening of the trade (and payments) balances of most of these countries.⁸

The transnational commercial banks are most directly involved in the emergence of the debt crisis. Let us recall that the LDCs' debt to private creditor institutions in the West in the early 1980s grew much faster than their debt to governmental creditors, a trend also characteristic of the 1970s, when highly favourable conditions were created for stepped-up expansion by private loan capital in the Third World.

On the one hand, the transnational banks' credit potentialities were greatly enhanced by the OPEC countries' growing deposits of their petro-earnings (from the mid-1970s on). On the other, the relative reduction in the demand for credit in the industrial centres of capitalism (as a result of the 1974-1975 crisis and the subsequent depression) induced the banks to get their own back at the expense of the LDCs, which were faced with a growing need for borrowed funds. Finally, an important incentive for the banks was the higher profitability of lending to these countries at discriminatory interest rates.⁹

The overall atmosphere created by the ruling circles of the Western powers to encourage the transnational banks to look to the Third World was likewise of some importance. After all, more lending to the periphery also met the concrete economic interest of the capitalist centres, promoting, in particular, the growth of their exports and the imperialist strategic line of stepping up the exploitation of the former colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries — in this case, through financial channels.

Most of the African, Asian and Latin American countries remain firmly tied to the industrialised capitalist countries and are dependent on them commercially, financially and technically, so inevitably feeling the impact — for all the wide diversity of actual situations — of the cyclical and structural crises in the zone of developed capitalism, and the changes they keep causing on the primary materials and money markets, changes which most often complicate their development problems, but which benefit the Western monopolies.

This will be seen, for instance, from the movement of prices for primary materials, the basis of the LDCs' exports (about 80 per cent), more than two-thirds of which are known to go to the industrialised capitalist centres. The importance of exports is obvious, for that is effectively the only source of earned (instead of borrowed) funds for

the countries with an underdeveloped economy.

In the first part of the 1980s, the level of primary material prices in real terms, i.e., discounted for inflation, was half that of the 1950 level, so that exporters of primary materials suffered tangible financial losses, while importers had a corresponding gain. In 1985, when primary material prices dropped by an average of at least 10 per cent, this gain alone came to \$65 billion, according to the London *Economist*. That is equal to 0.7 per cent of the aggregate gross domestic product of the countries within the "rich man's club", the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Thus, said *The Economist*, if the industrialised countries' real gdp grew in 1985 by 2.8 per cent, according to IMF estimates, virtually a quarter of the growth came from the lower prices for imported raw materials, an unwitting gift from the poor countries.¹⁰

Let us note the very high price of the "gift": it came to over one-half of the LDCs' payments on their medium-term and long-term debt in 1984. Incidentally, 0.7 per cent of the gdp is precisely the rate set as annual government aid to the LDCs by the 18 members of the Committee in Aid of Development under the OECD. That was the rate they fixed, but have never met. In 1984, for instance, the funds they actually allotted for these purposes averaged less than one-half — 0.36 per cent of the gdp.

The decline in raw material prices is not an act of divine providence, but the result of the economic crisis of the early 1980s in the centres of the world capitalist economy and the subsequent shrinking of demand for primary materials. It is also largely the outcome of the lending and monetary policy of the United States. The continued increase in the military expenditures of the leading imperialist power — with a growth of its budget deficit, the steep rise in interest rates in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the US administration's attempt to compensate for this growth by raising the dollar's exchange rate is the outline of the process which has had a direct negative impact on the LDCs' economic and financial condition.

The record-high interest rates mean an inflation of the LDCs' debt, since a sizable part of the private loans (almost one-third in the early 1980s) was made available at "floating" interest rates. The last element of that scheme — the hiking of the dollar's exchange rate — meant an artificial increase in the cost of manufactured imports and a decline in the prices of exported primary materials for the Third World, most of whose foreign-trade operations are dollar-denominated. In other words, it meant a worsening of the terms of trade (the ratio of import to export price indexes) and so a lowering of the purchasing power of primary material exports.

In 1985, the terms of trade for exporters of primary materials were the worst after 1957, when the first price indexes were computed. The worsening was not, of course, a linear one. What are the prospects? The flagging demand and the vigorous supply give ground for the assumption that the markets could long remain inert, says the Western press: "The best hope for producers is that if the dollar continues to slide then commodity (primary materials—*Ed.*) prices may rebound, in dollar terms at least."¹¹ A very flimsy hope, indeed, although the "slide" is in fact taking place. It was caused in 1985 by a slowdown in economic growth and some decline in interest rates in the United States, and was accelerated last autumn as a result of the measures taken jointly by the central banks of the United States, FRG, Britain, France and Japan on the money markets. By the spring of 1986, the dollar's exchange rate with respect to the other currencies had declined by roughly 25-30 per cent.

But even if a "soft landing" for the dollar does do something to improve the terms of trade for the LDCs, it can be more than offset by a worsening of their balance of trade, by a reduction in the quantum of exports in view of the flabby demand, and by the protectionist barriers in the capitalist centres. It has been estimated that over the past 20 years, such barriers have inflicted a loss on Asian, African and Latin American countries totalling nearly \$700 billion, which comes to 75 per cent of their present

external debt. One will easily realise the consequences of the continued existence of non-tariff barriers to the import of goods from these countries.

