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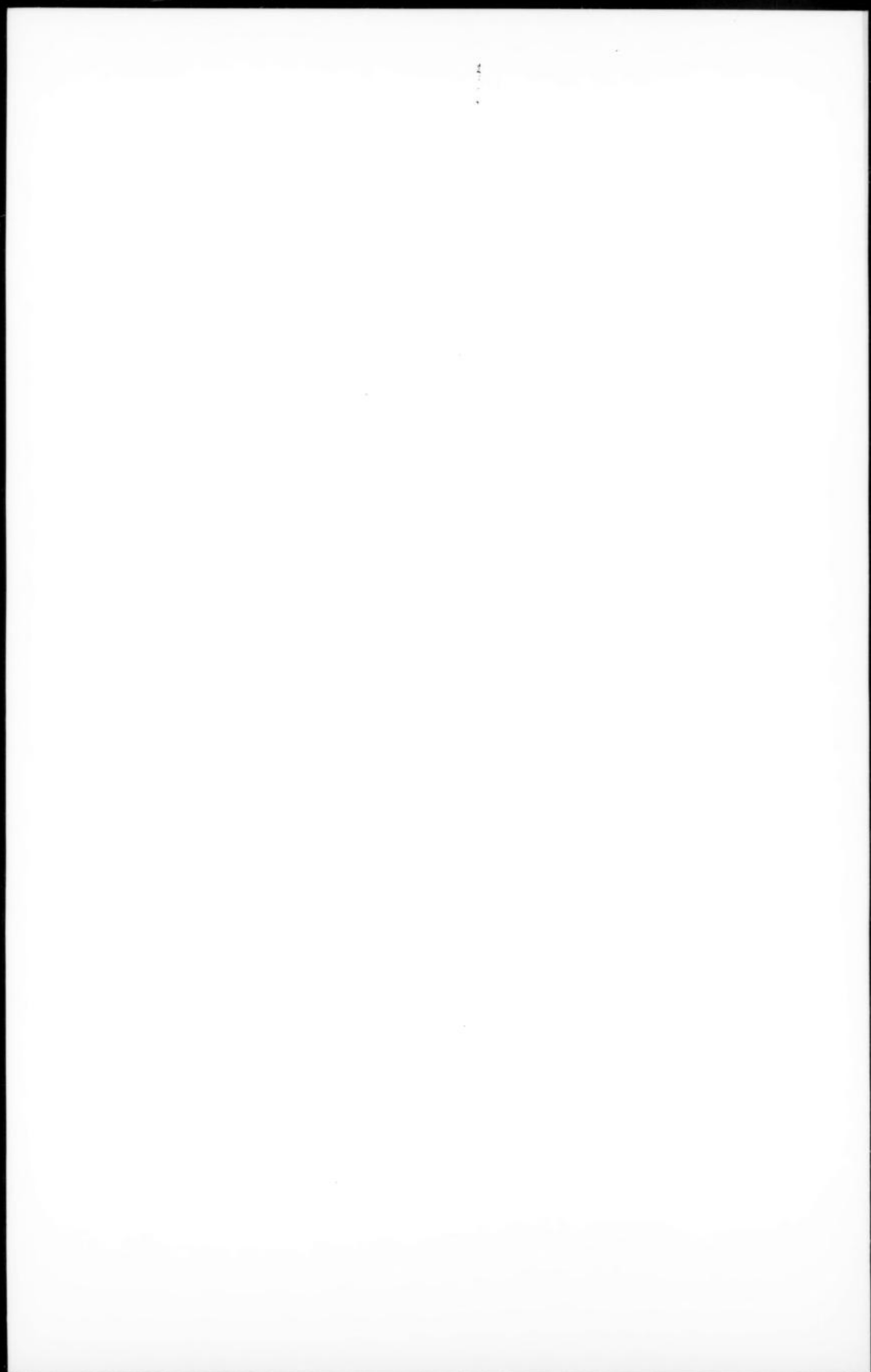
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Commentary

Socialism's Peace Offensive Continues

THE first half of 1986, of the International Year of Peace, has ended. It was marked by an expansion of anti-war actions in Western Europe and Japan, a steady growth of resistance to the militarist policy of the Pentagon and the White House in the USA, and a reinforcement of the peace movements in Asian, African, and Latin American countries. The struggle of the peoples to halt the arms race, ensure disarmament, and avert the threat of a nuclear holocaust was given a powerful impetus by the broad peace offensive mounted by socialism, the most prestigious force of our day without whose participation no single major problem confronting humanity can be resolved.

The cardinal task today is to safeguard peace. To back out of the quest for ways of averting the war threat is to gamble with the destiny of all humanity. In the prevailing situation no single state or group of states can count on basing its own security and welfare on an ability to use military strength to dictate its will to other countries and peoples. This is a flawed doctrine, whether it is called 'neoglobalism' or anything else. It spells disaster for the human race.

In keeping with this line the countries of the socialist community launched a series of major steps designed to continue and develop the positive course charted at the USSR-USA summit in Geneva. On January 15 of this year the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachov, expressing the common will of fraternal countries, made a statement advancing a wide-ranging programme for phased nuclear disarmament and other effective measures for normalising the international situation with the objective of freeing the planet of nuclear armaments by the year 2000. This programme was approved unconditionally at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and at the congresses of other fraternal communist and workers' parties; it was accepted as their own by the Communists of other countries, by the champions of peace and the security of nations. The international community vigorously endorsed the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests and its projects for eliminating chemical weapons.

The fact that socialism's peace initiatives win such far-flung approval is by no means accidental. They telescope the wishes and demands of all persons committed to preventing war, including those who in no way share communist persuasions. This concurrence of socialism's peace programmes with the hopes and aspirations of the peoples was seen with the utmost clarity also in the documents of the Budapest Conference of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's Political Consultative Committee last June.

At their Budapest Conference the top party and government leaders unreservedly subscribed to the foreign policy line, elaborated at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and at the congresses of other fraternal parties, aimed at reinforcing peace, eliminating weapons of mass annihilation, and creating a global system of international security. A key outcome of this conference was the further coordination of the

postures and practical steps of the Warsaw Treaty states in the main directions of their present policy. This was expressed in the concrete proposals formalised in the conference Communiqué and its Address to the NATO states, to all European nations.

Let us consider the basic content of these proposals.

First, the *comprehensive character* of the programme advanced by the Warsaw Treaty states for ending the arms race on earth, preventing an arms race in outer space, and achieving disarmament. They called upon all countries to combine their efforts for the common good. What is vital today? Socialism's answer is:

—stop the testing of nuclear weapons. This would be a great and, at the same time, easy step towards nuclear disarmament. It would erect a barrier to the upgrading of nuclear armaments and to the development of new types of these weapons. The way to this end is for the USSR and the USA to place a mutual moratorium on nuclear tests and begin talks without delay on a total ban on nuclear tests with the enforcement of the strictest verification;

—work towards the elimination, on a reciprocal basis, of all Soviet and US intermediate-range missiles in Europe with Britain and France refraining from increasing their own nuclear arsenals and the USA refraining from transferring its own missiles—strategic and intermediate-range—to other countries. Provided all US intermediate-range missiles are eliminated from Europe, Soviet heightened-range operational-tactical missiles stationed in the GDR and Czechoslovakia will be removed;

—at the Soviet-US negotiations on nuclear and space armaments reach concrete agreements that would take the interests of both sides and of all other nations into account. The Warsaw Treaty states have reaffirmed their adherence to the treaties and agreements in this area and insistently called upon the USA to abide strictly by the strategic arms limitation agreements;

—eliminate, as early as in the present century, such a type of mass destruction armament as the chemical weapons and also the industrial facilities for their manufacture. The Warsaw Treaty countries have called upon the NATO states to renounce their plans for the production and deployment in Europe of a particularly dangerous—binary—variety of chemical weapons.

Taking into account that the lowering of the military confrontation level in Europe is a crucial goal of the efforts to avert the threat of war, the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed a significant cutback of all components of land forces and tactical strike aircraft of the European states and also of the corresponding US and Canadian forces and armaments stationed in the Old World. It has been proposed that concurrently with the cutback of conventional armaments there should be a reduction of tactical nuclear weapons having an operational radius of up to 1,000 kilometres. These proposals encompass the entire territory of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

As an initial step there could be a mutual numerical cutback of 100,000-150,000 effectives by each of the opposing military-political alliances within a period of one or two years. In the context of this step a reduction of tactical strike air forces would be of major importance. As an immediate follow up the Warsaw Treaty states would be prepared to make further large reductions as a result of which, given a comparable readiness on the part of the NATO states, the land and tactical air forces of the two alliances in Europe would be diminished by 25 per cent from their present level, in other words by more than a half a million effectives on each side in the early 1990s.

Moreover, this proposal envisages working out a system of effective verification in all areas and at all stages of the armaments reduction and disarmament processes with the use of national and international procedures and means up to on-site inspection. The Warsaw Treaty states have declared that they are prepared to discuss and introduce any additional verification measures.

After the Budapest conference, steadfastly abiding by the course of looking for a mutually-acceptable agreement, the USSR tabled the following interim solutions of the problems being considered at the Soviet-US negotiations in Geneva:

—come to an understanding on a non-withdrawal from the treaty on the limitation of ABM systems for at least 15 years and confine work of SDI to the level of laboratory research;

—limit strategic offensive weapons to equal levels, and resolve as a separate issue the question of intermediate-range weapons capable of reaching the territory of the other country, including long-range land-based cruise missiles.

In parallel, the Soviet Union tabled the draft of an agreement on intermediate-range missiles in Europe, declaring that it would not increase the number of such missiles in Asia.

Moreover, a new concrete Soviet proposal for turning outer space not into a theatre of Star Wars but into an area of productive international cooperation and thereby make outer space an area of peace has been submitted to the world community.

The implementation of the proposals made by socialist countries is neither an easy nor a simple task. But it has to be fulfilled because only the cessation of nuclear tests, the attainment of nuclear disarmament, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and the prohibition and elimination of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction can lead to a safer world for the European and all other peoples.

Note must be made also of the second specific nature of the measures proposed by the Warsaw Treaty countries, namely, their *consistency*. The action programme advanced at the Budapest Conference continues and enlarges upon the preceding initiatives set out in the Soviet leader's Statement of January 15 and in the documents adopted by the congresses of ruling communist and workers' parties. Their initiatives stem from their consistent policy of removing the war threat and creating a stable and secure world, from the defensive nature of their military doctrine, which provides for the maintenance of a balance of military strength at the lowest possible threshold, for the reduction of military capability to a level adequate for defence. With a full sense of responsibility they have declared, this time as well, that they will under no circumstances begin hostilities against any country, whether in Europe or other regions of the world, if they themselves do not become the object of aggression.

The same peaceful intentions of the Warsaw Treaty states motivate their proposals for the simultaneous disbandment of the two military alliances.

Of course, initiatives of this kind throw the extremist imperialist circles of the USA and other NATO countries into some disarray. By tradition they are at once labelled as 'propaganda' designed to deceive public opinion, the argument being that not disarmament but, on the contrary, only strength can ensure peace.

Is it propaganda if for nearly a year the Soviet Union has not tested a single nuclear device? Is more compelling proof needed of a serious concrete approach? If this is 'no more than propaganda', then how is one to see the demonstrative nuclear tests carried out lately in the USA? There is only one answer: Washington is continuing its arms build-up. White House and Pentagon spokesmen are themselves declaring that the military capacity cannot be upgraded and that no new nuclear weaponry can be developed without such tests. This is precisely why the Warsaw Treaty states are proposing an end to nuclear tests. This is precisely why the Soviet Union took a risk by extending its unilateral moratorium. Is any other proof needed to understand that socialism's peace proposals are not empty words? They constitute a programme consonant with the very essence of the new system, with its humanitarian ideals and values.

Advocates of the arms race now use the cover of the argument that they are concerned about national security. But in the nuclear age this sort of argument

acquires a new content. With nuclear-missile weapons and other modern means of mass destruction in existence there can be no isolated 'national' or 'regional' security. This will not be helped by Star Wars programmes nor by any other possibly even more costly and more sophisticated plans. Today there can be national and regional security only in the context of universal, global security. It must be security not just for the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, American, British, French, or Japanese people, but for all peoples. This has been realised by responsibly thinking political leaders and academics, by physicians who pursue their humanitarian profession honestly, and by millions of peace fighters. It is evidently time for those who have not dropped the old patterns of thought to stop and think.

For the ruling parties of the socialist member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation the issue is crystal-clear. The steps proposed by them in Budapest are aimed at achieving precisely security for the whole of humankind. They mirror the cherished aspirations of all peoples for a lasting peace, for a world without wars and violence in which countries—big and small, socialist and capitalist—will be able to live and build relations in keeping with actually existing conditions of development and with their own notions and traditions. We should compete not in the build-up of armaments but in who can best, most fully, and most consistently satisfy the needs of our peoples, who can best ensure the conditions for the self-realisation of the human individual.

Regrettably, it has to be noted that many members of the ruling circles of the USA and of some of Washington's NATO allies have still given no evidence of a clear understanding of the fact that there is no third way for humanity.

For the overwhelming majority of people it is today obvious that a nuclear war, even if it is 'local', may cause ecological changes that will extinguish all life. But it should be understood that the arms race in itself, whatever the covering rhetoric about 'peace from a position of strength', is likewise a threat to life. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute estimates that in the period from 1975 to 1985 the world's military expenditures rose from 507 billion to some 1,000 billion dollars. This is almost double the gross domestic product of the whole of Africa, 83 per cent of the gdp of Latin America, 72.5 per cent of the gdp of the developing Asian nations, and roughly 17 times all the official development aid programmes put together. The arms race is exhausting humanity's material and natural resources and diverts the most highly trained scientists and skilled personnel from creative labour. World-wide, the military preparations currently involve 100 million persons; one out of every four scientists and engineers in the world is engaged in military research and development; in the leading capitalist countries between 5 and 10 per cent of basic raw materials are consumed for military purposes. If countries and peoples do not learn to live side by side in peace they face the prospect of perishing together, something that may happen at any moment as a result of a technological or human error or, in the more distant future, on a devastated, ravaged planet. This is not an apocalyptic vision but a very real likelihood.

A termination of the arms race and a transition to disarmament would not only defuse tension and remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe but release the funds for gradually eradicating hunger and backwardness throughout the world and helping to resolve other global problems. For that reason all the people sincerely desiring peace and concerned about the destiny of humankind cannot today rest content with the US State Department's promises to 'consider' the Budapest Conference's proposals at some unspecified date in the future. At the same time, in Washington and the capitals of some other NATO countries there are quarters trying to discredit the initiatives of the socialist countries and minimise their attractiveness to the peoples.

An extremely disturbing circumstance is that militarist circles are persisting in their attempts not only to undo every possibility for concluding new agreements limiting

armaments but to halt compliance with existing arms limitation treaties. The US administration spares no effort to vindicate President Reagan's refusal to comply with SALT-II. The Soviet Union is constantly charged with 'breaching' individual provisions of that treaty. Being unable to produce anything close to compelling evidence of this, for such evidence does not exist because the USSR abides strictly by the treaty provisions, Reagan said that SALT-II meant the 'institutionalisation of the arms race' and declared that for his part he had always been opposed to this particular treaty.

The aspiration to achieve military superiority at all costs is pushing imperialism's most bellicose quarters into taking yet another perilous gamble that would undercut the stability of the present balance of strength on the international scene. In fact, they intend to attack the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, a move incessantly urged by the Star Wars advocates headed by the US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

Unwillingness to reckon with the objective realities of our time is the only explanation for Washington's reliance on brute strength, a nuclear fist, and state terrorism that are being justified from a position of hegemonism and ideological intolerance. In various parts of the world the US administration is launching actions that are further aggravating international relations. It continues to evaluate the situation in the world in terms of nuclear warheads and Star Wars, through the prism of the arms race and militarist blackmail, thereby increasingly undermining world security, including the security of its own country.

In this situation every person is confronted with the question: what stand to take? The Communists highly value the peace aspirations of millions of people, but they consider that today it is not enough simply to want peace, not enough to censure the build-up of war capacities, not enough even to see from where the threat to humanity is coming. It is imperative to act. And this must be persevering and meaningful action.

The humane initiatives of the socialist countries create a good foundation for a radical change in all international affairs. But the existence of such a foundation is not yet a turn for the better. The threat hanging over humanity remains unparalleled and unprecedented efforts have to be made to remove it.