The potentialities created by the recent decline in interest rates on international bank credits are not more durable in any sense. In late 1985, Libor, their basis, equalled 7.9 per cent, i.e., half the figure for mid-1982, but most LDCs had suffered losses in export earnings that were well in excess of this gain, while their debt service payments took up an ever larger proportion of their export revenues. And it is unlikely that exports can be boosted in view of the slower economic growth in the industrialised capitalist countries. What is more, there was an absolute contraction of the foreign trade of the African, Asian and Latin American countries in 1985. That being so, the Third World is forced to go on piling up its debt, which IBRD estimates suggest, could well exceed \$1 trillion this year.¹²

The sharpening of the debt crisis has cast doubt not only on the continued functioning of the mechanism of the LDCs' financial exploitation, but also on the entire system of international capitalist credit, for a default by any major debtor nation could set off a chain reaction of bankruptcies both among the money-lenders (the private commercial banks, at any rate), and among the debtors. The imperialist centres naturally seek to prevent the debt volcano from erupting. But if such a threat does arise, they rush to take urgent rescue measures, and they did in August 1982.

An attempt was also made to frame a wider scheme of action in the recent period. There was the so-called Baker Plan, put forward by the US Secretary of the Treasury in October 1985, which called on the commercial banks to increase their loans to 15 major debtors (10 of them Latin American) by \$20 billion within three years (1986-1988); international financial institutions (IBRD, regional development banks) should also increase their outlays by \$9 billion, increasing these to \$20 billion in the said period; for their part, the super-debtors are to conduct a tough policy of economic "improvement" (in the spirit of the IMF "stabilisation" programmes).

For all practical purposes, this meant Western creditors making available an additional \$40 billion to a group of especially "dangerous" countries, and not for the purposes of economic development, but for servicing their debts. The least that can be said — and that spokesman for these countries have said — on this matter is that the plan is obviously inadequate. But, as the Mexican Finance Minister Jesus S. Herzog Flores told a special debt-crisis symposium in late January, these 15 countries' interests payments now alone come to nearly \$40 billion a year.¹³ In other words, if the Baker Plan is realised, the debtor nations will simply be getting a third of the amount they need for such payments.

What about the other two-thirds? Does not the effort to put this money together to pay the money-lenders undermine (or even eliminate) the possibility of the debtor countries' economic development? The view in Washington is that this is not such a terrible problem after all: economic development can be taken care of by foreign private investment; all one needs to do is fling the doors wide open and generally to conduct a social and economic policy more in accord with IMF demands.

A whole line of argument has been trotted out to justify the need for flinging the doors open even more widely, i.e., for creating the most advantageous conditions for foreign direct private investments. Among these arguments are: the lower cost to the LDCs of the investment of alternative (as compared with credits and loans) because the excess of the rate of profit from direct investments by private capital over the interest rate on bank loans could be more than offset by reinvestment of a sizable part of the

profits; then direct private investment as a share of all attracted funds is inversely proportional to the extent to which the recipient stage is vulnerable to external events beyond its control; another idea is that the know-how, technology, and technical and managerial expertise brought in by the transnational corporations are as useful as the investment itself.

It is not a part of this survey to criticise these arguments in detail. Let us merely note the following: the proposed switch from bankers to investors, with freedom of action for the TNCs, would effectively block the LDCs' way to economic independence. And it is quite natural that, despite what the Western well-wishers have been saying, these countries, consistently supported by the socialist countries, insist on a different approach to international economic relations, which they want to see restructured on a healthy and mutually advantageous basis, and purged of all the elements of inequality.

The imperialist centres have boycotted the demand for a New International Economic Order, and the LDCs' proposal for UN-sponsored global negotiations on the matter has run up against a brick wall. Regional level initiatives have not succeeded either. Thus, the governments of the leading Latin American debtor nations demanded in 1984 and 1985 that the "group of five" which dominates trade and finance in the capitalist world (USA, Japan, FRG, France and Britain) should commence package negotiations on the inter-related debt problems (including interest rates),¹⁴ and aid to development and trade, but without any success.

The tragic consequences of economic dependence and neocolonial exploitation compounded by the debt burden are well known. The LDCs, with a population of over 2 billion, have become a zone of blanket poverty. Over the past three decades the gap between them and the developed capitalist states in national income per head has been widening — and now stands at 11-fold. Hundreds of millions of men and women are doomed to illiteracy and ignorance, chronic malnutrition and starvation, epidemics, and terrible child mortality.

It is a fact that in this situation the repayment of the debt is simply inconceivable. Continued application of the IMF formulas, based as they are on the fatal logic of neocolonialism, could merely further intensify the LDCs' economic exploitation and dependence, and add another dimension to the poverty, hunger, and physical and moral sufferings of ever vaster strata of their population.

Unless the debt crisis is resolved on a fair basis, it is fraught with grave economic and social consequences on a global scale. There is growing conviction among progressive opinion in the LDCs that surgery is the only way to remove the "cancer" of the external debt, as Fidel Castro put it. But a mere write-off of the debt would fall short of a radical improvement of international economic relations ruling out any relapses of the debt disorder.

Such an improvement requires a new international economic order, which has been endorsed by the United Nations, but which is being blocked by imperialism. The practice of inequitable exchange, dumping, protectionism, usurious interest rates, and monetary and financial machinations by the imperialist powers must be stopped, together with the policy of slowing down the independent economic and social development of the African, Asian and Latin American countries and their ever greater exploitation by transnational monopolies and banks.

An end to the arms race and a substantial reduction in military spending are a necessary condition for progress in international economic relations, for it could provide a real and effective source of funds for accelerating the economic and social development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and for solving mankind's other global problems.

All these principles are at the basis of the policy conducted by the socialist

community countries and their effective solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their economic demands. The Soviet Union's initiatives are of especially great importance. One of these — put forward at the 27th Congress of the CPSU — is the proposal to convene a world congress on economic security problems to discuss all the impediments to world economic ties, together with a joint search of fair ways to settle the debt problem.