To bring the peoples of the planet just, enduring peace and security requires close interaction on the part of all the peace forces. This is precisely what is urged by the socialist world, the international communist and working class movement, the peoples of the developing countries, and the mass democratic movements.

Today the Communists see their duty in bringing home to the public at large the fact that real headway towards preserving peace can only be made if there is cooperation among all the anti-war movements, currents, and groups without exception. The quicker they put an end to disunity and prejudices in their own ranks, the more mutual understanding there will be and the more effective will be the growth of the powerful potential of peace, reason, and self-preservation and of this potential's influence on international developments. Non-alignment with peace initiatives, wherever they come from, only debilitates the role and strength of people's diplomacy aimed at safeguarding universal security. In their own countries the Communists are calling upon all people genuinely opposed to war, to the whipping up of tension, including bourgeois political leaders and statesmen prepared to look at the realities of our day dispassionately, to close ranks under the banner of peace. In the peace movement there are no adversaries, there only are equal partners, and room will be found in it for all who are sincere in wanting to check the threat of a nuclear conflagration.

The concrete programme advanced by the Political Consultative Committee reiterates that the socialist member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation

proceed from this single acceptable concept of partnership in our day. The proposals put forward at Budapest are of world-wide significance. They are addressed to all states as equal partners in the efforts to bring the peoples true security.

The conference of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's supreme body reiterated the unity of the socialist community countries in their approach to cardinal issues of present-day development, their unswerving determination to continue their concerted tireless efforts to safeguard the cardinal right of the human being and the whole of humanity—the right to peace and life.

Socialism continues its peace offensive.

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New Ways of Tapping Our Potentialities

Hermann Axen – CC Political Bureau
member, CC Secretary, Socialist Unity Party
of Germany (SED)

THE 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) was held in Berlin from April 17 to 21, 1986. A report on the Central Committee's work was delivered by SED CC General Secretary Erich Honecker, while Willi Stoph, SED CC Political Bureau member and Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, argued the five-year plan directives for the development of the GDR national economy from 1986 to 1990. The party's governing bodies were unanimously elected by the 2,683 delegates to the Congress.

Summing up the proceedings, Erich Honecker said: "Our Congress has proceeded successfully and has done much work. Its guideline decisions mark the start of a qualitatively new phase in the further building of a developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic. Consequently, we are steadily implementing our Party's Programme."¹

Fifteen years ago, the Eighth Congress of the SED (1971) worked out the general line in building developed socialism, so opening up a higher phase in attaining the goals of the new society. The Congress formulated these tasks in the light of the historical achievements of the working class and the other working people of the republic, led by the SED, and of the fact that the triumph of socialist relations of production signified the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. From then on, the basic economic law of the socialist society could operate more fully and with unlimited scope. Accordingly, Erich

Honecker elaborated at the Congress the idea of the central element of the party's course, of the principle task which needed to be tackled in ensuring a coherent economic and social policy. This task was formulated in the documents of the Eighth Congress as follows: "To ensure a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the people's life on the basis of high production-development rates, greater efficiency, scientific and technical progress, and growing labour productivity."²

The principal task had to be tackled under the ongoing scientific and technical revolution (STR). That is why at the time, fifteen years ago, Erich Honecker drew attention to the need to switch from the mainly extensive economic development to intensive development.

In the subsequent period, the party's line acted as the moving spirit in our country's socialist development. Its economy was consolidated, and the people's material and social condition was drastically improved. True to Ernst Thälmann's precepts, the SED consistently and imaginatively applied in practice and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory, further strengthening its ties with the masses. The people's socialist consciousness, and the society's moral and political unity were enhanced.

The Ninth Congress of the SED (1976) took account of the advance and set the aim of resolutely carrying on socialist intensification and making all-round use of the qualitative factors of production. The theoretical and political conclusions drawn from earlier development and the new requirements were written by the Congress into the party Programme: "A developed socialist society means the creation of a powerful material and technical base ensuring stable economic growth, high productivity and efficiency of social labour. *The main way to it lies through intensification of social production, and its crucial condition, an organic blend of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism.* A developed socialist society means implementing economic policy in organic unity with social policy"³ (emphasis added).

The Tenth Congress of the SED (1981) was held at a time when, on the one hand, the STR was proceeding apace, and on the other, the international situation was being aggravated. It laid down ten guidelines for the party's economic strategy and urged utmost use of the potentialities and latest achievements of scientific and technical progress to ensure optimal growth of the country's economic might.

Finally, the recent 11th Congress of the SED summed up the results of the fifteen-year advance along the way of intensifying production and implementing the party Programme. Looking back one could say that the years since the Eighth Congress have been a period of especially successful development of the socialist society in our republic.

The way was not a smooth one. The party tackled new and complicated tasks and overcame the difficulties through vigorous effort, with clarity of purpose and a well-considered Marxist-Leninist policy. The delegates to the Congress heard with a sense of pride the following words from the CC Report: "With reliance on our economic strategy, we have succeeded in making the intensification of production the crucial basis for building up the economic potential, and reliably ensuring the necessary economic growth."⁴ This is borne out, among other things, by the fact that 90 per cent of the national-income increment (and in 1981-1985 it came to 1.087 trillion marks) came from higher labour productivity.

We have gained valuable experience in such matters as the ever greater interpretation of science and production, the concentrated application of STR results, rational use of equipment, and economies in energy, raw and other materials, and working time. Cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states has deepened, especially in the crucial fields of scientific and technical progress on which further growth of our community's weight in the world depends, and which are the pledge of our continued joint advance.

Since the Eighth Congress, and especially over the past five years, the SED has also gained a wealth of experience in perfecting central planning and economic administration and management, and development of the initiative of enterprises and the territorial organs of power. The combines have found modern methods for the coherent management and organisation of the entire reproduction process (in application to the specifics of the various industries)—from research and development to the marketing of the finished product.

The working people's living standards in town and country have risen on the basis of ever higher labour productivity. The realities in our country are full employment, the well-being of the masses, equal education for all, and health for the people. From 1971 to 1985, 2.4 million flats were built and modernised, so that housing conditions were improved for more than 7.2 million citizens. In that period, the real incomes per head of the population doubled. Their growth was promoted by the stability of retail prices for the basic consumer goods: rents, transport fares and service prices were not increased either. With the wide-ranging scientific organisation of labour, seven million working people were transferred to a new remuneration scheme: in accordance with quantity and quality combined with various forms of bonuses. In those 15 years, annual pensions rose from 9.7 to 17.4 billion marks.

The internal political situation in our republic has continued to strengthen. Despite the enemy's stepped-up anti-socialist propaganda and subversive activity, relations of solid trust have been established between the party, the state and the people of the GDR. Socialist democracy has been developing in a vibrant and creative way on the basis of democratic centralism.

The GDR is well established among the top ten industrialised countries of the world, while having a well-developed modern socialist agriculture. It is an economically robust, stable and peaceable state lying in the heartland of Europe, along the line dividing the two worlds: the socialist and the capitalist. It has faithfully done its class duty, for its strengthening and flourishing demonstrate the potentialities of the socialist system. In this way, our people help to translate into life the ideals of the working class, which, in alliance with the peasants and the other working people, has proved again and again that it is capable of running the state and the society more efficiently than the bourgeoisie.

The global challenge of our day has already been more appropriately met by the socialist society in areas which have the greatest bearing on the human condition. Erich Honecker told the Congress: "When replying to the question often asked in the international arena about what existing socialism is, we can point with pride to our handiwork."⁵ The positive assessment of the way traversed provides the basis for our decision to continue our course in fulfilling our main task, while further pursuing our coherent economic and social policy.

For all the satisfaction over what has been achieved, the Congress delegates stressed that more can and must be done. Very high demands are being made on us by time, because socialism has the historic mission of proving that, as a social system, it is better than capitalism. Through its policy and ideology, its practical actions and social gains for the benefit of the working people, socialism has ever more manifestly demonstrated that it is addressing the challenge of the epoch. It has made the crucial contribution to ensuring peace over the more than four decades since the Second World War. By maintaining the military-strategic parity, the socialist community has prevented the most aggressive imperialist circles from turning the globe into a nuclear inferno.

The fraternal countries' policy is now also aimed to make new use of the potentialities inherent in our new system in the economic sphere, i.e., the sphere in which we have up to now had to catch up with capitalism, because of the peculiarities of our historical development, and to change the balance of forces in our favour by

winning the leading positions in labour productivity. It is simultaneously our response to the need to preserve peace throughout the world. Those who advocate confrontation with socialism will be forced to acknowledge not only that they have no chance of attaining military-strategic superiority, so long as the parity is there, but also that their attempts to bring socialism down to its knees by means of the arms race are futile, and that peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism is the only common-sense alternative.

The 11th Congress renewed the assurance that the Communists of the GDR are fully resolved to meet this challenge in a fitting way. The switch of the national economy to socialist intensive expanded reproduction over the past several years, and the attended improvement of the whole of social development have created the prerequisites for the start of a qualitatively new phase in the further shaping of developed socialism.

The 11th Congress formulated a task of primary importance: all-round intensification and acceleration of production. For this, the advantages of socialism need to be meshed with the results of the world-wide career of the STR, so ensuring swifter and more efficient development of our society's productive forces for the benefit of the people. The goal is to master the key technologies, or the high technologies, as they are called in the West. This is now the crucial element of the SED's economic policy. Microelectronics, flexible automated systems, computers, robots, automated workplaces, modern information technologies, laser facilities, and biotechnologies are becoming ever more important, and that is why the five-year plan envisages their accelerated application.

"There is a constant growth of the pace of development of the productive forces in the world, which means that for us they are preset," Erich Honecker stressed at the Congress. "For us, this means the need to stand our ground in the race against time, to forge ahead on a number of key indicators, thereby ensuring the attainment of higher positions in the economy and the social sphere."⁶ From 1986 to 1990, national income is to go up by 24-26 per cent; net product and labour productivity at ministry-run industrial enterprises are to go up by 49 and 51 per cent respectively, while per-unit inputs of the basic raw and other materials are to go down by 4.0 per cent, and of energy resources by 3.3 per cent a year:

High rates of growth have been planned for the lines of production which determine the pace of the STR and the overall technical level of production in our country. In the five years, the manufacture of microelectronic components and instruments is to increase from 30 billion to 42 billion marks' worth. There was not a single robot in our industry in 1970, but last year we already had 57,000 in operation. By the end of the current decade, another 75,000-80,000 robots are to be installed to boost labour productivity and ease labour. There is to be a rapid growth in the number of automated workplaces: there are to be 85,000-90,000 of them by the end of the five-year period.

But the Congress warned that the solution of future problems should do nothing to obscure our everyday problems. Efforts must be made to complete what has not yet been done. At the new phase of our advance, we shall also have to tackle new social tasks, and this demands greater consciousness on the part of the working people in the first place.

Man is the crucial factor of success in all-round and accelerated intensification of production and the mastery of high technologies, and the Congress took account of the fact in a concrete form. With the revolutionary shifts in the development of socialism's productive forces, its builders can and must apply their creative powers, qualifications and talents ever more fully, consciously and productively. It is highly important that the latest scientific advances should serve to raise not only the level of production, but also the people's well-being, and help further to mould the socialist

way of life.

The Congress delegates spoke of the citizen's growing commitment to labour and conscious action through which they bring new insights into their work, when they feel that it is highly fruitful and yields tangible and stable results, for it acts as a powerful motive force in mastering the STR, for which socialism creates adequate social conditions.

Together with the economic strategy, the 11th Congress further elaborated the conception of the SED's ideological activity. There was a detailed discussion of the tasks in party work, and of ways to tie it in more closely with the life of the working class and the whole people. The CC Report says: "In the light of all the tasks we set ourselves for the years ahead, we are even more strongly convinced that the party's leading role in building socialism has continuously grown . . . There is a need now, more than ever before, to encourage the working people's labour elan, solid knowledge and professional craftsmanship, to induce them to yearn for what is new, and to develop such traditionally inherent features of our working class and intelligentsia as their sound work ethic, reliability and sense of discipline. Revolutionary deeds and intentions are nowadays manifested in committed support for scientific and technical progress and implementation of our economic strategy."⁷

The higher tasks in developing the socialist superstructure, worked out by the 11th Congress, are, therefore, in line with the consolidation of the economic basis of our system. That is why the CC Report and the Congress discussion gave such serious attention to national education, science and the communist upbringing of the rising generation.

The Congress called on the Communists and all the other working people of the GDR to deepen and strengthen the timetested fraternal alliance with Lenin's party and country, and with the other communist and workers' parties of the socialist-community countries. Close cooperation with them has been and continues to be the pledge that the party's decisions will be fulfilled.

We were inspired to fresh successes by the presence at the 11th Congress of a CPSU delegation led by Mikhail Gorbachov. The SED and the CPSU are unanimous on the long-term goals of economic and social development, and the practical solution of the pressing problems, and the long-term objectives of foreign policy and defence. Today, at the new phase of our advance, fraternal cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in the economic, scientific, technical, spiritual and other spheres is raised to a higher level.

At their latest congresses, both fraternal parties decided on the steps required to attain, through joint efforts, an intensification of production, the key element in the shaping of developed socialism. The decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU are of fundamental importance for perfecting social relations in the USSR, and for enhancing the power and influence of socialism throughout the world.

The directives of the 11th Congress of the SED set the task of raising scientific and technical cooperation to a new level, and implementing the decisions of the economic summit of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) countries (Moscow, 1984). That will take tremendous efforts, Mikhail Gorbachov told our Congress. The SED gives the assurance that its activity has proceeded and will continue to proceed from the assumption that, more than ever before in the past, the prospects for social progress and stronger peace are now determined by the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. The conditions for the fraternal countries' cooperation have become more favourable. The acceleration of economic and social development and the substantial boosting of labour productivity will enable socialism to win qualitatively new and more solid positions in the crucial areas of the struggle and competition with imperialism.

The Congress stated that the international situation has been aggravated over the

past several years. The piratical US attack on Libya just before the party Congress opened bore out the justice of Erich Honecker's warning: the world situation in our day is liable to sudden changes. The most aggressive circles of monopoly capital in the United States and other NATO countries have been trying to invalidate the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachov and Ronald Reagan and to bury the spirit of Geneva. They are spiralling the arms race and preparing to militarise space step by step. They have staked everything on their maniacal notion that they have the strength to gain military superiority over socialism, to defeat the new social system, and to stem social progress on the Earth. The most reactionary circles are even prepared to jeopardise the existence of mankind as a whole.

The delegates to the 11th Congress demanded that the aggressive imperialist politicians should be deterred, and regarded "the preservation of peace, which holds the prospect of a secure future",⁸ as the party's most important task. Erich Honecker showed that this was a realistic task. The prerequisites for its fulfilment consist, first, in the rapid growth of socialism's economic might to ensure its internal development and the maintenance of the military-strategic parity, and second, in our community's fresh peace offensive. Its impressive programme for ridding the world of nuclear and chemical weapons by the year 2000, and the proposal to set up a comprehensive international security system, and reduce armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe is an inspiration to the peoples, and they are ever more actively committed to the preservation of peace.

There is a spread across the globe of anti-war movements, joint actions by groups of states, and by various circles of the international public against the adventurist US confrontation line. This invests the struggle for peace with new features. Imperialism has undoubtedly become more aggressive, but there is a rapid growth of the forces resisting its vicious militaristic policy. There is a gradual shaping of a world-wide coalition of reason and realism.

It is not a fist, but an open hand that we hold out to the West, Mikhail Gorbachov said at the Congress. In confirmation of this, the CPSU CC General Secretary came out with a new major initiative on limiting conventional armaments and on disarmament. In so doing, he emphasised: "We seek ways to mutual understanding, to a limitation of the arms race, not out of any weakness. We need peace, but then everyone else needs it as well."⁹

Considering that the Reagan administration and the reactionary circles of the other imperialist states are now behaving most aggressively, socialism is doing its utmost to ensure peace. Our call has a powerful ring, and it is impossible not to hear it: the destinies of the world and of mankind cannot be farmed out to imperialism! That is why the GDR Communists believe that their task is "to seek and take every opportunity, however slight, to stop the tendency of the constant growth in the danger of war, and to reverse it towards a steady stabilisation of peace".¹⁰

The international policy of the SED and the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil is designed for more active and concerted action by all the forces of peace, reason and realism so as to avert a nuclear war and prevent the militarisation of space by means of effective steps in limiting armaments and in disarmament. The GDR will work purposefully to develop its fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries, actively to promote the strengthening and growth of the might of socialism, and enhancement of its international authority. Our republic displays solidarity with all the peoples fighting for their national liberation and social emancipation, develops equitable and friendly relations with all the newly-liberated states, and gives them assistance in the struggle for a new international economic order based on the principles of equality. We intend to take a consistent stand for broader relations of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries, and to maintain and deepen the political dialogue and mutually advantageous ties on the

basis of the principles and norms of international law and reciprocal consideration of legitimate interests.