¹ See *World Debt Tables, External Debt of Developing Countries*, Washington, 1984, p. XVIII.

² *Le Monde*, November 19, 1985.

³ About 75 per cent of its value. In January and February 1986 alone, Mexico was forced to reduce the official price of its oil from an average of \$23.70 to \$15.10 per barrel.

⁴ See *World Debt Tables*, Washington, 1984-1985, p. IX; *International Herald Tribune*, December 7-8, 1985; March 27, 1986.

⁵ Calculated from *SIPRI Yearbook 1983*, pp. 161-166, 270; *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1972-1982*, Washington, 1984, pp. 58-94.

⁶ *International Herald Tribune*, February 12, 1986.

⁷ *Le Monde*, September 25, 1985.

⁸ It has been estimated that from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s the LDCs' trade deficit (without OPEC) was more than \$500 billion. In the first half of the 1980s, there was also a heavy growth in their balance-of-payments deficit on current account — up to almost \$350 billion, with debt-service payments a growing element.

⁹ These rates consist of the basic rate on short-term inter-bank deposits on the London money market (London Interbank Offered Rate — Libor), and mark-ups on Libor for various categories of borrowers. For the LDCs, the mark-up has always been higher than that for industrialised countries (thus, for 1977-1983 — 20-110 per cent higher). See *Financial Market Trends*, OECD, March 1984, p. 36.

¹⁰ *The Economist*, November 30, 1985, p. 13.

¹¹ *The Economist*, November 9, 1985, p. 73.

¹² *Le Monde*, March 28, 1986.

¹³ *International Herald Tribune*, January 30, 1986.

¹⁴ The following estimates show the importance of this problem. For Mexico, a reduction of one percentage point would mean \$1 billion less a year in service payments. For the whole group of Latin American debtors, a lowering of 10-12 per cent, as was the case early this year, down to, say, 6 per cent would "save" at least 20 billion a year.

Communist Youth Leagues

Brief Information*

Young Communist League (YCL) of Cuba

This Marxist-Leninist organisation of the younger generation of Cuba was founded in 1962 on the basis of the Association of Young Rebels. At present it has about 600,000 members in the 14-30 age group. The League is operating under the guidance of the Communist Party, being its active assistant. It is one of the main sources on which the party draws for new members.

Continuing the magnificent traditions of Cuba's youth, the YCL took an active part in the struggle for national and social liberation. Its members joined in socialist construction immediately after the victory of the revolution. They played an important part in the abolition of illiteracy and defended the people's revolutionary gains arms in hand. In less than a quarter of a century, the YCL became the vanguard of Cuban youth, an exponent of their interests and aspirations.

The League plays a noticeable role in public life. It participates in the drafting and oversees the implementation of government decisions and other measures as well as the enforcement of laws relating to children and youth, such as the 1978 Code, which granted the younger generation ample rights. Young Cubans are also active in

* Continued; see *WMR*, Nos. 4, 7, 8, and 10, 1984; Nos. 2 and 6, 1986; and Nos. 3 and 4, 1986.

government bodies. Nearly 25 per cent of the members of the municipal assemblies of people's power and 4.6 per cent of those of the National Assembly of People's Power are young men and women of 30 years and under.

The League attaches great importance to ideological education. It has set up a large political education network and conducts atheistic propaganda and offers military patriotic education. Its publishing house, Abril (April), brings out literature for young people. The League's national daily, *Juventud Rebelde* (Rebellious Youth), is published in 260,000 copies.

The YCL gives much attention to work among young people outside its ranks. Operating under its ideological guidance are the Federation of Secondary School Students and the Federation of University Students. The League is patron of the Jose Marti Young Pioneers' Organisation.

One of the main activities of the YCL is to bring young people into the fulfilment of priority tasks in the economic sphere. Young men and women help build industrial plants and cultivate new lands. Young people have transformed Pinos Island, once deserted, into an economically developed area. The League is now patron of 23 priority projects.

Many members of the younger generation are also set tasks in retooling production. There are teams of young technicians and other specialists working in all industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. The National Council of Teams sponsors scientific and technological contests and exhibitions.

The League is carrying on diverse cultural activities. The clubs set up by it help young men and women raise their cultural standard by studying literature and the arts. The League encourages amateur art and the work of teams of young writers and artists. It has started the New Troubadours movement whose members compose and perform songs inspired by folklore.

The YCL is also active in the international democratic youth movement. Campaigns of solidarity with the peoples fighting against fascist and dictatorial regimes, and support for those who resist imperialist aggression and reactionary intrigue have earned the League recognition among large sections of young democrats the world over. It maintains relations with 247 youth organisations of 132 countries and is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

The League functions on the principles of democratic centralism. Applicants for membership are admitted individually. New members must pass a term of probation. YCL branches are constituted on the basis of a place of work or a locality. There are 14 provincial and 169 municipal organisations as well as over 20,000 branches today. The congress is the League's supreme authority. The latest congress (the Fourth) met in 1982. In between congresses, the League's activity is led by the National Committee.

Young Communist League of Canada (YCLC)

The League was formed in 1923; after being dismantled in the mid-sixties, the YCL was reformed as a country-wide organisation in 1969. It is open to all Canadian youth aged between thirteen and thirty. Under its rules, the League's essential goal is to eradicate a system based on exploitation, oppression and war and build a socialist Canada. The League is united under the political guidance and leadership of the Communist Party of Canada, has close links with its cells and is represented in party bodies at all levels.

As well as being a guide to the League's daily work, its Charter of Youth Demands constitutes a programme from which to further the unity of varied youth and student organisations. Eager to unite Canada's youth in the struggle for its rights, it sponsors joint actions with religious and anti-war youth groups, immigrant youth organisations, and the youth of the New Democratic Party affiliated to the Socialist International.

As youth are hardest hit by unemployment, the main campaigns of the YCL centre

around the demands of jobs. It has published materials on the issue and in some localities set up youth coalitions to mobilise youth against unemployment. A broad campaign under the slogan "Peace and Jobs for Youth" is presently being mounted. With peace high on its agenda, the League has been a key force in the establishment of broad youth groups which mobilise young men and women in anti-war action.

The League is active in the international youth democratic movement as a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. In pursuance of its internationalist traditions, Canada's communist youth are showing solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua and Chile and the national liberation movements in the south of Africa. League teams often go to Nicaragua to help in building a new life there.

Democratic centralism is at the root of the League's work which is built along territorial production lines and relies on primary organisations. These are united in provincial councils in British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba and in regional divisions and a provincial council in Ontario. They are led by councils elected at conferences. Reflecting the bi-national character of the country the *Ligue des jeunesses communistes du Quebec* is a distinct entity within the YCLC.

All-Canada convention, the YCLC's supreme body, is convened every three years. The last convention was in October 1983. The Central Council elected by it is running the League in the interim.

The YCLC publishes two bi-monthly magazines *Rebel Youth* and *Jeunesse Militante*.

Democratic Youth Alliance of Syria (DYAS)

The Alliance was started in 1949, then called the Association of Democratic Youth. At its first congress in 1951 it was renamed the Democratic Youth Alliance and was not legalised until the left wing of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) came to power.

What prompted Syrian democratic youth to form their organisation was the desire to promote proletarian internationalism, the national liberation of the Arab people, expose the ideology of Zionism and Israel's aggressive role in the region, and back the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and self-determination. The Alliance has fought to democratise the society, against the threat of the country being drawn into imperialist blocs, for peace, against nuclear weapons, to solidify the Syrian people's national progressive gains for popular democracy, socialism and Arab unity. Many Alliance members were jailed and tortured.

The Second Congress in May 1971, a milestone in Alliance history, endorsed a Programme of Action urging democratic youth to make the Alliance a really mass organisation. Acting on congress decisions the Alliance did a lot to enlist support from young workers and peasants, joining ranks with the student movement, and was instrumental in broadening youth participation in the nation's public affairs and economic development spreading its influence throughout the land.

The Third Congress in 1981 adopted a Charter and a Programme of Demands, setting the goal of building up a united front of progressive Syrian youth. Accordingly, the Alliance is fostering ties and joint actions with other youth organisations. The alliance runs the Young Pioneers' organisation, *Nysan* (April), uniting thousands of children.

Democratic youth unflinchingly uphold the rights of the young people, primarily their right to work and study, and are against plots by imperialism, Zionism and reactionaries to subvert the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples. Many Alliance members died a hero's death fighting Moslem Brothers squads and resisting Israeli-American aggression in Lebanon.

The Alliance is active in a home campaign against the arms race let loose by US imperialism, and combines the drive for peace with one for democracy and socialism.

Its consistent anti-imperialist stand and solidarity with peoples fighting for national liberations and social emancipation have won it respect of the international

democratic youth movement. The Alliance is represented on the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Its publications include the newspaper *Nysan* (April) and the *Dirasat wa Tahqiqat* (Study and Research) quarterly. The Alliance is also patron of the Young Pioneers' publication *Baraimu Nysan* (April buds).

Diary

WMR delegations have attended recent fraternal parties' congresses — the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

* * *

The *WMR* editorial office was visited by Costas Tsolakis, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. At a meeting of the *WMR* Commission on Party Experience he spoke about the present situation in Greece and the activities of the CPG.

* * *

Indradeep Sinha, Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, and Sudhakar Reddy, member of the CPI NC, while in Prague, visited our editorial office to discuss further cooperation between the CPI and *WMR*.

the book scene

The Ideology of Hatred

Gus Hall, *Fighting Racism. Unity for Equality, Justice, Trade Unionism, Democracy, Peace*, International Publishers, New York, 1985, 304 pp.

Imperialism has always been striving to sow discord among working people, weakening their resistance to the monopolist policy of plunder. History is replete with instances of religious, national, tribal and caste differences being used to keep certain groups of people, and even whole nations, in isolation and to set one against another. Encouragement of racist ideology has proved one of the most widely applied methods traditionally used by reactionary forces.

Exposure of this ideology is the subject of *Fighting Racism*, a book by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA and a prominent activist of the international communist and workers' movement. The book is a collection of his reports delivered at party conventions and Central Committee plenary meetings, of Hall's articles and speeches which appeared over a period of almost 40 years (1976 to 1985) and which reflect the strategy and tactics of the Communists' struggle against the racial policy of the ruling quarters.

"Racism," the author notes, "is a special Big Business tool for preventing the unity of the working class and the unity of people in struggles against state monopoly capitalism" (p. 4). Gus Hall adds that "racism is an ideological poison that induces white workers to act against their own interests... Racism is a device, a means by which corporations make extra profits from the work of the racially oppressed. It is also a means of increasing the rate of exploitation of the whole working class, squeezing higher profits from all workers" (p. 52).