The 11th Congress gave a fresh impetus to the well-proved policy of dialogue and cooperation with all the forces concerned in the maintenance of peace. It fully endorsed the Soviet initiative on ending nuclear tests as the first step in ridding the world of nuclear weapons. It stressed the pressing need to stop the deployment of these weapons in the heartland of Europe, which has the world's highest concentration of weapons, gradually to dismantle all the nuclear weapon systems already deployed on our continent, and to remove all the medium-range missiles already sited in the area. It was declared at the Congress that the SED is prepared actively to elaborate the joint initiative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) on the establishment of a zone in Europe free from chemical weapons. We are also doing our utmost to get battlefield nuclear weapons out of the central part of Europe.

Delegations from 143 countries took part in the work of the 11th Congress of the SED, among them representatives of 89 communist and workers' parties, 34 people's revolutionary and democratic parties, and also 19 social democratic and socialist parties. The guests set forth their stand on the problems in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. The Congress became a genuine rostrum of internationalism, a broad anti-imperialist forum with a valuable exchange of experience. This is of exceptional importance in our day when the struggle for peace is the focus of all actions by the Communists, whose cooperation with the anti-war forces is an ever more pressing need.

The Congress made it possible to expand and strengthen relations with the social democratic and socialist parties, which the SED has long been developing. Most of these parties are now prepared to cooperate with the communist parties of the socialist countries for the sake of peace and security. Our positions are identical on this paramount issue: security in present-day conditions can be ensured only if we act together, instead of against one another.

The SED CC Report said that the FRG government supports the US administration's destructive policy. This complicates its relations with the socialist countries, including the GDR, and harms cooperation in Europe. The situation on our continent could be markedly changed for the better, if such a major state as the FRG takes the way of detente and actively works for arms limitation and disarmament. The Congress decided to go on developing all the ties between the GDR and the FRG in the spirit of peaceful coexistence underlying the treaty on the principles governing relations between the two German states. This is also evidenced by the joint statement issued by Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl on March 12, 1985, which says that the most important prerequisites for the preservation of peace is inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the states of Europe within their present borders. Considering that inviolability of borders and the territorial integrity of states are the key issues in ensuring security in Europe, the inclusion of these ideas in the statement signifies a step towards establishing a climate of peace on the continent.

The 11th Congress of the SED has shown once again that existing socialism works to solve the acute problems of our day for the benefit of mankind as a whole. The GDR is a solid bastion of peace and socialism, and a reliable ally of all those who strive for a world without weapons and without wars, for a world of freedom and progress.

¹ *Neues Deutschland*, 22 April, 1986.

² *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VIII. Parteitages der SED*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1971, pp. 61-62.

³ *Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1976, p. 26.

⁴ *Bericht des ZK der SED an den XI. Parteitag der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker*, Berlin, 1986, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84, 86.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁹ *Neues Deutschland*, April 19, 1986.

¹⁰ *Bericht des ZK der SED* . . . p. 10.

Decisive Factor for Dynamic Progress

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SIX and a half decades ago Mongolia, where precapitalist social relations predominated, embarked on an economic, social and cultural renaissance. In a historically short time, virtually in the lifetime of one generation, our people achieved scientific, technological and cultural progress, rising from the depths of medieval darkness to the heights of modern civilisation.

It was socialism that made possible so steep an ascent, which today attracts the attention of many peoples still fettered by poverty and backwardness.

Operating on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying in national conditions the objective laws of history discovered by it, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party evolved its strategy in line with Lenin's idea of the possibility for backward countries to advance from feudalism to socialism without passing through the capitalist formation. This idea was put into practice on Mongolian soil under the leadership of the MPRP. We are proud of the fact that we succeeded with the fraternal assistance of the world's first socialist state in proving that capitalism is not an inevitable stage in the advance of countries with a prebourgeois system.

This experience is particularly relevant in the context of the present balance of world forces, which offers once subjugated countries ample opportunities to reject capitalism and choose a socialist orientation. Its vital importance is confirmed by more and more new successes of people's Mongolia demonstrating the advantages of the socialist system.

The 19th MPRP Congress (May 1986) summed up the historic achievements of the party and the people and defined the long-range home and foreign policy tasks of the country, in particular the main lines of economic and social development between 1986 and 1990. It was a political landmark in our advance towards completing the construction of socialism according to the party Programme adopted twenty years ago. Considerable headway has been made in this direction over the past years. The following data, cited at the Congress, speak for themselves.

The economic potential of the country has grown noticeably. Basic funds have increased sixfold against 1965 and national income, threefold. Industrialisation has resulted in expanding the complexes situated in the central economic area and the east of the republic. New capacities have been created in the fuel, power and extractive industries; export resources have increased substantially and the standard of processing of agricultural raw materials has risen. The republic has trained skilled workers and specialists in all economic fields. As a result, favourable changes have come about in the social composition of society and the role of the working class in it has increased. The growth of the productive forces has gone hand in hand with steps to perfect socialist production relations, intensify the communist education of the

people and raise their living and cultural standards.

The CC MPRP Report presented to the Congress by CC General Secretary Jambyn Batmunkh evaluated these successes exhaustively and realistically. However, it did not deal with successes alone but made an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of our potentialities, difficulties and unsolved problems, and specified ways and means of accelerating the socio-economic development of the country. Both preparations for the Congress and its deliberations were greatly influenced by the ideas and spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress, whose results Mongolia's Communists welcomed as a major creative contribution to Marxism-Leninism in new conditions, as an inspiring example of courageous, scientifically sound and innovating approach to the solution of urgent problems of social progress.

Frankly and exactly, our Congress discussed the results of fulfilment of the seventh five-year plan for the economic and cultural development of the country. The past period has seen a relatively rapid expansion of social production: national income has gone up by 37 per cent, and industry has registered an annual increase in output averaging 9.2 per cent. Grain, potato and vegetable production has grown visibly. The tasks in raising the people's living and cultural standards set by the 18th MPRP Congress have been accomplished. Real per capita income increased by 12 per cent.

The dynamic socio-economic progress made by the MPR is a fruit of devoted effort by the people with the assistance of fraternal socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and of the party's correct policy. This is not to say, however, that it was all smooth sailing or that there were no mistakes or shortcomings. We could have done much more, speakers said at the Congress, had we mobilised our reserves in greater measure and used the economic, scientific and technological potential and the people's creative energy more effectively.

Due to losses incurred in 1983 and 1984, stock-farming, the main branch of our agriculture, failed to fulfil plans for increasing the livestock population. Industry put out fewer important products than planned. While investments considerably exceeded the amount planned originally, important assignments for the utilisation of basic funds were not carried out in full measure. Certain economic fields have yet to achieve proper efficiency and quality.

The Congress, stressing the need to consolidate all that has been achieved and to eliminate negative phenomena registered during the past five-year period, approved the Main Lines of the Economic and Social Development of the Country for 1986-1990. These take account of the proposals and criticism made by Communists and non-Communists during the pre-Congress discussion of the draft document in which over half a million people took part. The chief task under the new five-year plan is to advance social production, raise its efficiency and bring about a further improvement in the standard of living on this basis.

The Congress specified the objectives of the party's economic and social policy and decided on ways and means of achieving them. The national income is to grow by 26-29 per cent and capital investments, by 24-26 per cent. We will continue building up our industrial potential and expect to increase industrial output by 30-34 per cent. We must substantially improve power supply and fully meet the requirements of the economy in solid fuels. As well as expanding the industrial complexes in the central part of the republic, we are going to build new enterprises in the west, which is needed to distribute the productive forces judiciously.

Much will change in agriculture, with gross annual output growing by an average of 18-20 per cent. Plans provide for a further extension of the material and technical base of the economy and for the utilisation of intensification factors in stock-farming. Output of cereals and vegetables is to increase noticeably; we want to achieve at least 40 per cent of the increase by raising crop capacity. The aim of the party's agricultural

policy is to draw production level with the notable rate of population growth before long.

The welfare of the people is the highest goal of economic development under socialism. In the current five-year period, our people will realise more than ever that to consolidate the material and technical base of the new society is to create real prerequisites for achieving a higher standard of living, advancing society socially and culturally, and applying the principles and norms of the socialist way of life. Remuneration in the material production sphere and the service sector as well as the incomes of members of agricultural associations and minimum pensions are to go up. A good deal will be done to extend medical aid and general services and to improve the educational system and housing conditions. Public consumption funds are to grow by 20-25 per cent and the population's cash incomes, by 20-23 per cent.

In adopting a far-reaching economic and social development programme for the years ahead, the 19th Congress defined steps to raise quality and efficiency as a key task in all economic fields. This implies the following:

First, the economic situation today is such that while the growth rate of investments and basic funds is high, performance is still low. The party therefore sees the main problem in making better use of the production potential, concentrating the greater part of new investments on building projects about to be completed and increasing the share of investments in the expansion, reconstruction and retooling of factories and farms.

Second, the expenditure of materials still exceeds half the value of the gross social product. The Congress called for effort to save raw and other materials, fuel, energy and other resources, introduce technologies involving little or no waste, improve the initial processing of raw materials and ensure full utilisation of reusable scrap.

Third, the rapid growth of manpower resources is not accompanied by measures to keep competent personnel in key economic spheres. The party regards proper use of manpower resources and higher social productivity of labour as important both economically and socially.

Fourth, efficiency depends directly on the quality of output, work and services. We consider it necessary to raise quality indices in the main industries to the level attained by fraternal socialist countries.

Fifth, the Congress pointed out that the problem of raising economic efficiency is closely linked with scientific and technological progress. The appreciably increased research potential of academic and industrial research centres, designing organisations and higher educational institutions makes it possible to heighten their role in the solution of pressing problems. Research will be provided with greater experimental facilities with a view to working out major economic tasks on a comprehensive basis. Working people are to be offered greater material incentives and made more accountable for the prompt application of scientific and technological achievements in production and for steadfast implementation of the policy of fostering technological progress.

The new stage of economic development demands a different approach to the task of perfecting economic management. To encourage enterprises and economic organisations to attain greater efficiency, we have been carrying on a number of economic experiments with due regard to the progress made by fraternal countries. The purpose is to bring more working people into production planning and management, offer work collectives stronger incentives to achieving better end results, and extend the rights and autonomy of economic entities. The Congress found it necessary to generalise the positive experience gained to date and to ensure that industry, construction, transport, communications and the service sector adopt new methods of economic management during the five-year period.

The party is set on greatly improving planned economic management. This means

primarily making sounder and more balanced plans, interconnecting them at industrial and territorial level and coupling centralised planning more effectively with initiative from below. We therefore consider it important to widely use economic levers, such as economic contracts, operation on a self-supporting basis, the finance and credit mechanism, prices and wage rates. These factors must be used properly for work collectives to commit themselves more than ever to advancing production, must ensure that incomes distribution invariably follows the principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work'. Hence the increased importance of fostering new economic thinking, initiative and enterprise among executives, specialists and workers. The party does much to bring about a healthy, creative atmosphere in every collective, seeing it as an earnest of fruitful effort towards increasing and improving output, tightening up discipline, enhancing everyone's sense of duty and achieving order.

Steadfast fulfilment of the tasks set for the new five-year period and later years, the 19th Congress stressed, will largely depend on closer cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. This fruitful cooperation is based on the principles of socialist mutual assistance and proceeds in the spirit of the basic documents of the CMEA Economic Summit. It is particularly important to our country, for it enables us to accelerate social, economic, scientific and technological progress. Participation in socialist economic integration helps us strengthen the material base of the economy and perfect its pattern, increase production and raise its efficiency, reconstruct existing enterprises, build new ones by joint efforts and extend the training of personnel.

In promoting economic cooperation with fraternal countries, the MPR takes account of both its own interests and the common interests of the socialist community. This prompted the Congress to set the following vastly important task: using as effectively as possible the assistance which we receive within the framework of the CMEA and meeting our commitments to it in exemplary fashion. We now see this as a key criterion of socialist internationalism.

The bigger the social changes required in building the new society, the higher the demands made of the Marxist-Leninist party as the political vanguard of the working class and the people as a whole. The MPRP is growing and gaining strength as a living organism. By the time it held its latest Congress, it had achieved closer unity than ever and extended its bonds with the people. Today our party has over 88,000 members, or 15.6 per cent more than during the previous congress. Workers account for 33.2 per cent of its numerical strength, members of agricultural associations for 16.8 per cent and office employees and intellectuals for 50 per cent. The MPRP has grown by admitting members of every section of the working population, especially youth. Its 19th Congress instructed party organisations to devote particular attention to the qualitative aspect of the party's composition as a means of ensuring that Communists play a vanguard role in every sphere of life, setting an example of principle, efficiency and creative initiative, of an uncompromising attitude to complacency, stagnation red tape and other negative phenomena hampering the progress of society.

Unfailing application of the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership is a prime requisite for raising the leading and organising role of the party and for safeguarding it against subjectivist shortcomings and miscalculations. The Congress noted the special importance in this respect of the Extraordinary Eighth Plenum of the CC MPRP (1984), which demonstrated the continuity of party policy, the close cohesion of the party and its keen sense of responsibility. The spirit of that meeting was carried forward in subsequent CC guidelines offering a truthful and critical analysis of the work done and calling attention to unsolved problems and to ways of overcoming difficulties.

As the task of guiding society is more exacting than before, the Congress found it

imperative to reshape the party's working methods. The main requirement in this respect is to discard bureaucratic routine and allow party organisations to assume responsibility and implement on their own the general line of the party and decisions of its leading bodies. It is also essential to end formalism and oversimplification, such as express themselves in awaiting instructions 'from higher up', in pledges for show, superficial accounts, speechifying and the compilation of all sorts of plans instead of real organising work.

The MPRP is the core and leading force of the political system of our society. This explains why its entire effort in leading government, economic and other organisations is intended to encourage initiative in these organisations, heighten their commitment to the implementation of party policy and check their performance through the Communists working in them. The party does all this without trying to substitute itself for them. Congress documents define accordingly the Communists' tasks in furthering socialist democracy, in perfecting the political system of society, in increasing the role and stepping up the activity of Hurals (councils) of People's Deputies on all levels, of their executive bodies, of other government agencies, the trade unions, the Revolutionary Youth League, women's and other organisations, working people's voluntary societies. What is needed first and foremost is to extend the democratic principles of their functioning and draw working people into the management of public affairs on a mass scale.

The party wants all government bodies, all ministries and central departments, to operate efficiently and to respond promptly to the people's problems and requirements, keeping in daily touch with them. We gear the mechanism of socialist democracy to unrelentingly combating every manifestation of red tape or complacency in the state apparatus. People's control bodies are to enlist the participation of a growing number of working men and women. This should make control more effective and encourage people to approach every problem from the standpoint of the public interest, which is the basis for promoting socialist democracy.

Special attention was given at the Congress to the personnel policy of the party. The Congress demanded that all manifestations of an unprincipled, sectional or parochial approach to this matter be ended. In this sphere the party insists above all else on strict respect for the Leninist principles of selecting, placing and educating personnel, and on achieving efficiency and combining the experience of veterans with the energy of youth. It emphasised the importance of improving the training of personnel and of doing away with shortcomings that hinder criticism, especially from below, as well as self-criticism. The party proceeds from Lenin's advice which says that criticism should be 'comradely and frank', and free of 'diplomacy and petty considerations'.¹ The Congress demanded that every attempt to resist fair criticism be defeated and that party bodies respond promptly to criticisms and proposals and make the results public.

The Congress approved the policy of tightening up party, state and labour discipline, improving order and organisation and rigorously enforcing socialist legality. It pointed out that party control should serve unrelenting efforts to ensure conscious discipline. Party branches will have to play a big role in this.

In the light of new exigencies, the Congress decided on the main lines of reorganising ideological work, which should help provide a proper ideological, political, moral and psychological climate for the active implementation of party policy. We attach special importance to developing the party's theoretical thought on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and according to its methodology. The Congress formulated the main problems requiring serious research. It is to be hoped that collective quests will produce results beneficial to society's progress.

The 19th Congress was characterised by proletarian internationalism reflecting the Mongolian Communists' growing ties with fraternal parties, with all fighters for

socialist ideals, democracy and peace. It was attended by representatives of communist, labour and revolutionary democratic parties as well as of other progressive forces from 66 countries.

The MPRP, a component of the international communist and working class movement, declares for closer unity of the movement on the unshakable internationalist principles of Marxism-Leninism. We will go on building up close relations with fraternal parties, comparing notes and cooperating with them in the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and socialism. From this point of view we attach great importance to the effort of *World Marxist Review*.

Our party sees its paramount internationalist duty in furthering its fraternal alliance and close cooperation with the CPSU and the ruling parties of other socialist community countries in various spheres and at all levels. The Congress reaffirmed the party's invariable commitment to the promotion of friendship and fruitful cooperation with all the countries building the new society. We wholeheartedly support the selfless struggle of all Communists and other revolutionaries and patriots, of the national liberation forces of various countries, against imperialism and exploitation, for peace, democracy and social progress. Our Congress emphatically condemned the arbitrary, terroristic and repressive practices of imperialist reaction, of racist and fascist regimes, against freedom fighters.

On behalf of the party and the Mongolian people as a whole, the Congress expressed unanimous support for the programme advanced by the Soviet Union with a view to safeguarding international security, for that country's peace initiatives and steadfast efforts aimed at reducing and eliminating weapons of mass destruction. The Soviet initiative include the package proposals which Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, set out in his Statement of January 15 last. The only way to spare humanity a nuclear holocaust is to unite all democratic and anti-war forces in order to seek implementation of these far-reaching initiatives and curb the adventurist policy of imperialism, primarily US imperialism, directed towards escalating the nuclear arms race and militarising space.

Our Congress approved the foreign policy of the party, whose purpose is to provide favourable external conditions for our socialist construction and for the promotion of peace and international security. The MPR has become much more active in the foreign policy area and strengthened its international positions. The UN has adopted on our country's initiative a number of important political decisions in favour of peace and disarmament, such as the Declaration of the Right of Peoples to Peace.

A key foreign policy activity of our party and state is to contribute to security in Asia, where there are many knotty political problems and trouble spots. It is to this end that the MPR has proposed to set up a mechanism ruling out the use of force in international relations in the region and that meetings of representatives of the parliaments, trade unions, youth and women's organisations of Asian countries have lately been held in Mongolia.

We believe the situation on the continent and the adjacent areas imperatively demand a meeting of Asian communist and workers' parties to discuss the problem of safeguarding peace and stability in this part of the globe. The 19th MPRP Congress expressed readiness to join actively in the convocation of such a meeting and was backed in this by the delegates of a number of parties attending it.

The plans for the dynamic economic, social and cultural progress of society contained in Congress decisions proceed from the chief goal set by the party Programme: accelerating the creation of the material and technical base of socialism as the main prerequisite for the advance of the country and a steadily rising standard of living. These plans were hailed by the Communists and other working people of the republic, whom they inspire with new ideas and give confidence in their strength and

the correctness of party policy. Work has begun all over the country to accomplish the tasks set by the 19th MPRP Congress. Our people see consistent fulfilment of these big tasks as an earnest of the further progress and radiant future of their socialist country.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 374.

Ideological Principle and Political Reality

Erwin Scharf – CC Political Bureau
member, Communist Party of Austria (CPA)

MARX's and Engels' *Manifesto of the Communist Party* describes the ideological and political position of the Communists as follows: 'The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. . . Theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.'¹

These words were written at the birth of the international communist movement; they are valid to this day and express the essence of the matter. In fighting for the immediate needs of the working class, Communists see the perspective and uphold the interests of the whole movement. They are equipped with an ideology which discloses the general picture of the interconnections and contradictions of the society based on exploitation and the possibilities, conditions and objectives of the class struggle. The twofold function of a communist party is to bring socialist consciousness into the working class movement and to guide the actions of the masses for a new and better world. Marx said that philosophers have explained the world in different ways but the task is to change it. In our age, Marxism has developed into Marxism-Leninism, which is the connecting link in the world-wide struggle of communist parties and lends it unity and greater efficiency.

Lenin worked out the problem of the role of revolutionary theory in *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats*. He showed that the struggle to abolish the capitalist exploiting system is made possible by Marxism, a theory which reveals the antagonism of exploiting society and demonstrates its transient character. The direct task of our theory, Lenin wrote, 'is to provide a true slogan of struggle, that is, to be able to present this struggle objectively as the product of a definite system of production relations, to be able to *understand* the necessity of this struggle, its content, course and conditions of development'.²

It follows that Marxism-Leninism is not a quietist world-view. It reveals the transient nature of class societies and points to the working class as the motive force whose mission is to establish a classless socialist system. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism is a science of the laws of nature and society.

However, Marxist ideology is by no means something rigid, something given once and for all. A working class party must take account of political development and combat ideological currents dominant in capitalist society while at the same time

encouraging the working people to fight, which the party must do with due regard to the level of their social consciousness.

The decisive factor in the ideological practice of a working class party is whether the party adapts opportunistically to the sentiments and level of consciousness existing in the capitalist world or tries with proper flexibility to foster the consciousness of the masses on the basis of a principled orientation, mobilising them to achieve and defend their own goals. We will examine these opposed trends of ideological evolution according to Austria's experience.

A typical instance of opportunist practice is the behaviour of the Austrian Social Democrats after the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy (1918). At a time of growing revolutionary sentiments among the masses inspired by the October Revolution in Russia and of uprisings in Bavaria and Hungary, the Social Democratic Labour Party of Austria (SDLPA) succeeded through radical talk in retaining the confidence of the masses, who pinned their revolutionary hopes on its policy.

The domestic political situation contributed to this. SDLPA leaders were at the helm of state. The party Chairman, Karl Seitz, was the first President of the Austrian Republic, Karl Renner its head of government and Otto Bauer its Foreign Minister. All this created the impression of a revolutionary transformation of society. "Unfortunately," comments Otto Leichter, an Austrian Social Democratic analyst, "the Austrian Social Democrats failed to use their power against the bourgeois parties and the cadres of the counter-revolution at a time when they were in full control of revolutionary state power and when there was no other organised political force besides them."³ But then their leadership had no such intention, for it dreaded the revolutionary upsurge of the masses more than the reactionary forces operating under cover.

At first developments appeared to indicate that the SDLPA leaders had chosen the right path. The 1923 elections won the party 1.3 million votes, which entitled Otto Bauer to say: 'Another 300,000 votes and Austria will have an exclusively social democratic government.'⁴

The Linz Programme of the SDLPA (adopted in 1926) was another case of combining radical talk with illusions. It said: 'Only when the working class is adequately prepared to defend the democratic republic against any monarchist or fascist counter-revolution, with the army and other armed formations of the state defending the republic, and when power has passed into the hands of the working class as the result of a decision based on universal suffrage, will the bourgeoisie not dare to revolt against the republic, and consequently, only then will the working class be able to win and exercise power by democratic means.'⁵

'Only then', said the programme, with a touch of revolutionary vigilance. Furthermore, the programme even outlined an alternative to a peaceful road—civil war—should the situation become unfavourable. Lastly, it stressed: 'Should the bourgeoisie, however, take a stand against the social revolution that will be the task of the state power of the working class, by methodically paralysing economic life, offering violent resistance and plotting with foreign counter-revolutionary powers, the working class would be compelled to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie by dictatorial means.'⁶

The actual course of events proved entirely different. Predictably, the bourgeoisie did not shrink from violence, and the armed forces of the state submitted readily to it. A year after the Linz Congress of the SDLPA (July 1927), police fired on and broke up a mass demonstration outside Vienna's Palace of Justice. As for the Social Democrats, they failed to call for a civil war. Leichter asks whether it would really have been 'suicidal to join in struggle in those days, at the height of the Austrian labour movement, since afterwards, in 1934, the party, after four years of mass unemployment, was compelled to engage in the last decisive battle, being wedged in

between a consolidated fascist Italy and Hitler Germany'.⁷

The SDLPA did not risk that decisive battle even in 1934. Indeed, that was when the consequences of the contradiction between radicalism in words and a policy of surrender, between class ideology and opportunist action, came out. It was members of the Schutzbund, an organisation educated in a revolutionary class spirit, that rose to fight. They were backed by the Communists and other sections of the working class drawing inspiration from socialist ideas. As regards the SDLPA leadership, it neither mobilised the party nor called for a general strike. The fighting that broke out caught it unawares. However, it had missed the opportunities for success years before, in particular the last chance to use the dissolution of parliament (1933) as the signal for general resistance.

Austria's previous history is a history of class struggles. This fundamental statement is also true, needless to say, of the struggle against the occupation of our country by Hitler Germany. However, dogmatism in the theoretical sphere was alien to the Communists of Austria. They linked theory with the experience and mood of the population. It was a different case of ideological evolution, one without renouncing principles.

During the war, leading Austrian exiles from among 'revolutionary Socialists' advocated on British radio an all-German revolution, a struggle for a socialist Europe. With seeming ideological consistency, they discounted the stage of struggle for the national independence of Austria. The Communists, however, worked to mobilise various population groups in order to attain this goal. The Austrians experienced the disastrous consequences of German fascism - occupation, privations, terror and war. Dissociation from all that was German tended to become a universal phenomenon as Austrians realised their identity.

It was the Communists who discerned the unifying force of what was still a very vague and emotional awareness of belonging to Austria. They drew on research begun in the 1930s with a view to scientifically substantiating the identity of Austria and contributing to the formation of Austrian national consciousness. Diverse groups active in the country and in concentration camps rallied together to fight against fascism and for the restoration of an independent and democratic country; there also sprang up Austrian armed units as a contingent of Yugoslav guerrilla formations.

National consciousness served as the basis for the rehabilitation of our country after the defeat of Hitler Germany. Having official support, it contributed to Austria's growing international prestige. The population of the republic increasingly identified itself with the Austrian nation. Hertha Firnberg, ex-minister of Science and Research in the Kreisky cabinet, writes: 'Whereas in 1956 only about 50 per cent of the Austrians considered Austria a nation, in the mid-1960s this opinion was shared by 70 per cent and in 1970, by 82 per cent of them. The latest poll (1980) showed their proportion to have reached 86 per cent.'⁸

Of course, success came so soon because the Communists' arguments were buttressed by grim experience gained over decades. "While the First Republic," Firnberg adds, "was a 'state wanted by nobody', the Second Republic became a 'state wanted by everybody'." Indeed, Austria as a neutral and independent state became a factor for detente in Europe. The far-sighted policy of the CPA contributed to this development in very important measure.

After 1945, certain parallels with 1918 emerged in our country, if in changed conditions and forms. There offered appreciable opportunities of bringing about on an anti-fascist basis a statehood dominated by the working class. But this time, too, the leadership of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) saw its chief enemy in the revolutionary potential of the working class movement rather than in the fascist oppressors of yesteryear. The SPA leadership tried to pacify the movement, to distract it from its main tasks. It took advantage of its influence in the state and the

economy to spread illusions among people. SPA leaders contrived to depreciate the main ideological principles of socialism in the eyes of the working class and to replace it with the ideology of 'social partnership' on a capitalist basis.

For a fairly long time Austria was ruled by a coalition government composed of roughly equal numbers of representatives of the Austrian People's Party (APP) and the SPA. The workers were told that this made Austria half socialist. Indeed, capitalism had become invisible as it were, for major enterprises were at a standstill and, besides, sizable economic fields had become public property. However, steps were being taken to put capitalism back on its feet before long. The Marshall Plan played a role in this. Large sections of the working class came to imagine that the Social Democrats wielded power and were operating in its interest.

There was also the Social Democrats' insidious tactic of putting the blame for the unsatisfactory results of the economic policy on the occupation authorities and spearheading people's discontent against them, primarily against the temporary Soviet occupation authorities. A salutary way out was seen, not in a class struggle against the APP, but in joint actions with it against the foreign troops stationed in the country pending the conclusion of the State Treaty. This so-called struggle for liberation was advertised as a priority task. In the end there began talk about 'common' interests in the economic sphere as well.

That is how the foundations for the ideology of 'social partnership' were laid which in subsequent decades became established in Austria as a developed ideology playing a dominant role. To make it more convincing, its advocates skilfully used the achievements of the Austrian economy in overcoming the damage caused by the war, an accomplishment which it also owed to a favourable international situation. In view of a tangible rise in the standard of living, it was easy enough to make the working people believe that this development was a result of class cooperation within the framework of 'social partnership'. Large-scale nationalisation measures added to the illusions of the masses.

Thus the ideological struggle in the working class movement of the country shifted to a new plane. The CPA Programme (1982), defining the Austrian Communists' tasks, says: 'The Communists, who are fighting against every variety of class conciliation, take a resolute stand for an end to unnatural 'cooperation' with capital. Its rejection by the working class movement would constitute a deep-going change, a turning point in the history of our country.'⁹

State-monopoly capitalism in Austria, too, is subject to crisis phenomena. Workers today pay close attention to what Communists say. With unemployment on the rise, the CPA declares for creating jobs. However, the party is against the tendency to search for solutions at the expense of wages and working conditions. It rejects attempts to keep employment at a definite level by laying off foreign workers, although this approach draws a certain response. Our party favours anti-capitalist measures, higher purchasing power, shorter working hours and greater independence in foreign trade from the European Economic Community. In demanding higher wages and a social tax reform, we call attention to the harm done by class cooperation and awaken people to the need for class struggle.

Political struggle requires flexible tactics and an ability to use a given situation in the interests of labour. It is important always to proceed from the degree of political maturity and consciousness of our allies. The CPA wants the democratic forces to cooperate in the struggle against every manifestation of neo-Nazism and in defence of democracy. Its aims include the broadest possible peace movement and a neutrality policy more independent of imperialist influence. The movement distinguishes between the imperialist and the socialist approach to the issue of peace all the better as it gains new experience with the passage of years.

The multiformity of public life constantly necessitates specific solutions which

may seem at first sight to ignore ideological principles because they only concern particular, passing objectives, take account of the interests of allies, reckon with resistance from the class enemy, and so on. With reference to the struggle against capital and reaction, our party Programme calls for 'maximum unity on specific issues irrespective of ideological differences'. At the same time, it makes the following point: 'The Communists neither advance nor accept preconditions. In the interest of militant unity against capital they cannot renounce the right to criticise what imperils or weakens this unity, what misleads it or may affect its anti-capitalist spearhead.'¹⁰

This orientation has not always been considered indisputable in our party. There were years when revisionists expected to establish close relations with the SPA by making ideological concessions. 'Ideology,' Ernst Fischer wrote in the theoretical journal of the CPA, 'is not scientific cognition of the world but "false consciousness", according to Marx's definition; it is the image of the world reflected in a magic mirror.'¹¹ In this case, bourgeois ideology, whose task is to disguise and embellish the exploiting character of capitalist production relations and to camouflage the contradictions of class society, and which thus creates false consciousness, was equated with the world-view of the working class, which is based on a scientific analysis of capitalist society and reveals its transient nature.

Such views are a recurrence of contemplative objectivism. They ignore the actual content and significance of Marxist-Leninist knowledge as a guide to revolutionary action. The scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism manifests itself in the fact that it substantiates the theory and tactics of the proletariat's class struggle and orientates the working class to overthrowing capitalism to build a socialist system. Under socialism there are all the more favourable conditions for socialist ideology to be scientific, since under it the interests of the whole of society coincide with the development trends defined by science even though there is certainly no guarantee that social consciousness will not lag behind the stage reached by social being.

The fact that the views advocated by Fischer and his likes faced the CPA with a problem was also due to the powerful influence of the bourgeois media. In a bid to achieve ideological superiority for the ruling class, they went as far as to interfere in the controversy between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. Never before had the ruling classes commanded such vast, massive and refined means of manipulating people's consciousness. Never before had these media—from the theatre to educational institutions to books and other publications to radio and television—possessed such immense power which was unscrupulously used for defending the pillars of class society. This partly explains why the Communists, whose socio-political goals are scientifically sound, are extending the sphere of influence of their views in Austria very slowly. The demagoguery of 'social partnership' has a stronger impact today.