Drawing on the Marxist principle that it is not enough to interpret the world but that the task is to change it, Gus Hall analyses and sums up the experience gained by the working class in the struggle for the equality of all people in the United States. "To one extent or another, racial and national oppression is a phenomenon within most of the capitalist countries. But with the exception of South Africa, Zimbabwe¹ and a few other countries, nowhere is racial and national oppression practiced on the scale it is in the United States" (p. 296). Racial segregation and laws against some mixed-race marriages have only recently been abolished in the United States. Despite the lip service it pays to civil rights and its claims to the role of a "world-wide champion of freedom and democracy", the Washington administration has still not ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The poison of racism seeps throughout American society, permeating its politics, social fabric, culture and economy.

There is still a big difference in wages between the North of the country and the South. For example, an auto worker in the South is paid 40 per cent less than up North (see p. 63). This difference, which runs into billions of dollars per year, flows into the pockets of the monopolists as extra profits. The attraction of superprofits created by the ruthless oppression of Afro-American labour prompts many corporations to move the work South, which, in turn, increases unemployment in the North. This brings pressure to bear on working people and enables the monopolists to dictate their terms while bargaining with unions.

The latest figures put unemployment among US Blacks at 15 per cent — more than double the national average. Besides, while unemployment affects 16 per cent of all whites under the age of 20, the rate is 43 per cent among the Blacks of the same age group. Since 1981, the share of the Afro-Americans living beyond the official poverty line has increased from 34.2 to 46.5 per cent.

It is not only the descendants of former slaves who are the victims of racial and national oppression. Others mentioned in the collection include Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Native Alaskans and people from various Central and South American nations, from Arab countries and from Southeast Asia. The author also adds that millions of Jewish Americans suffer from anti-Semitism. The total number of those who are subjected to this or that form of racial or national oppression in the United States is 50 million (see p. 297).

"In a capitalist society," Gus Hall points out, "racism is not only present, it is constantly in the process of production" (p. 28). The monopolists foment racial contradictions to divert the attention of the people from topical domestic and international issues, to prevent workers from fighting effectively against cutbacks in social spending and the deteriorating quality of life, against the arms race imperialism has launched.

The book is mostly devoted to the problems of the United States. However, the same

picture can be reproduced to varying degrees in other capitalist countries. Neo-Nazis in the FRG and fascist-type parties in France, Great Britain and Belgium are openly preaching racial hatred. In an attempt to exonerate monopoly capital, bourgeois propaganda claims that the aggravation of the crisis is rooted in the presence of racial minorities and migrant workers in these countries.

The situation in Great Britain, the oldest bourgeois society, offers a vivid example proving that capitalism is incapable of doing away with racial inequality. In Britain, ethnic minorities (West Indians, Africans and Asians) are brutally exploited and discriminated against. West Indian and Asian males earn 20 and 18 pounds less, respectively, than a white British subject, and unemployment is twice as high among the dark-skinned inhabitants of the British Isles as it is for whites.²

Ethnic minorities are constantly insulted and threatened with physical violence. Mr Alfred Dubs, the Labour spokesman on race relations, has said that "there is not a single Asian family in Britain which has not suffered from some sort of racial incident, or which does not have friends or relatives who have suffered".³ At a very conservative estimate, 80 such "incidents" occur every week.⁴ And since the police force itself is tainted with racism, fascist thugs go virtually unpunished. These are some of the underlying reasons for the explosion of indignation which shook London's "Coloured" areas in September and October 1985.

Ideological kinship with racists is behind the alliance linking the imperialist quarters of the United States and other NATO countries with the South African apartheid regime. South Africa has long emerged as the main counter-revolutionary force on the African continent, a force that attacks the national liberation movement and progressive governments. The numerous incursions into Angolan territory, the harassment of Mozambique and countless acts of aggression against other countries are committed by the Pretoria regime with full approval or tacit acquiescence on the part of the US administration because all this serves its interests too.

Reactionary forces also strive to use the poison of racism in developing countries too. Imperialism blatantly resorts to the divide-and-rule tactics. Guyana is a case in point here, because it went through the trauma of racial division and clashes. They were provoked by the British colonialists and US imperialists acting in alliance with local reactionary forces. The aim was to prevent our country from advancing to independence with the People's Progressive Party in office.

Racism, as the Guyanese people saw, is always accompanied by rabid anti-communism. These two policies are interlinked, one always creating fertile conditions for the spread of the other. Having mounted a crude anti-communist campaign with the help of the mass media, the imperialists succeeded in diverting a large section of the people away from the struggle for genuine independence and thus weakened the national liberation movement. This made Guyana easy prey for the neocolonialists: our potentially rich country is now in deep crisis. The sad experience of Guyana bears out Gus Hall's conclusion that "no nation can tolerate the oppression of a large section of its citizens without weakening and corrupting its moral fiber" (p. 170).

Gus Hall often refers to the solution of the ethnic issue in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which have effectively ensured genuine equality for all their citizens: "There are no exploited classes or oppressed nations or peoples in the Soviet Union. That is an undeniable fact. . . . The Soviet Union has burned out the racist structure that was inherited from Czarism, the mixture of cruel capitalism and brutal, backward feudalism" (pp. 204-205).

The book stresses the need to keep track of the changes in the tactics adopted by the ideologues of racism. "It is a measure of progress," Gus Hall says, that it is more difficult today for them "to propagate and peddle their wares openly and in the old crude ways. . . . But in some ways, it is more difficult to fight racism that is camouflaged, racism that is attached as a rider to other complex issues" (p. 229).

It is impossible to resolve the problem of racism, used by reaction as a weapon

against the working class, outside of the class struggle. This does not mean, however, that one can afford to wait passively for the working class to be victorious. A position like this is fallacious and dangerous. The struggle against racism develops the class and anti-imperialist consciousness of working people and, consequently, promotes resistance to racist propaganda. "Thus," Gus Hall writes, "the struggle against racism is inextricably linked with the most basic processes of the class struggle, the struggle for social progress and socialism" (p. 227).

Marxist-Leninist parties see it as their task to ensure joint action by all working people irrespective of their racial or ethnic background. A united working class is the firm basis on which all other oppressed and exploited people can rally together; monolithic unity of the working class is essential for organising the fightback against reaction with its macabre theories. "... To win victories in this ideological contest," Gus Hall concludes, "is a matter of continuous struggle, a matter of developing ever new approaches, a matter of using the new experience of people" (p. 270).

The struggle against racism is an ongoing battle. This is why this book by the leader of the Communist Party USA makes an essential contribution to the struggle against racial oppression and discrimination, for equality, freedom, peace and social progress.

Donald Ramotar

Representative of the People's Progressive
Party of Guyana on *WMR*

¹ The document quoted was published when the white minority was still in control of that country.—*Ed.*

² *Morning Star*, September 4, 1985.

³ *The Times*, October 21, 1985.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Thinking of the Future

Antivoennoto dvishenie v stranite na kapitala (The Anti-War Movement in Capitalist Countries), Partizdat, Sofia, 1985, 223 pp.

The upsurge in mass democratic movements in the non-socialist world is a reality of the first half of the 1980s. Their activity is objectively spearheaded against the imperialist policy of aggression and merges into the general struggle for the peaceful future of the planet and for social progress. Prompted by concern for the survival of humanity and for the prevention of the nuclear catastrophe threatening contemporary civilisation, these forces are an important factor in international politics and have an appreciable impact on the world situation. Their actions are a specific expression of "people's diplomacy", which actively influences foreign and military policy.

The title of the collection under review, prepared by the Institute of the History of the Bulgarian Communist Party under the CC BCP, indicates the main theme of the book. Its authors are leading members of 16 communist parties operating in capitalist countries of Europe and Canada as well as in West Berlin. Every article depicts the situation in the country concerned, and together they add up to a fairly complete picture of the phenomenon.

National peace movements, the authors note, have peculiarities, objectives and working methods determined by tradition, the social structure of society, the international prestige of the country in question and many other factors. The book also gives an idea of the important thing, namely, the content of anti-war actions which unites all persons of goodwill irrespective of ideological, philosophical or religious

views in a common effort to end the arms race and to preserve and consolidate world peace.

Awareness of the danger of universal destruction in a nuclear holocaust has extended the social base of anti-war protest to the utmost. "By its scope, the peace movement exceeds all that has existed since the fight against fascism" (p. 54). The vast peace front comprises all classes and population groups, including members of the most privileged sections of bourgeois society: statesmen, MPs, big manufacturers, ex-diplomats, retired generals, noted scientists and lawyers. It is joined by more and more new people who had never taken part in political campaigns before, particularly by women who are troubled about the destiny of the present and future generations and regard the nuclear arms race as a direct threat of global conflict. The peace-making activity of certain church quarters, who appeal to the conscience and sentiments of believers, helps build up the mass base of the coalition of opponents of war.

In Italy, the FRG, Norway, Finland, Greece, Spain and other countries left progressive parties are playing a decisive role in the development of the movement. The authors point out that Communists show the greatest vigour and firmness of principle in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression. Facts of past and current history indicate that anti-war protest is particularly widespread where the working class, the chief revolutionary force of universal social progress, joins in. The activity of the working class movement and its political organisations, above all the trade unions, is steadily growing on the background of a worsening international situation.

The spectrum of socio-political forces cooperating in the interest of peace includes Christians, liberals, pacifists and environmentalists. Most of the social democratic and socialist parties, such as those of the FRG, Denmark, Netherlands, Greece or Finland, tend to take a more explicit stand on the main issue. The anti-war movement also shows great diversity in professional composition.

The book details the activities of committees, associations and fronts campaigning against the war menace: marches, relay races, mammoth rallies and demonstrations, especially in the FRG, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden; peace camps and the blocking of military bases, as in Greece, Britain or Italy; the collection of signatures to anti-war appeals and petitions.

The authors' unanimous conclusion is that these actions in capitalist countries reached a high in the 1970s and 1980s. "There is no doubt that the NATO decision in December 1979 to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe plus the US threat to produce and station neutron weapons made for an unprecedented expansion of the campaign for nuclear disarmament" (p. 42). The surrender of some Western governments to the White House did not generally dishearten peace fighters. On the contrary, anti-war protest takes new forms.

The enemies of peace, alarmed and frightened by the growth of the international anti-war front, are carrying on sustained subversion against it. Reaction resorts to police terror, harassment, and repression against peace fighters and kills them in a bid to mislead, weaken and split the movement, to infect it with the virus of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It uses bourgeois propaganda falsehoods about "the hand of Moscow", the "Soviet military threat" or the "equal responsibility of the two superpowers". However, its efforts are rather counterproductive, since anti-war fighters realise more and more that "unless the movement for peace and disarmament rejects anti-Sovietism, it will be demobilised or even paralysed" (p. 83).

The mounting anti-nuclear and anti-missile protest movement in capitalist countries is a reflection of growing public distrust of the reckless policy of the United States and NATO, which is fraught with global disaster. At the same time, the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries find increasingly ready response in the West. "For the first time in man's history, this alliance (of peace fighters in capitalist countries.—G.G.) is in a position to stave off war, primarily because it has a companion-in-arms 'on the other side' who, all social and political

distinctions notwithstanding, is likewise striving vigorously for peace; it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries" (p. 140).