An article published by *Die Zeit*, the Hamburg bourgeois weekly, under the heading 'Television Replaces Censorship' quoted the following words of Neil Postman, a US analyst of the media: 'When the people allow themselves to be distracted by trivialities, when cultural life is defined anew as an endless series of amusements, as a gigantic entertainment factory, when public debate becomes meaningless chatter, in short, when citizens become spectators and their public affairs are degraded to a variety show, the nation is in danger, for the dying off of culture becomes a real threat.' Postman confirms this by referring to television and commenting that the central problem does not lie in entertaining television broadcasts but in the fact that television presents everything as entertainment, thereby putting its stamp on other spheres of life as well. 'Television,' writes another bourgeois analyst, 'makes viewers less and less capable of telling the real from the unreal, the inside from the outside, the cognised from the suggested.'¹²

In short, capitalist society, which is so proud of its pluralism, practises in reality

what makes bourgeois thinking uniform. The Communists task is to resolutely counteract manipulation of the masses. Hence the significance of our ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Lenin ruled out the slightest concession on this point. In *What Is To Be Done?* he wrote explicitly that there can be no compromise between bourgeois and socialist ideology. 'There is no middle course (. . . there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology),' he pointed out. 'Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology.'¹³

In studying the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, one is impressed by the fact that throughout the decades of want, civil war and imperialist hostility, throughout the period of socialist construction, World War II and the cold war years that followed, the party stood firm on its ideological principles for all that it had to concentrate on fulfilling current political tasks in a context unfavourable to bringing the socialist ideal closer.

It must be borne in mind that even today the efforts which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are compelled to make in order to counter imperialism's aggressiveness are anything but helpful in fully attaining socialist goals. The socialist community countries also come up against problems engendered by the political legacy of the past, by demographic and economic structures, by pressure from without. Besides, in countries of the new world, everyday political tasks were not always accomplished in the spirit of the fundamental ideological orientation—there were mistakes and miscalculations. The fraternal parties of these countries assess them self-critically, as we know; they draw proper conclusions from the past and are resolved to realise socialist ideals more fully. This attitude is important for spelling out the concept of existing socialism in our ideological activity.

For its part, solidarity, aid to national liberation movements and to the peoples who have gained freedom from colonial tyranny, poses no easy problems. Some have the impression that this aid, including the supply of arms intended to repulse imperialist aggression and consolidate independence, conflicts with the general orientation to safeguarding peace. Public opinion in capitalist countries does not always see that the measures adopted by socialist countries are necessary and justified. And anti-Soviet propaganda seizes on this. It is sometimes hard to understand without taking account of the historical perspective why this or that political decision was made, to see that they are in keeping with socialist ideology and not contrary to it. For example, assistance to Afghanistan is of primary importance in the fight against imperialism, as in the case of solidarity with the people of Vietnam and other countries resisting imperialist aggression.

In the political class struggle going on all over the world, the enemy understandably exaggerates and misrepresents the difficulties encountered by the socialist community. Bourgeois propaganda fully exploits the fact that people lack information and that our movement has ideological weak points. The psychological and ideological war which capitalism is carrying on is anti-communist through and through. Radio, television, films and the gutter press spread the lowest varieties of anti-communism. Trashy films such as 'Rambo' or 'Rocky' provoke certain people, especially youth, to stage anti-Soviet incidents. 'Rocky' paints the Soviet way of life so black that even the conservative *Wall Street Journal* describes it as fostering a cold war mentality. Anti-communism has also made its way into advertising, which imposes with regard to socialist countries primitive, repulsive notions comparable to Reagan's allegation about an 'evil empire'. This also explains why the falsehood about 'two superpowers' and 'Soviet imperialism' is still widespread.

Neutral Austria performs definite functions in the psychological war. Pro-government parties justify their anti-communism by referring to their membership of the 'Western' social system. They may be said to scale down our

country's neutrality on ideological grounds. What is more, the Austrian media are expected by both the government and the main imperialist powers to influence our socialist neighbours along definite ideological lines. In the seemingly harmless wrapping of objectivity and neutrality they offer the poison of anti-communism, which is particularly effective when these countries are faced with grave problems, as was the case in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 or Poland in the early 1980s.

The policy of waging an ideological war is all the more dangerous now that a universal struggle to preserve peace is going on. However, the appeal of the socialist community and its foreign policy, which is prompted by the principles of peaceful coexistence, is a powerful barrier on the road of those who build up hostility among peoples. This policy is also received favourably in capitalist countries. The example of existing socialism shows that man's liberation from exploitation and oppression and the abolition of all discrimination on account of race, religion, sex or nationality are intimately connected with the pursuit of a policy for peace at international level.

The strength of the Soviet army, its nuclear weapons, its SS-20 and intercontinental missiles, are a stand-by topic of anti-Soviet propaganda. Yet the latest Soviet proposals for disarmament and detente, put forward so convincingly by Mikhail Gorbachov, indicate that, now as in the past, the Soviet Union sees its mission in helping safeguard world peace. The political priorities necessitated by the search for compromise solutions in the name of preserving peace do not amount to ideological concessions.

This position also finds an expression in the new addition of the CPSU Programme, which says: 'From the standpoint of the country's internal conditions, our society does not need an army. But as long as there exists the danger of imperialism starting aggressive wars and military conflicts, the Party will be paying unflagging attention to enhancing the defence capacity of the USSR, strengthening its security.'¹⁴

Another example of adherence to ideological principles is furnished by the section of the Programme which anticipates the future of the Soviet state. 'With the maturation of the necessary socio-economic and ideological preconditions and the involvement of all citizens in administration, the socialist state—given appropriate international conditions—will, as Lenin noted, increasingly become a transitional form "from a state to a non-state". The activities of state bodies will become non-political in nature, and the need for the state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.'¹⁵

In short, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism means developing it in a creative spirit and substantiating proposed ways and means of realising the socialist ideals of the working class with due regard to the concrete historical situation.

In view of the dangers threatening the world today, we believe it would be very important for the Communists to collectively analyse the international situation and evolve an orientation for joint action. Last time this was done in 1976, when communist and workers' parties of Europe met in Berlin. Their final document stressed the importance of the policy of peaceful coexistence, adding that it creates 'optimum conditions for the development of the struggle of the working class and all democratic forces as well as for the implementation of the inalienable right of each and every people freely to choose and follow its own course of development for the struggle against the rule of the monopolies, and for socialism'.¹⁶ At present we know that Reagan's policy of confrontation and arms race is due in no small measure to the impact which the policy of peace and international detente has on social progress. Imperialism's answer is social revanche.

In these circumstances, it is important to do new research and carry forward Marxist-Leninist ideology. Our ideology ensures coordinated action and unites communist parties. Collective elaboration and further development of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin are a matter of joint efforts by fraternal parties drawing on

past experience and a knowledge of the conditions prevailing in their respective countries. This collectivism should single out and defend what the *Manifesto* describes as the 'common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality'.

Today, when the struggle between socialism and capitalism calls for greater cooperation among anti-imperialist forces and when its connection with the class struggle in each country is becoming closer, collective work by Communists in the ideological sphere is particularly important.

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 497.

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 328.

³ Otto Leichter, *Glanz und Ende der Ersten Republik*, Vienna, 1964, p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵ *Protokoll des sozialdemokratischen Parteitages 1926*, Vienna, 1926, p. 175.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁷ Otto Leichter, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁸ *Die Zukunft*, January 1986, p. 30.

⁹ *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben. Programm der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs*, Vienna, 1982, p. 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹¹ *Weg und Ziel*, May 1965, p. 353.

¹² *Die Zeit*, October 18, 1985, pp. 73-74.

¹³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 384.

¹⁴ *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, A New Edition, Moscow, 1986, p. 49 (in Russian).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁶ *For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe. Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe*, Berlin, 29 and 30 June 1976, p. 8.

the party

Taking Account of the Exigencies of the Times

Gerd Deumlich – member, Board Presidium and Secretariat, German Communist Party (GCP)

THE GCP held its Eighth Congress (May 1986) in Ernst Thälmann's native Hamburg, thereby highlighting the hundredth anniversary of his birth. This was not merely a tribute to a centenary but a fact full of deep meaning. Today the Communist Party must be able to answer many new questions relating to political, social and cultural life in the Federal Republic of Germany, a highly developed imperialist country, and the Congress demonstrated the party's solid links with the traditions of the German revolutionary working class movement. It certainly did not confine itself to a rhetorical reminder of a glorious past. Loyalty to the principles constituting the essence of Thälmann's legacy—harmony between national policy and the interests of the working class, proletarian internationalism, and an inseparable alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist world as a whole—is absolutely necessary if the party is

to work creatively, in keeping with the spirit of the times. Such is the experience forming the very foundation of our line.

The motto of the Eighth Congress, 'For a new policy: a nuclear-free world and jobs for all', is expressive of the most urgent needs of our people. The GCP Board Report, which GCP Chairman Herbert Mies presented to more than 800 (voting and non-voting) delegates and guests, puts the emphasis on key tasks of the current stage. The Congress Theses entitled 'New Problems of the Struggle for Peace and Jobs, for a Democratic Change' make a detailed analysis of political processes at home and abroad. The answers to the problems that have arisen arm the party ideologically and politically. Both documents, the Report and the Theses, were unanimously approved. So were several resolutions on specific aspects of party work.

The situation in the world and in our country is such that while we Communists are faced with numerous tasks, the struggle for peace is our chief cause. The GCP is participating in this struggle at a time of tension, with the dangers posed by the imperialist policy of arms race and confrontation growing even though many realise the possibility of eliminating these dangers.

The previous GCP Congress (January 1984) opened a few weeks after the US imperialists had set out with active support from the Federal government to deploy Pershing II missiles in our country. The peace movement that swept the republic involved millions but was unable to attain its objective, that is, to prevent the siting of nuclear first-strike weapons. The movement was put to a hard test, for many participants in it lack adequate experience of resisting militarism and war policy. The ruling quarters hastened to predict its early end. However, the GCP called for a continued fight.

The Eighth Congress described the party's approach as correct. After experiencing a certain decline, the movement spread much wider than before and assumed permanent forms. "Closer relations between the working class movement and the peace movement," Herbert Mies said, "are a new and important development in our country. Diverse professional groups—teachers, doctors, artists, lawyers but above all scientists and many technologists—are strongly committed to peace. Now, as in the past, the peace movement includes numerous Christians, sportsmen, women and young people. It involves not only the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG) but realistic-minded members of the Free Democratic Party and Christian Democratic Union . . . The peace movement has altered the political landscape in the Federal Republic thoroughly and irrevocably. More than before, its fundamental task makes it a movement of the majority of the people."

Both the conclusions of the Report and the Congress debate reflected a real consolidation of the Communists' positions in the movement and its recognition of their role. They also reflected our increased experience as peace fighters.

This development is certainly something more than a response to new challenges from the imperialist politicians who are behind the arms race. The important thing is that the movement did not despair but rose against the increased danger, which comes primarily from Reagan's plan for the militarisation of space (SDI) and from the Federal government's ready adherence to it. The alignment of socio-political forces in the Federal Republic is characterised by two circumstances.

It is increasingly evident that none but a small group representing the more reactionary forces of West German imperialism is committed to unqualified support for US imperialism and subordinates the destiny of the country to adventurist dictates. Even certain influential sections of big capital are against involvement in the SDI.

The area of resistance to the latest insane outgrowth of the imperialist arms race has expanded in comparison with the period of confrontation over the stationing of Pershings. We owe this in no small measure to quantitatively and qualitatively

increased support for the far-reaching disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union, for its plans aimed at delivering humanity from nuclear arms by the year 2000, banning chemical and other weapons of mass destruction and reducing conventional armaments. The Soviet peace offensive, on the one hand, and the aggressive activity of the US government, on the other, make for a growing consensus regarding the source of the war menace. The fight for peace gains in intensity where the Soviet peace proposals and the peace initiatives of the GDR prompted by a sense of responsibility are perceived by West Germans as evidence of the possibility of realising their own aspirations.

In this situation the GCP Congress accentuated the national interests of the republic and evolved the principles of a new security policy. We know that the big economic potential and great political leverage of the Federal Republic place special responsibility on it for safeguarding peace. Its decisions have a considerable effect on the attitude of other West European NATO countries, and even Washington is compelled to reckon with Bonn. This is why our party wants all political and social forces in our country, including its ruling quarters, to take a new approach to the problem of safeguarding peace.

Partnership between East and West in the security sphere and not confrontation is an increasingly obvious necessity today. In the present radically changed conditions, it cannot be brought about by military means but solely by political ones. The Federal Republic, it was said at the GCP Congress, should realise this and adopt 'a foreign policy of its own, that is, a peace-loving and sovereign one'. And we demand that the ruling quarters should respond to the proposals of the Soviet Union and the GDR constructively; we call on the government and the Bundestag to adopt a Peace Charter and immediately to underpin it with real steps, which the Congress formulated as follows:

- influence the US government and demand publicly that it adhere to the constructive proposal of the Soviet Union to renounce all nuclear tests; agree to sign a relevant accord:

- annul the secret agreement on Federal German participation in the SDI programme;

- have the Pershing II missiles sited in the Federal Republic to date withdrawn from our territory; prevent the deployment of cruise missiles, thereby contributing to the abolition of intermediate-range missiles in Europe;

- support every effort towards creating a nuclear-free zone in Europe as proposed by Palme;¹

- do everything possible for the creation of a chemical weapons free zone in Central Europe; seek a ban on chemical armaments and insist on their complete destruction all over the world; never authorise the storing of new US war gases on Federal German soil;

- contribute to the promotion of relations of peace and cooperation with the socialist countries on the basis and in the spirit of the treaties and agreements concluded by European states.

In seeking a radical change of security policy, the GCP certainly does not count solely on greater common sense on the part of the government. However, no advocate of a national policy which he expects to have a widespread impact can refuse to firmly put forward constructive demands, even if directed to a right-wing government. To show firmness in this instance means primarily continuing to help strengthen the peace movement in every way, to mobilise the population for participation in the actions planned for this year.

In coordinating these efforts, we are recurrently faced with the problem of our chances of success. We can solve it provided we have dependable guidelines and fight perseveringly. The conclusion drawn by the Congress is realistic and not declarative; it reflects the actual course of events at national and international level. "We

Communists of the Federal Republic belong to the forces of peace and progress. While sharing the peoples' cares and fears, we never lose optimism regarding the future. We are convinced that the main motive forces of social development in this epoch—the world socialist system, the revolutionary working class movement, the peoples of the new states, the peace and democratic movements—are equal to acting with great vigour. We are also convinced that notwithstanding class barriers and the boundaries dividing the two systems, a world coalition of reason can be brought about to preserve peace and curb the forces of confrontation."

This conviction of ours was buttressed by the speeches which representatives of 58 fraternal parties and liberation movements from all continents delivered to the Congress. They were a reflection of both the diversity and the common trend of the struggle of the revolutionary forces of today, of the historic significance of this struggle.

Experience shows day after day how very important it is to see clear in the changing balance of world forces. Hence people's keen interest in the progress of existing socialism and their sympathetic response to the achievements of the socialist countries. Increased attention is paid to the factors and prospects for accelerating the socio-economic development of the Soviet Union defined by the 27th CPSU Congress as well as to the steady pursuit of a coordinated socio-economic policy in the GDR in accordance with the decisions of the 11th SUPG Congress. We have taken all this into account in pondering on our own policy.

The great role of socialism in safeguarding peace and solving global problems of humanity is common knowledge. During the Congress it manifested itself against the background of an unusual event. The news of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station in the Soviet Union aroused among all Communists and the population at large concern as well as sympathy for and solidarity with the Soviet people. Since Federal German policy towards nuclear energy is determined by the interests of capitalist profit and military ambitions while the problem of using new technology is approached according to the nature of the social system, it is understandably important for us Communists to know the conclusions drawn from the accident by a socialist state. The sincere and detailed information which Boris Yeltsin, leader of the CPSU delegation, alternate member of the CC Political Bureau of the CPSU, presented to the Congress made a deep impression. The Soviet representatives' speech was consonant with the spirit of our confidence in the Soviet Union; it re-emphasised that country's constructive approach to every big problem of humanity.

This is all the more important since reactionaries in both the government and the media took advantage of the Chernobyl accident to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria. They tried to nullify our people's growing realisation that the Soviet Union is a peace-loving state which champions with a keen sense of responsibility a world free from nuclear weapons. Resistance to that campaign was put up immediately in the statement of the GCP Board on the eve of the Congress, in the Report to it, in the speech of the leader of the CPSU delegation, in the debate. Ellen Weber, newly elected to the post of deputy Chairman of the GCP, spoke of the historical lessons of the victimisation of Communists and warned against allowing ourselves to be forced into believing that the Communist vision of the future world has been struck a blow.