The book deals comprehensively with the new problems of the strategy of communist parties arising from the need for the unity of these heterogeneous forces in the name of humanity's future. Communists (like the peace organisations themselves) draw no sharp line between actions against nuclear war and protest against a society breeding wars, but neither do they associate the struggle for peace with the struggle to change the social system. They accept the anti-war movement as it really is, namely, as an independent, multiclass, supraparty and diversified phenomenon, and devote their energies to overcoming its internal contradictions and to making the activity of all its currents more meaningful and effective.

The collection, which abounds in information on specific anti-war protest actions in capitalist countries, leads to the conclusion that the peace movement is developing continuously by its very nature and responds to all significant international events. At the same time, it invariably expresses the will of the overwhelming majority of the world's population, of all members of society who have a stake in a peaceful future for humanity.

Gancho Ganev
CC member, Bulgarian Communist
Party

Who Sees a Roadblock in Contadora

Apolinar Díaz-Callejas, *Contadora: desafío al imperio* (Contadora: A Challenge to the Empire), La Oveja Negra, Bogota, 1985, 301 pp.

The purpose of the interstate group which Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela formed on the small Panamanian island of Contadora in January 1983 is to bring about a peaceful settlement of the current conflicts in Central America. The Contadora Group may be said to symbolise the Latin Americans' growing awareness of their national identity and their aspiration to resist US imperial ambitions in common. Díaz-Callejas, a noted Colombian lawyer and public figure known to our readers,¹ deals in his new book with relations between the Contadora Group and the "US colossus".

Like most of the author's other publications, *Contadora: A Challenge to the Empire* is based on documentary evidence. Drawing chiefly on US official or unofficial sources, it gives basic facts revealing the trend and aims of the Reagan administration's foreign policy and the grave menace posed by it to peace in Central America. On the strength of these facts, it examines the role of the Contadora Group in the past, present and future as a Latin American initiative in an area which the United States has traditionally regarded as being within its exclusive and incontestable competence (see p. 9).

Díaz-Callejas goes back to the origins of the present US administration's policy of aggression to probe into the concepts used in various periods as a theoretical rationale for US policy towards Latin America, such as the Monroe Doctrine, the "domino" theory or the doctrine of "national security". Supported by appropriate "legal" instruments from shackling agreements of the last century, which "legalised" US territorial conquests, to the 1947 Rio de Janeiro Treaty and the recent "Caribbean

initiative", all these concepts served the one aim of assuring US imperialism dominant positions on the American continent. However alluring US assurances of "inter-American solidarity" may sound, the author stresses, US policy over the past century and a half has been motivated entirely by military strategic and other selfish interests. During the 1982 conflict between Britain and Argentina, the United States sided openly with its closest NATO ally, flouting its commitment to defend Latin Americans against extracontinental aggression — a commitment written into international treaties.

The White House, while talking cynically about "defending democracy" in Central America, organises and arms bands of mercenaries in support of the most reactionary forces and anti-popular regimes. This policy serves the interests of the US monopolies, which plunder Latin American peoples by exploiting their natural resources and manpower as well as through unequal trade, external debt mechanisms, and speculative exchange and interest rates. Washington's imperialist policy is deepening the crisis in Latin American countries. However, this crisis is not at all a result of the "East-West conflict" but of a long period of "oppression, inequality and despotism which entitles one to have 'supreme recourse to revolt against tyranny and oppression', as the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights puts it" (p. 51).

Diaz-Callejas looks into the background of the emergence of the Contadora Group, its specific steps and the response which its proposals have drawn from Latin American and West European opinion and from the governments of Central American countries and the United States. He rightly points to the connection between the independent peace initiatives of Latin American countries and the general crisis of US domination in the region. An indication of this crisis is the virtual disintegration of the discredited "inter-American system", once an effective foreign policy instrument of Washington. Referring to the moves that preceded the formation of the Contadora Group — the joint statement of the Mexican and French governments on El Salvador in 1981 and the Mexican-Venezuelan meeting in Cancun in 1982 — and examining the changes that have occurred in Colombian foreign policy since the Batancur government took over, the author stresses that the rise of the Contadora Group was a logical development in Latin American politics. The Group is an expression of the Latin Americans' growing resolve to take the future of the region into their own hands. It proposes peaceful, political ways of settling the current conflicts, opposes military interference and disputes the Reagan government's traditional hegemonistic "right" to make unilateral decisions on the fate of the region and the countries situated there. The Contadora Group has penetrated into a "restricted area", the "US backyard", with proposals running counter to the habitual imperial manner of settling conflicts. The Group may have had no such intentions either originally or later on but its involvement in Central American affairs is in practice a challenge to US hegemony (see pp. 120-121).

US documents quoted in the book show that the Reagan administration does regard the Group's efforts as a challenge. One of these documents is the Kissinger Report on Central America prepared by prominent members of the Republican and Democratic parties in January 1984. Revealingly, the report was released the day after the Contadora Group had come to terms on the draft Act for Peace marking the first anniversary of its activity. The report said that the United States could not use the Contadora process as a substitute for its own policy. Experience has shown, the paper adds, that the process functions more effectively when the United States acts with determination (see p. 122).