The Eighth GCP Congress examined acute inner political, social and economic problems. The right-wing coalition in power in Bonn and the employers' unions are carrying on an economic policy which, far from reducing unemployment, now at one million, makes for the spread of a new poverty. They have not only done away with important social achievements of the working people but greatly deteriorated the political and legal conditions for the struggle of the working class and the trade unions. Of course, all this has gone hand in hand with violent clashes. Looking back,

we can see the stage at which there appeared signs of an upsurge in working class action.

In this situation it is important for the Marxist party to go beyond revealing the class foundations and objectives of the strategy of big capital, a strategy undermining the confidence in 'social partnership' which had been dominant for so long. We Communists must first of all advance alternatives that can lead from defence to a turning point in social development. The struggle for the right to work is a key factor in this matter.

We know by experience that militant action is the only way to secure effective solutions. This explains the continued relevance of striving for the abolition of the ban on strikes imposed by the Bundestag and for the prohibition of lockouts. Here are priority demands for the period ahead:

- shorten working time, specifically by introducing a 35-hour week without wage cuts; seek this through a direct confrontation with the employers in the course of collective bargaining;

- implement state employment programmes to the tune of 100 billion marks; make the government abandon its position, which favours seeing primarily to better opportunities of deriving profit and to better conditions for investment in production rationalisation;

- raise the purchasing capacity of the masses by putting up wages and salaries to make up for the decline in real incomes; increase unemployment relief, pensions and social benefits.

These immediate demands can be met if military spending and corporate superprofits are reduced. Our other constructive proposals provide for qualitative economic growth, then nationalisation of key industries and the implementation of technological programmes under democratic control as well as the extension of worker participation in management at all economic levels. Also needed are a democratic structural and investment policy and a reorientation of international economic ties.

The GCP attaches particular importance to combating mass unemployment. This is seen in the 'Programme for the Ruhr', the programme 'Jobs in Hamburg', programmes for the Siemens and Daimler-Benz combines, the steel industry, and other concrete alternatives put forward by a number of district and local party organisations. "We Communists," the Board Report says, "have always been at the forefront of the struggle for full employment and will never desist from this struggle. We have advanced realistic proposals indicating how to cope effectively with mass unemployment today. We know that full employment can be dependably guaranteed only when the source of recurrent joblessness is finally cut off, that is, when the capitalist system has been abolished. There is no unemployment in the socialist GDR or the socialist Soviet Union. As for us, we must not merely look forward to better times but must fight our way to them."

The Eighth GCP Congress had every reason to put special emphasis on the struggle for democratic rights. One of the new developments in our country is that the strategy of the Right provides, along with the abolition of social gains, for further curbs on democracy. The rightists have an assortment of projects ranging from curbs on the right to strike to a package of new 'security laws'. The actual problem in this case goes beyond exposing reaction's plans and intentions.

The increasingly frequent violations of individual and collective rights, corruption among the powers that be, neo-Nazi intrigues generally come up against fairly strong democratic and anti-fascist sentiments. However, they are still often attended by a sense of powerlessness in the face of the disregard shown by the ruling quarters for the citizens' will. A case in point is the attempt to ignore protests against Federal German involvement in the SDI or encroachment on the right to strike. The experience of the

GCP speaks of the possibility of resiting the arrogance of power and of achieving success—witness the partial defeat of *Berufsverbote* (ban on professions), the resistance offered to the anti-democratic census plan, and so on. "If the majority in the government and the Bundestag or the government bypassing the Bundestag," the Eighth Congress stated, "ignore the will of the majority of the people, then we must step up the struggle outside parliament and seek a democratic renewal of the parliamentary order."

In either case we must resist anti-democratic laws, fight for their repeal, seek wider exercise of direct democracy through popular referendums and civic hearings, and strive to assure the media a democratic status. The problem of preserving and extending the rights of the working people and trade unions requires special attention, for the extent to which the democratic rights of all citizens are respected will depend on how far the working class movement enjoys freedom of action.

Our Congress, which met nine months before the next Bundestag elections,² formulated the main provisions of the party's electoral platform. We counter the 'swing to the right' which the CDU/CSU and FDP have planned and effected more or less successfully with the concept of a new policy approaching the safeguarding of peace, disarmament, jobs for all and democracy as key issues.

The obvious trend towards greater agreement on these issues among all forces to the left of the CDU/CSU, between Communists and Social Democrats, closer ties between the Greens and the working class movement, actions by trade unions, youth, women, intellectuals are all indicative of the possibility of considerably increasing extraparliamentary pressure in favour of a new policy. At the same time, there is a real chance to replace the right-wing government coalition in the next Bundestag elections. Of course, the coalition has the backing of influential reactionary forces in the Federal Republic and the United States. We must therefore encourage the people to come out in favour of adopting a new policy. The most effective way to achieve this is to promote extraparliamentary movements.

We Communists stress that after the Bundestag elections, too, pressure will be needed in favour of such a policy, irrespective of the balance of forces in parliament and the nature of the ruling coalition. We believe the best solution would be a government led by the SDPG and cooperating with the Greens in one form or another. This would be in keeping with our concept of cooperation of the forces to the left of the CDU/CSU. Therefore, the GCP will back in the Bundestag elections the candidates on the Peace List, an alliance brought into existence by the peace movement and intent on making this the decisive issue in the election campaign. Communists are cooperating in the alliance on an equal footing with Christians, left liberals, democratic socialists and independents. Votes cast for the Peace List will make for closer cooperation among democrats.

Thus the GCP, as well as helping strengthen extraparliamentary movements, is going to conduct an active election campaign in favour of the peace forces. In doing so, it will also take independent initiatives to heighten the Communists' prestige and consolidate their ranks.

A prominent aspect of the Eighth Congress was that it marked the completion of an important stage of the effort to build up the GCP. First of all, the party discussed draft Theses for the Congress which lasted nearly one year. Second, the Thälmann Enrolment campaign attained its goal. These interconnected efforts produced positive results on many lines:

in discussing the Theses, all party members, primarily young people, who could not join the wide discussion of the 1978 party Programme, acquainted themselves in greater measure with the fundamentals of the communist world-view and the policy flowing from it;

the discussion on the provisions of the Theses was a vast process of democratic

opinion-forming and assimilation of the experience gained by the party; party groups put forward hundreds of proposals, which added to the content of the Theses and helped make them a document answering new questions and thereby complementing the party Programme without being a substitute for it;

intensive study of the fundamentals of our world-view and policy and an active effort by Communists in diverse movements lent dynamism to the party's enrolment campaign.

The Thälmann Enrolment, decided on by our previous congress, proceeded in the form of a competition among districts and party groups. It produced impressive results and played a big role in party life. "The GCP has 57,802 members now," the party leadership told the Congress. "The targets we set ourselves in the enrolment campaign were reached by 100.3 per cent." When rewarding the party groups and organisations which showed the best performance, the following data were announced: the party admitted 10,282 men and women, mostly young people; over 55 per cent of them are of working class origin; upwards of 1,000 people joined the party in enterprises; over 200 new groups were formed, many of them in the production sphere; more than two-thirds of the new members are below 30 years of age; women account for 42.6 per cent of them.

The party plans to go on building up its numerical strength. As during the Thälmann Enrolment, it wants party organisations to pursue major yet realistic aims and to do all in their power to consolidate achievements. The attainment of these aims will depend above all else on ideological and organising efforts, primarily a higher standard of party leadership. Great importance attaches to work among youth, cooperation with socialist youth leagues—the Socialist German Working Class Youth, the Spartakus Marxist Union of Students and the Young Pioneers socialist children's organisation—and work among women. Needless to say, we must steadfastly strengthen our positions in enterprises.

The Congress commented on and critically analysed Communist activity in the production sphere. To expand positions where the working class is concentrated has been one of our fundamental tasks for years. The Congress resolved to form another 200 enterprise party groups before the end of the 1980s and to constantly organise new enterprise *aktivs* (primary forms of association preceding the establishment of enterprise groups). Another decision important in this respect is intended to ensure that by October 1, 1986, the GCP newspaper, *Unsere Zeit*, also has a Monday edition.

The policy evolved by the Eighth Congress and projected into the future and the tasks set by it with a view to building up the party flow from what the Board Report put on record, namely, the fact that the GCP is no isolated force in 1986 but a party wielding influence in many social movements of our country and enjoying respect and confidence among the most diverse democratic forces. Such is the greatest achievement requiring further development at the new stage. Nor is this all. The GCP is also a party engaged in creative effort, a party which critically analyses its own weak spots, and regards a sound battle of opinions on the party's further development and the Communists' role in the Federal Republic today as only natural.

The course and results of the Congress entitled Herbert Mies to say in his concluding remarks: "It is evidence of the strength of the GCP that the party is fighting in close unity for the implementation of its policy line, as the Congress debate stressed. There is no renouncing this. However, the Congress reminded us of the need always to fight consistently for unity and cohesion in accordance with our principles and the policy adopted by us, without shutting our eyes to problems and differences of opinion but settling them steadfastly . . . The Eighth Congress showed the GCP again to be a party which not only realises but forms the exigencies of today. It has a clear policy, a political programme approved after proper discussion, a

concept and a policy line.”

¹ The reference is to Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden, who was assassinated in Stockholm in February 1986.—*Ed.*

² Due on January 25, 1987.—*Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews Learning the Art of Dialogue

Arne Jorgensen – Central Board and
Executive Committee member,
Communist Party of Norway (CPN)

What characterises the Norwegian peace movement today? What is the role of the Communists in it?

OVER the past few years there has been a visible growth and strengthening of the peace movement in our country in the face of mounting international tensions and the upturn of imperialism's aggressiveness. The most notable part in it is played by the No to Nuclear Weapons organisation,¹ which unites peace fighters regardless of political affiliation or religious persuasion. This organisation sponsors meetings, seminars, and demonstrations against the build-up of nuclear arsenals.

The peace movement's most significant action has been the collection of signatures under an appeal headed 'No to Nuclear Weapons—for a Nuclear Free Zone in the North Formalised by a Treaty'. This appeal, with 540,000 signatures and backed also by the Congress of the Norwegian Central Federation of Trade Unions, was submitted to the government and the Storting. By the beginning of this year more than 100 communities had proclaimed themselves nuclear-free zones. The people of 18 communities have announced that they will not permit nuclear-armed warships to use their port facilities. These facts, as well as opinion polls, indicate that most Norwegians are in favour of a ban on nuclear weapons and the elimination of nuclear arsenals.

The Communists have always been unwavering in championing peace. Today, too, they are active in many peace organisations. Our party urges all the forces of progress to unite in the efforts to preserve and consolidate peace. It is our view that there is no viable alternative to disarmament and peaceful co-existence. The Communists are calling on the peace forces to insist on an immediate ban on all nuclear tests, take a stand against Norway's further involvement in the USA's global strategy and in NATO's sinister activity on our continent, and get our country to contribute to reinforcing European security and easing international tensions generally. The CPN

proposes the formation of a special commission representing all of the nation's political forces, including its peace movement, to define specific ways for addressing these problems.

The many groups in the peace movement are in agreement on fundamental issues such as the need for action to end the arms race, halt nuclear tests, and eliminate nuclear weapons. Of course, there are people of different political affiliation in the peace movement. While this is, in itself, a highly important and positive circumstance, it sometimes generates differences which are often used by our adversaries. For example, they continue to draw on the 'two superpowers' argument, implying that the USA and the Soviet Union are equally responsible for the rise and growth of tension. This weakens the peace movement because it confuses a section of the people in it.

Specific and credible information is vital for countering inventions of this sort. A major function of the communist press is to provide such information. Our press explains the actual state of affairs, the significance and aims of the Soviet peace initiatives in the first place. It is our purpose to provide peace activists and the public at large with as much information as possible to help them distinguish between truth and lies. The Norwegian Communists see their active participation in the many-faceted, heterogenous peace movement as a duty and major achievement of their party. While we stand by our views in the movement, we are by no means mentors. On the contrary, we are ourselves learning dialogue and constructive cooperation, and acquiring political experience, whose lessons are useful for the working class movement and other areas of the party's activities.

Prior to the 1985 parliamentary elections an aim of the peace movement in Norway was to get the majority of those standing for and winning elections to speak up against nuclear weapons. Have the peace activists succeeded in effectively influencing the position of the government and the main political parties on this issue, particularly where Norway's participation in the SDI is concerned?

The magnitude of the peace movement in Norway has unquestionably influenced various political parties, including those that support NATO. An illustration of this is that the largest of these, the Norwegian Labour Party, now advocates a nuclear-free status for Northern Europe. In the Storting there is now a majority backing proposals for creating such a zone. The recent change in cabinet has kindled hopes in the peace movement that the government will finally respond affirmatively to this issue.² Relative to the Strategic Defence Initiative the Storting's position is so unequivocal that even the Høyre Party, while in power, had to take a negative stand on the deployment of nuclear weapons in outer space, although the previous government preferred 'not to oppose SDI as a research programme' to avoid provoking a negative US reaction.

What was the Norwegian peace movement's response to the programme for eliminating nuclear weapons proposed by the USSR?

The Soviet peace initiatives spelled out in Mikhail Gorbachov's Statement of January 15 of this year were welcomed in Norway with appreciation. Their implementation would free the world from nuclear weapons as early as the year 2000. The anti-war organisations in Norway acclaimed the Soviet Union's proposal for an agreement on terminating all nuclear tests and its unilateral moratorium. There were outcries from the majority of the population over the USA's failure to follow this example. Even Kare Willoch, the former Prime Minister known for his conservative, pro-US and

pro-NATO leaning, was quite critical of the US stand. As regards the overall programme for improving the international climate, proposed by the 27th CPSU Congress, it is entirely consonant with the aims and purposes of the Norwegian peace movement.

¹ A nation-wide movement with some 300 local branches throughout Norway.—*Ed.*

² In early May 1986 the Willoch government was forced to resign by the Storting's refusal to approve its austerity programme. A new cabinet was formed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, leader of the Norwegian Labour Party.—*Ed.*

Party Building gets Priority

Martin Dohou Azonhiho — CC Political Bureau member, People's Revolutionary Party of Benin (PRPB)

Your party's Second National Congress last year defined party building as a priority task. What is the situation in this respect and what is the party's social composition and structure like today?

TO develop the Beninese revolution we have to have a strong and effectively functioning party enjoying the support of the majority of the people. At present there is a need to consolidate our gains and promote the gradual evolution of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. This cannot be accomplished without leadership by an influential Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

As a first step the party has to recruit more members. Its social make-up mirrors Beninese society's present development level and the consciousness and patriotic activity of the different classes and strata. Currently, the peasants comprise more than 80 per cent of the gainfully employed population, while the working class is still numerically small. The process of building a modern social structure has not been completed. As progress is achieved in building the new society, the party's composition will be increasingly consistent with its character of a proletarian-type revolutionary organisation guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It is unquestionable that today the party unites in its ranks or rallies around itself the finest people in our society—workers, peasants, artisans, military men, office employees, and patriotic intellectuals, in fact all who are determined to see the nation's definitive liberation from foreign domination and foster its socialist-oriented development.

The Rules stipulate the territorial-production principle for party building. However, at present the party's formation has been consummated mainly at the higher and medium level. There are no primary organisations at industrial facilities, in the services industry, in garrisons, at schools and institutions of higher learning, and in residential neighbourhoods. There still are temporary structures in the districts and provinces. In other words, the party building process has not been completed. The resolution of the Second Congress provides for setting up institutionalised organisations at all levels.

What are the reasons for this situation? What problems prevent the formation of primary organisations? In what way are you planning to carry out pressing tasks of party building?

I see no obstacles to setting up primary organisations. The problem is in priorities. Formerly, we had to give priority to restructuring the state apparatus and the national economy. You will appreciate that this is a very demanding task. Much has now been done in this area. Our policy of achieving genuine national independence has the support of the people and its implementation is predicated on the people's participation in transformative, revolutionary work.

We now have the possibility of directly addressing the problem of party building, the urgent need for which has never been ignored. A major factor here is the restructuring being conducted by central party bodies in accordance with the Congress guidelines. The whole point is that prior to the congress the CC apparatus consisted of 12 working commissions, each of which was headed by a Political Bureau member. Concurrently, the commission heads held senior posts in the state apparatus. However, this organisational structure did not permit them to provide effective party leadership in the different areas of social and economic development because administrative functions often prevailed over issues linked to enhancing the party's role.