Subsequent events revealed the meaning of "determined action". It includes all-round support for the war of annihilation which the Salvadoran regime has been waging against its own people, the smuggling of bands of mercenaries into Nicaragua, the mining of that country's ports, which has been condemned by the international community, and a blockade intended to strangle the Nicaraguan economy. The world also remembers another instance of "determined action", the unprovoked aggression

against tiny Grenada. Washington couples all these actions, which are illegal by any standards, with a propaganda hullabaloo about "support for democracy", "solidarity with freedom fighters", and so on. In one of his speeches Reagan went as far as to compare the armed anti-Sandinist scum entrenched along Nicaragua's borders to the followers of Simon Bolivar and the French Resistance fighters.

Last December, the Contadora Group suspended for five months negotiations on the Act for Peace in Central America. The move was prompted by the fact that greatly increased tension over Nicaragua made implementation of the provisions of the Act impossible. The blame for this rests on the United States and its puppets. But all difficulties notwithstanding, the effort for a peaceful settlement in Central America is gaining ground internationally. This is confirmed by, among other things, the formation in 1985 of a Latin American Contadora support group comprising Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay.

Apolinar Diaz-Callejas' book is a contribution to these efforts. It helps rally the general public to the defence of the legitimate interests of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and other Central American countries.

Antonio Pinheiro

¹ See a review of his book, *From the Amazon to the Lena*, in *WMR*, No. 12, 1985.—Ed.

New Books

Fidel Castro, *Nada podra detener la marcha de la historia* (Nothing Can Stop the March of History), Editora Politica, Havana, 1985, 237 pp.

This is the unabridged text of an interview given by Fidel Castro to the US Professor Jeffrey M. Elliot and Mervin M. Dymally, a member of the US House Foreign Relations Committee. It deals with a wide range of economic, political and historical topics, and analyses the state of Cuba's relations with the United States, and US policy in Latin America and in other regions of the globe. The problem of the less developed countries' gigantic external debt is considered in close connection with the need to set up a new international economic order, and to carry on the fight for social progress and peace, and against the criminal arms race unleashed by imperialism.

A. G. Koryagin, *Intensifikatsia sotsialisticheskogo vosproizvodstva* (Intensification of Socialist Reproduction), Mysl Publishers, Moscow, 1986, 231 pp.

The author is a Soviet scientist who examines the new trends in socialist reproduction which have already come to the surface and which will be even more pronounced after the 27th Congress of the CPSU, that has approved the strategy of accelerating economic and social development and intensifying production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, restructuring of the economy, and efficient forms of management, labour organisation and incentives for work. He says that in the present situation a growing role belongs to the intensive form of socialist reproduction, whose characteristic features are dynamic development, steady growth of labour productivity and — on that basis — continued rise of well-being in the society and the all-round development of its citizens.

Jaime Wheelock Román, *Entre la crisis y la agresión. La reforma agraria Sandinista* (Between Crisis and Aggression. The Sandinist Agrarian Reform), Managua, 1985, 148 pp.

The author, a prominent Sandinist and a cabinet minister, discusses the essence of the agrarian transformations in postrevolutionary Nicaragua. They began in 1979 with the nationalisation of the estates belonging to the dictator Somoza and his clique — almost 20 per cent of the country's territory. This made it possible to set up major government-run agricultural enterprises. The law of 1981 on the agrarian reform was another important step. This legislation guarantees continued private ownership of land irrespective of the size of the estate, but simultaneously provides for the confiscation of idle, inefficiently used, fallow and rented out land. The book traces the radical changes that have occurred in the structure of land tenure over the years of popular government: a public and a cooperative sector have emerged and gained strength, currently accounting for 36 per cent of agricultural land; 25 per cent of the country's arable area has been handed over to peasants who owned no or little land; and the estates held by the latifundistas have contracted substantially.

João de Freitas Branco, António Mendonça, Nelson Ribeiro, Carlos Pimenta, Armando Castro, *O marxismo no limiar do ano 2000* (Marxism on the Eve of the Year 2000), Caminho, Lisbon, 1985, 190 pp.

This is a collection of lectures on the topical significance of Marx's legacy delivered at the People's University of the Portuguese Communist Party in the city of Porto. The book analyses the causes and the consequences of the current economic and monetary crisis of capitalism and examines the realities of Portuguese society. Several lectures deal with the history of Marxist thought in Portugal and with the aesthetic views held by the founders of scientific communism. The authors stress that Marxist-Leninist theory is an important weapon of the Communists in their struggle for peace and social progress.

Bruna Ingrao, *Il ciclo economico* (The Economic Cycle), Editori Riuniti, Rome, 1985, 170 pp.

The foundations of the world capitalist economy are being ever more heavily rocked by cyclical crises with the ever wider international division of labour and the spreading influence of the transnational monopolies and banks to the detriment of the national interest. The author examines the classical and present-day theories of the economy cycle, analyses its law-governed uniformities, and notes that the progressive instability of the capitalist economy is having an extremely unfavourable effect on the working people's living standards. In confirmation of the Marxist thesis that periodic crises pose a growing threat to the very existence of capitalist society, the Italian economist points to the close connection between the development of the capitalist economic process and the growing reserve labour army, and the persistent trend towards a simultaneous growth of unemployment and inflation.

Movimiento obrero del Ecuador. 1970-1979. Documentos (The Working Class Movement in Ecuador in 1970-1979. Documents), University of Guayaquil, Guayaquil, 1985, 310 pp.

The period under discussion brought a particular exacerbation of the struggle between

labour and capital in Ecuador. Those were the years when several anti-labour laws were passed in that country, including a law that banned strikes. The documents included in the book reflect the economic and political situation in Ecuador and the scope of the working class movement. The latter owes much of its consolidation to the establishment, in 1971, of the United Front of Working People which coordinated the bigger actions of the proletariat. The formation of a single national trade union centre, the collection underlines, must become a logical continuation of this process.

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