The principal aim of the reorganisation is to free senior party officials from day-to-day administration of the economy and the state and thereby enable them to concentrate chiefly on matters related to party building, the political leadership of society, and verification of progress in the fulfilment of the tasks set by the revolution.

Seven departments are to be set up, with each monitoring the work of several ministries. The secretariat will co-ordinate the functions of these departments, thereby enabling the CC and its Political Bureau to have, at any moment, accurate information for assessing the situation and adopting considered decisions.

What are the party's basic aims in its ideological work, in developing the country's political system, and in promoting further socialist-oriented progress?

Above all, we have to form a political education network in the party in order to explain the PRPB's general line and the specific character of the Beninese revolution, rally the people, and mobilise them to contribute to fostering society's advance along the road of socialism. For this purpose the newspaper *Handoria* and the CC's theoretical and political journal are to be printed regularly, and we plan to form a research centre to study topical problems of the country's development in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, and set up a party school to train ideological, public relations, and leadership cadres; moreover, the party has to direct the teaching of social sciences at secondary schools and institutions of higher learning and turn the mass media into a means for educating the people politically and popularising the party's economic, social, and cultural policies.

Benin's political system has undergone considerable changes since October 1972.¹ There has been a reform of the administration with the result that there is now a network of local organs of state authority. These enable the people to administer villages, towns, communes, districts, and provinces directly or through elected representatives. The most significant development has been the adoption, in August 1977, of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Benin, institutionalising the country's transition to revolutionary constitutional democracy.

Also there now are various public organisations that constitute a mainstay of the people's power, function under the party's guidance, and ensure its link to the people. The party is aware that to a large extent the durability of these achievements and of the country's socialist orientation depends on further successes in party building, reinforcing the party organisationally and ideologically, and enhancing its vanguard role.

¹ In October 1972 power in the country was taken over by a group of patriotic officers headed by Benin's incumbent President Mathieu Kerekou.—*Ed.*

Documents

Martinique

NO COMPROMISE WITH THE RIGHT

UNLIKE the outcome of the parliamentary elections in France last March, the outcome in French 'overseas departments' was everywhere in favour of the Left.¹ The Central Committee of the Martinique Communist Party passed a special resolution in which it analysed the resulting situation and mapped out the orientations for the further work of the Communists.

The ascension of the Right to power in France has created a new situation, the resolution notes. The MCP declared its vigorous opposition to the French parliamentary majority. The party is against any compromise or 'coexistence' with the power of the Right. Through its representatives, notably in the Regional Council, it will press for the implementation of the Left election programme to promote economic growth, cultural advancement, and an extension of rights for Martinique. It urges the people of Martinique to act in defence of their social gains.

To make this an effective struggle the people need a strong and influential Communist Party. The Communists, who sponsored a united Left ticket, steadfastly call for a strengthening of the alliance of patriotic forces and the attainment of its programme aims. The MCP remains loyal to its allied pledges while continuing to independently explain its political platform and work to implement its strategy for establishing democratic autonomy.

The resolution stresses the need for improving the party's work in public relations and ideological education, and strengthening itself organisationally. The task has been set of upgrading the ideological standards of party members, promoting young Communists to positions of authority, and actively drawing the people, particularly young people, into the struggle against neocolonialism, for Martinique's independent development and the assertion of its national dignity.

¹ In Martinique the Left won two of the island's three seats in France's National Assembly and the majority of the seats in the Regional Council. The Reunion Communist Party won two seats in the French parliament, while the left forces of Guadeloupe and Guiana now head the regional councils of these islands.—*Ed.*

Turkey

UNITY IS VITAL AGAINST THE WAR THREAT

THE US military bases in Turkey are used by US imperialism as springboards for all of its acts of aggression in the Middle East, states an appeal issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey. In the wake of the attack on Libya the Reagan administration intends to use these bases for raids against Syria and Iran.

The Turkish people are stepping up actions to prevent their country from being used as a bridgehead for such aggression. The appeal calls upon opposition parties, the trade unions, and other mass organisations to defer their differences and unite against the danger of war. The US bases, the appeal says, should be placed under Turkish control. Progressive people are urged to pressure the government and do everything in their power to have the people's aversion for US imperialism's aggressive policies expressed in powerful protest actions.

In the Mirror of the Press

Pravda

DEVELOPING A NEW STYLE

THE 27th Congress of the CPSU named the restructuring of party work and economic management high on the list of priorities. How is this to be carried out more successfully? What new methods of work merit attention and dissemination? What are the obstacles? *Pravda*, organ of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed these questions to workers, collective farmers, engineers, technicians, scientists, heads of ministries and government departments, and party and local government officials.

In May the newspaper began publishing replies to its questions. These replies stress that matters cannot be confined to the solution of organisational and technological problems. The prime motive factor must be an inner reassessment, a restructuring of thinking, of psychology on the part of every person and of every work collective.

M. Shever, a team-leader at the Ob Leather and Footwear Amalgamation in Novosibirsk, writes of the need to give each worker an incentive for the fulfilment of the plan by his collective. At the facilities run by the Ob Amalgamation workers are encouraged to aid their work-mates and it has become prestigious to clear up bottlenecks. The success of what has commenced, he notes, depends on the consciousness level of each employee.

Y. Vinogradov, senior designer of the hydrogenerator department at the research institute of the Elektrosila Amalgamation in Leningrad, believes that no restructuring can be carried out without a tangible extension of the rights of production facilities and research teams. A significant potential for boosting labour productivity lies in retooling production. Is it normal, he asks, for a designer to have to orient himself on existing equipment rather than on the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs? Everybody is in favour of changes, but how is one to get the better of the bureaucrat and the demagogue with their conforming rhetoric and flawed style of management? This, writes Vinogradov, is the central problem.

L. Kokhany, chairman of a district agroindustrial amalgamation in Kokchetav Region, Kazakhstan, raises the question of the independence of the executive. The process of introducing the needed changes cannot be successful without trust, without putting an end to petty tutelage by higher organisations.

The question of the responsibility of cadres—party and managerial—is raised in many letters. In one of these V. Kuchumov, First Secretary of the Astrakhan City Committee of the CPSU (RSFSR), notes: Without absolving party bodies of blame for production blunders, the people who must be made accountable in the first place are those who are directly in charge of this or that sector and are paid for their work. Among other factors holding up the restructuring, he identifies 'cowardice by officials', having in mind the party committee secretaries who reconcile themselves to a flawed style of management.

Y. Litvintsev, First Secretary of the Tula Regional Committee of the CPSU (RSFSR), formulates the basic principles of work in the new way as follows: systemic approach, concrete action as a method, and evaluation as the practical result. This regional committee has clamped down on paper-work and conference fuss, abolished some posts, and disbanded various impractical 'headquarters'. Every department and every official of the apparatus has clearly defined duties and is accountable for them. The main thing, Litvintsev writes, is to work at grassroots level, to assert in the party committees, the primary organisations, and work collectives the atmosphere of commitment to principle and high exactingness created by the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The debate and the exchange of views and experience of party work under the new conditions started in *Pravda* reflects the determination of the Soviet Communists already today, as urged by the Congress, to ensure a steep turn, a radical acceleration in all areas of the country's life, and open wide scope for the people's creative energy.

At Readers Request

A RESEARCH CENTRE FUNCTIONS

In continuing the series of articles on the research centres of fraternal parties started in *WMR* in 1985 at the request of readers we present the Institute for Socio-Economic Studies of Ecuador as described by the institute's deputy director **Gandhi Burbano**, CC Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Ecuador (CPE).

FOR many years our party felt an acute need for a research centre of its own that would analyse the processes taking place in society and give our cadres a better understanding of theory. This question was raised in 1981 at the Tenth Congress of the CPE, which recommended setting up a special institute at the Central Committee. This institute was founded two years later as a private, non-profit organisation. It is part of the system run by the State National Council for Science and Technology, which coordinates the work of research centres in Ecuador. This enables us to function legally, of course abiding by the norms and rules in the government-endorsed statutes.

The institute is headed by an Executive Council consisting of seven of our comrades. The director is Jose Xavier Garaycoa, member of the CC Executive Committee of the CPE. Consultative functions are performed by the Ancillary Council, which has 20 members. Among them are prominent members of the CPE, leaders of the Ecuadoran working class movement, and members of the party intelligentsia. This Council helps to draw up and implement current plans and select authors for planned studies. We are now trying to significantly widen the work of this important institute.

Its entire staff works on a voluntary basis. A group of Ecuadoran academics, including non-Communists, cooperates with it on the same basis. Moreover, let me add that we have established close links with kindred organisations in the country. One of these is the Institute for the Training of Worker and Peasant Cadres directed by the Christian Democrats. Thanks to these links we are able to publish our materials, something we cannot do on our own because we have neither the printing facilities nor the necessary funds.

Our institute works in several thematic directions. Much attention is given to the history of the rise and growth of the working class movement and of the spread of the ideas of scientific communism in Ecuador. In this context let me mention the research that is being conducted into the creative heritage of the Ecuadoran humanist Belisario Quevedo (1885-1921). He has entered Ecuadoran history as one of the precursors of socialism, who critically assessed the liberal revolution of 1895. The institute sponsored a round-table conference on Quevedo's life and work. This was our first public undertaking and a notable event in our society's life. It was attended by many political and trade union personalities and academics belonging to different parties. The University of Guayaquil helped to publish a booklet on this conference.

The Institute has prepared and published the book entitled *The Revolution of May 1944 and the Formation of the Working People's Confederation of Ecuador*. This

work, to which there was a wide response in political and trade union circles, was put out on the 40th anniversary of the revolution, which brought down the dictatorship of Arroyo del Rio as a result of an armed uprising. A number of progressive and democratic organisations, one of which was the Working People's Confederation of Ecuador, sprang up after the revolution. This confederation, in which Communists are working effectively, plays an important part in the nation's life.

In May of this year we marked the 60th anniversary of the Socialist Party, the country's first genuinely proletarian organisation that was renamed the Communist Party of Ecuador in 1931. The themes linked to this anniversary were researched by a group of prestigious Communists set up for this purpose. This paved the way for future fundamental research for a book on the history of the CPE. Of course, much time and effort will be needed to produce such a serious book.

One of the main areas of the institute's work is to help the trade unions, mainly in the training of cadres. We conducted a series of seminars for trade union activists who were invited to Guayaquil and Quito. Subsequently, they conducted courses in their provinces, trade unions, federations, associations, and groups. Our centre cooperates with the National Trade Union School of the WPCE. In various parts of the country there now are trade union elementary study groups. The Communists regard this work as extremely important because it helps to promote the class consciousness of the working people and spreads revolutionary ideology in the working class movement.

We are now helping the WPCE to conduct a comprehensive poll among its members. This will produce a picture of the actual situation, identify the WPCE's problems and requirements, and see the activity and competency level of cadres.

This year our comrades focused on preparations for the 11th Congress of the CPE, which will consider the draft of a new party Programme. The present Programme was adopted in 1968. Since then there have been notable shifts in the republic's economic, social, and political life and these make it necessary to introduce modifications and additions into the Programme. The institute's staff sees its duty in helping the CC to the best of its ability. A working group has been set up to collect the necessary materials and closely study various aspects of present-day reality. An analysis has to be made of the problems linked to our country's penetration by US imperialism, the development of capitalist social relations and finance capital, and the condition of the various strata of the population. These and many other problems will be studied at special seminars and we hope that when the party leadership elaborates the provisions of the new Programme this will help them to take the achievements of Marxist-Leninist scientific thought into account.

Some experience of such discussion has been accumulated. Take, for instance, the October 1985 international theoretical seminar on the role of the indigenous population of Latin America in the national liberation movement. It was attended by academics from seven countries and by representatives of more than 40 Amerindian organisations in Ecuador. This theme is particularly topical for our republic. The ideas and conclusions advanced at the seminar will help to work out the programme provisions on the nationalities question and on the agrarian problem. With this in mind, we are planning to publish a volume of the papers presented at this seminar.

In the past three years our institute has established contacts with kindred organisations of fraternal parties, notably with research centres in the Soviet Union, the GDR, Cuba, and other socialist countries, and also in some Latin American states. We intend to exchange plans, expertise, scientific cadres, and research results. This will unquestionably help us to study the contemporary world's socio-economic and political problems in the context of Marxism-Leninism's creative development.

In Brief

BANGLADESH

Last June a group of left and democratic parties, including the People's League and the National People's and Communist parties, protested against the repressive actions of the military authorities against some Bangladesh newspapers, the CPB newspaper *Ekota* among them, and demanded the release of detained journalists and the lifting of the press censorship.

BRAZIL

The leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party passed a decision not to nominate candidates for the gubernatorial and Senate elections slated for November 15. It was found expedient that the Communists should act in a coalition with the parties supporting the government of President Jose Sarney: the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement and the Liberal Front Party.

COLOMBIA

At the presidential elections on May 25 the Patriotic Union, a coalition of left-wing parties that includes the Colombian Communist Party, garnered 320,000 votes, showing that it is developing into a major political force in the nation.

CYPRUS

The Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) has announced that the party's 16th Congress is to be held on November 26-30, 1986.

At the election of mayors and municipal councillors last May AKEL candidates were elected mayors of nine of the 18 large cities in Cyprus. The AKEL vote in Nicosia rose from 21 to 25 per cent, giving the Communists seven of the 26 seats on the capital's Municipal Council.

ECUADOR

In the parliamentary and local authority by-elections on June 1 candidates of the Left Broad Front, which includes the Communist Party of Ecuador, won 136,000 votes. This outcome gave the Communists another two seats in the National Congress.

GDR

The traditional festival of *Neues Deutschland*, newspaper of the SUPG Central Committee, drew representatives from newspapers of 33 fraternal parties.

MOZAMBIQUE

At the conference in the Mozambican town of Inhambane representatives of party control bodies of the FRELIMO Party, the MPLA—Party of Labour, and the Congolese Party of Labour spoke of the work of these bodies and considered ways of upgrading party control and further promoting the relations between the three friendly countries.

exchange of views, discussion

The Class Approach to Politics: Some Theoretical Problems

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IT is frequently argued in Britain today, by some who assert their allegiance to Marxism, that political struggle is not necessarily class struggle. They hold that to analyse politics from class positions is to indulge in a crude 'reductionism' which can only weaken the popular and democratic character of movements for change.¹ An extreme version of this argument contends that the very conception of working class leadership or hegemony is inherently 'vanguardist', authoritarian and anti-democratic.² This position needs to be answered for at least three reasons.

Firstly, the contention that political movements can only be 'broad' when they are not class-based has had some influence not only on Socialists in Britain but upon some Communists as well.

In the second place, this ideological position is an important one because it is part and parcel of the wide-ranging attack conducted against the whole classical Marxist tradition and the historic practical achievements of Marxists. In July 1978 *Marxism Today* carried a key article by Louis Althusser on the 'crisis of Marxism'. The article claimed that traditional analyses of politics and society, analyses based on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, were pathetically inadequate and that these theoretical inadequacies had produced a negative impact on the existing forms of socialism.³ More recently, it has been argued that the Leninist principles of state organisation are 'undemocratic', that instead of withering away, the state has become, under socialism, a 'gigantic, swollen, bureaucratic force, swallowing up almost the whole of civil society'.⁴ These 'left-libertarian' themes are reminiscent of the anarchist attacks on Marx in the days of the First International.

There is a third reason why the basic theory of politics and class struggle requires our attention. The fact is that the question is a complex one, and its conceptual complexities come sharply to the fore whenever new developments occur. The changing composition of the working class and the rise of new social movements appear to some to challenge the relevance and cogency of 'old', classical Marxist precepts. Now that under the impact of crisis, a process of radical restructuring is under way in capitalist society, those who reject 'class politics' exploit the complexities of the problem in a way which has a divisive and damaging effect on the British Left.

As early as the 1880s Engels noted the difficulties the Socialists of that period had with a materialist theory of politics.⁵ It has to be said that even so outstanding of Marxist theorist as Antonio Gramsci failed to draw a consistent line between state and society, between politics and its class basis.⁶ Nevertheless, despite the complexities involved, the Marxist classics do furnish us with vital concepts which can help to provide a substantiated answer to the claims that a class analysis of political

events is inherently 'limiting' and impermissibly 'reductionist'.

Politics and Economics: the Problem of Abstraction

Central to the problem of analysing class struggle is the question of politics and economics. In what sense can politics and economics be separated? They are not identical, but what is the relationship between the two? Why is it possible to say that class struggle is inherently political?

The relationship between politics and economics is one which preoccupied Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks*. His remark that the distinction between political and civil society can only be 'methodological' is of crucial importance. Both liberals on the right and syndicalists on the left are wrong, he noted, to treat this distinction as if it were 'organic'. This famous comment means that economics and politics can only be distinguished in *analytical* terms; in the real world, as he put it, 'civil society and the State are one and the same'⁷—in other words, they cannot be separated out empirically. And yet Gramsci found it extremely difficult to draw a distinction between politics and economics in purely analytical terms.⁸ He was rightly critical of the Italian idealist Benedetto Croce and Croce's view of politics as a 'passion'. Still, exactly how politics could be at once rooted in and separate from the economy was a problem which Gramsci failed to adequately resolve.⁹

The reason for this inadequacy is to be found in the tendency existing at the time among some Western Marxists to ignore Marx's *Capital* as a work of great *philosophical* importance. Central to this work is the concept of abstraction. It holds the key not merely to the analysis of the commodity but also to a scientific understanding of the relationship between politics and economics and therefore, between politics and its class basis. Why this is so can best be understood if we recall Marx's early use of the concept of abstraction. In his critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* in 1843 he notes that before the birth of capitalism no one would have thought of seriously distinguishing politics from economics at all, since whether we deal with the Greek polis, Asiatic despotisms or medieval estates, property, trade and society were considered as much political as they were economic. Marx says that 'the abstraction of the *political state* is a modern product' (i.e., belongs to capitalism). Why? Because 'the abstraction of private life belongs only to modern times'.¹⁰ We witness, he goes on to point out, the 'power of *abstract private property* over the *political state*'.¹¹ What do these formulations mean?

The analysis in *Capital* has the key. Marx argues that once capitalism established itself after a protracted period of plunder and pillage, the state appears to 'withdraw' from social life in the sense that the dull compulsion of market forces replaces the overt and explicit use of force as the main method of disciplining the producers. Property 'receives its purely economic form by discarding all its former political and social embellishments and associations'.¹² And so the 'abstraction' of the state from society means that separation of economics from politics which is such a distinct feature of capitalist production.

Applied to the relationship between economics and politics however, the concept of abstraction also has a deeper meaning. One sees from *Capital* that in the process of exchanging commodities, the labour involved in their production is abstracted from its social context since two quite different objects (if we take a simple barter situation) have to be equated in value terms before an exchange can occur. Marx calls the labour embodied in the commodity 'abstract' and argues that under commodity production, a 'definite social relation between men' (which all production naturally involves) assumes 'the fantastic form of a relation between things'.¹³ The commodity confronts us as a mere 'thing' precisely because in the course of the exchange process, it has been 'abstracted' from the social relations involved in its production. Who would know simply by looking at a gold South African Krugerrand coin that it embodies the

miseries of apartheid?

This process of abstraction has a bearing on the politics/economics relationship too. Commodities and commodity owners can appear as mere 'things' and 'atomistic individuals', outside their concrete social context only if the state appears to withdraw from the market so that contracts and exchanges can apparently take place as pure expressions of 'free will'. This is why, to recall Marx's comment in 1834, the state is only abstracted from society in 'modern times'. It is only under capitalism that the 'metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties' of commodity production reach a level at which an apparently autonomous world of the market place is established.¹⁴

Marx, therefore, injects into the concept of abstraction a notion of 'fetishism', deception and absurdity. However, although abstract labour does create the impression that commodities are mere 'things', the fact remains that they are products of social labour and that commodity owners enter into definite social relationships independent of their will. The state, likewise, is rooted in the economy despite the apparent autonomy it enjoys.

It follows that our problem can be formulated like this: as a result of the development of the capitalist mode of production, politics and economics have become more sharply differentiated than ever before. And yet unless we accept the fetishism of the capitalist system at face value, we cannot assume that politics and economics exist apart as 'abstract' entities, that politics possesses the mystical power of a creative effort independent of the economy. What then is the true character of their differentiation? If the abstract appearances are misleading, what is the concrete reality?

Politics as the Concentration of Economics

Analysing capitalist production, Marx characterises the state as the 'concentration of bourgeois society',¹⁵ or, as he puts it in *Capital*, 'the concentrated and organised force of society'.¹⁶ This definition of politics as the concentration of economics was reiterated by Lenin.¹⁷ It is an extremely valuable one because it serves to focus upon the underlying realities which are at once mystified by and yet make their appearance through, the social and political phenomena of everyday life under capitalism. Of particular importance is the fact that the category of concentration brings us face to face with the question of the *class* content of politics.

Marx breaks decisively with the voluntarism of the liberal tradition, arguing that people enter into social relations independent of their will and do not remain isolated individuals in some kind of pre-social 'state of nature'. These relationships define an individual's class membership in a situation where one group exploits another through its privileged access to the means of production.

Marx's concept of 'relationship' is linked to his concept of concentration. He insists that social relationships are always 'definite' because they are, to a lesser or greater degree, *organised*. These organisations—whether social, political or cultural—can be said to express social relationships in 'concentrated' terms. This is achieved by focusing these relationships around particular norms of conduct, rules of operation, purposes of organised action, etc. Meanwhile, the degree of concentration into organisational forms depends upon the social scope and application of these particular norms and purposes. Do they apply merely to small groups (like the family or friends) or to wider groups like the people of a locality or region? Are these norms and purposes highly specialised in that they express the organisation of only one activity (as, say, entertainment or education) or are they more general in scope in that the rules they enforce pertain to the running of society as a whole?

These questions can be answered as follows: the more generalised and extended the range of activities which organisations regulate, the more 'concentrated' social relationships can be said to be. Marx refers to the state as the concentrated expression

of bourgeois society, and one of the reasons is that the state is the institution through which a dominant class is able to enforce 'its interests in a general form, in a form possessing general, socially coercive force'.¹⁸ The state is the organisation in which the interests of a class are embodied particularly fully and generally; the state is the medium through which a class is able to project its interests throughout society as a whole. The state consummates all the intermediate- and lower-level concentrations of power, thus making it possible for one class to comprehensively impose its will on its rivals.

Marx's analysis is crucial for the examination of the argument about the theoretical inadequacy of the class approach to politics. Countering the liberal view that classes are no more than chance aggregations of abstract individuals is the fact that classes arise as organised social groups in conflict with one another due to their antagonistic relationships to the means of production. Organisations that reflect the interests of a class are at once economic and, at the very least embryonically political. The greater the degree to which a fundamental class interest is concentrated in these organisations, the more political their character.

The very concept of class as an exclusively 'economic' entity conflicts therefore with the basic premises of historical materialism. It breaks with Marx's idea that individuals always enter into definite relationships around organised interests and reverts to the fetishist liberal notion of class as an aggregate of abstract individuals. Classes are of necessity economic and political entities. When the interests of a class are sufficiently concentrated to make their projection possible through the 'universal' power of the state, the class becomes a *ruling* class.

Since 'politics is concentrated economics' and the state, 'concentrated society', we can now concretely differentiate between politics and economics, the state and society, without mystifying their relationship as a mere abstraction. In this way we can grasp the fact that every class struggle is necessarily political in character and that every political struggle expresses the concentrated interests of a particular class.

The concept of concentration also makes it possible to reject the charge that a class analysis of politics is impermissibly 'reductionist' in character. Politics is distinctive and specific because it offers a generalised expression of social relationships at the highest level through the organisation of state power and in connection with the attitudes of all classes and strata to it. No other institution concentrates class interest to the same degree and in the same way at the state. But precisely because politics is a 'concentrate' of economics, it cannot exist as a purely autonomous realm. Unless politics is rooted in the wider social relations which it concentrates, it cannot exist at all.

The differing levels at which class interests are concentrated can be concretely differentiated with the help of a materialist historical analysis. The concept of concentration highlights the fact that at each stage in the formation and development of a class, its interests are expressed in an increasingly generalised manner through its various organisations until it becomes possible to project them fully and consistently throughout society at large. The breadth of a movement, whether progressive or reactionary, does not therefore, as some on the left in Britain allege, contradict its class basis. On the contrary, the more comprehensive the political movement, the more developed and profound the interest it expresses. Movements become ever more political as the class (or classes) whose interests they embody consolidates its grip and expands its influence over society as a whole.

Class Politics and the Deceptive Nature of Form

I have noted earlier that one of the factors aggravating the complexities of the question of politics and class struggle in Britain has been the development of the peace movement and new social movements—for women's liberation, protection of

the environment, or black rights. Their class character is by no means obvious. Gender or ethnic factors as well as social and human considerations wider than considerations of class are seen as the defining characteristics of such general democratic movements. Hence claims that a class analysis is neither possible nor appropriate here: allegedly, any attempt to present these movements in class terms would merely serve to limit their scope and efficacy.

We do not believe that this is a convincing argument. The breadth of a movement, both in terms of its social composition and of the issues around which it organises, does not rule out a class analysis or an objective examination, in each specific case, of these movements' objective attitude to the policy pursued by reactionary quarters and to the overall struggle for social progress.

The contemporary peace movement is undoubtedly the most popular as well as the broadest in the postwar era. It unites people irrespective of their class or social strata in society, on the basis of a common interest in preventing nuclear war. Whatever their ideological views or class origin, peace activists have a common objective—human survival. The broader the movement is, the greater its influence and hence its effectiveness.

The working class has never gained and cannot ever gain from the arms race. It has nothing to lose but much to gain from the successes of the peace movement in its ongoing campaigning to halt the arms race, as a first step, in nuclear weapons, and to achieve disarmament. The more active and widespread the involvement of the working class, especially the organised working class, in the campaigns of the peace movement, the more successful the peace forces are likely to be in influencing government policies. The working class, in its desire for and struggle to attain peace, has no ulterior motive. Indeed, the preservation of peace in the modern world is a precondition for the realisation of the social objectives of the working class.

That is why there is not nor can be objectively any conflict of interest between the working class and the whole of society. Any attempts by some to seek a subjective, temporary class advantage in the struggle for peace are short-sighted, sectarian and bound to be counter-productive, and in the long run harm both the working class and the peace movement whose goals and interests coincide. That is why the peace movement while embracing participants from all classes and strata of society, cannot be seriously assessed except on the basis of a class analysis.

One can say the question of peace and women's liberation, ecology and ethnic rights—all these *represent* not simply general democratic but also class questions precisely the working class must champion. Indeed, unless the British working class joins the general democratic struggle vigorously and with a sense of purpose, the democratic potential of the country's broad social movements is sure to be constricted by separatist, elitist and divisive tendencies which the involvement of other classes and strata in these movements necessarily brings.

The class character of a social movement ultimately hinges on the class interests which it objectively serves. One cannot say, however, that the class character of broad movements which involve people from different classes and strata is a simple reflection of their social composition. Movements which involve workers need not serve the interests of the proletariat. On the other hand, movements which involve both workers and non-proletarian strata have a crucial role to play in the struggle for democracy and socialism. The crucial question here is its objective and direction, not composition as such.

For example, in the late 1960s some dockers in London supported right-wing calls for the repatriation of black immigrants. The class character of this movement, despite the involvement of workers, was not proletarian at all. One could cite many other examples of certain forces prompting workers to organised action against their own fundamental class interests. On the other hand, the involvement of non-prole-

tarian strata in the peace or anti-racist movements does not of itself make these movements diversionary or divisive provided the leading role of the working class in the general democratic struggle can be consolidated so that the anti-reactionary thrust of the struggle can be brought to the fore. In this way, the common interests of those who have a common enemy can be cemented.

While on the subject of the struggle the working class wages for social transformations and of its policy of alliances, one can profitably recall Marx and Engels' classic definition of a 'proletarian movement'. The *Communist Manifesto* does not simply speak of a proletarian movement as a movement composed of workers. On the contrary, 'the proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.'¹⁹

However, proletarians are not *themselves* in the 'immense majority' everywhere. For example, it could be argued in terms of a 'strict' definition of the working class (which some West European communist parties still favour, though not the CPGB), that even in many advanced capitalist countries today, proletarians do not form an 'immense majority' of the population. What is clearly vital is not the question of *how many* workers are involved in social movements (although this factor is hardly irrelevant): what is vital is the extent to which the proletariat can provide leadership as the class whose revolutionary aspirations and interests are more thorough-going and consistent than those of other classes and strata with whom it seeks unity around immediate goals.

This takes us to the heart of Lenin's conception of *hegemony* of the working class in the revolutionary process. The proletariat cannot win leadership and hence carry the revolution through its different stages to decisive victory unless it is a vanguard fighter for democracy, against the grievances and oppression suffered by society as a whole, unless it unites all those against whom a particular form of class rule is aimed.

Social movements are *mass* movements, and the very concept of a 'mass' movement implies the involvement of people who are from *different* classes and strata. These movements, with the working class in the front ranks, become movements of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority when the working class is sufficiently influential to draw these movements in a democratic and socialist direction. Hence, as Lenin stressed, the great harm of spontaneist conceptions which reduce the question of class interest to the 'self-activity' of workers. Lenin's famous point about socialist consciousness coming in 'from the outside' implies an understanding of how popular anger and protest can be channelled into a movement which is able to ultimately challenge the basic structures of 'official society', that is, the ever more concentrated and centralised rule of capital as a whole. The activity and involvement of workers in this or that specific action is important, but what decisively counts is the question of class leadership in the working class movement.

It is precisely because the 'hegemony of the proletariat' involves movements of the 'masses' and not simply of members of one class, that a further question arises which we need to consider—the question of the tension which exists between the class content of movements and their political form.

We have already stressed that the realities of class power only become evident when we break with the abstract appearances of capitalism and analyse the way in which antagonistic social interests concentrate themselves into organisational forms. But the true character of these organisations is still masked by the conventions, ideology and institutions of a bourgeois society. This makes it 'commonsensical' to think of politics and economics, class and state as dimensions abstracted from one another—to draw the distinction which Gramsci described as appearing 'organic'. Thus the struggle around questions of wages and employment appears to be more

obviously class-based in character because it is firmly rooted in economic interests whereas the struggle around peace and ecology appears to be 'more' political (because no particular economic interest is obviously involved). The forms, however, are misleading

The question of the class interests a movement advances can only be resolved by a scientific analysis which not only takes into account the social background of the actors, the slogans they advance and the ideologies they articulate but goes further. Given the need for every class to seek to rule on behalf of society as a whole, it is never obvious, however, from the slogans a movement adopts or the ideological appeals it makes, what its particular class character is. In this connection Lenin stressed the need for theory and scientific analysis in the revolutionary movement.

The working class can only establish socialism if it successfully represents the interests of humanity as a whole, and this is only possible when the struggle against capitalist exploitation is coherently linked to the struggles and grievances of other social strata and classes through a strategy which precisely identifies the specific historical tasks confronting a movement at a given time. The popular forms of effective political struggle appear to belie its particular class content because of the general way in which appeals are often presented. This problem is aggravated by the fact that a bourgeois society naturally compartmentalises different struggles into 'economic' and 'political' categories, thus making it more difficult to think of political struggle as the struggle of classes, each striving to project its particular interests in broad, social-wide terms, although only the interests of the working class objectively correspond to the interests of society.

The argument that liberation political movements are not necessarily class-based is therefore a dangerous one because it embraces uncritically the fetishistic appearances of the capitalist system. By stressing the autonomy of these movements and refusing to go further, advocates of these views ignore the need to ensure that the multiple streams of popular struggle converge in a way which unites the widest possible sections of society against monopoly capital. A class analysis of politics helps to work out a tactic making it possible to unify disparate tendencies around a common emancipatory cause: it is an analysis which seeks to always penetrate the forms of political struggle in order to identify the underlying concentrations of class interest.

Class Power

The rejection of class politics not only leads to division and fragmentation within apparently 'autonomous' movements, but also makes it impossible to understand the role of the state as an instrument of class power.

A dominant theme of some 'Marxists' has been their rejection of what they call 'statism' on the grounds that the very concentration of state power is itself allegedly inimical to democracy and freedom. It is argued that British Tories have won popular support for the idea of 'rolling back the frontiers of the state' and that this is a concept which the Left should make its own.²⁰ Yet the neo-liberal rhetoric of Thatcherite Tories is mere demagoguery which assumes that the state exists as some kind of external body over and above a society of 'free', 'atomistic' individuals. However, a class analysis shows that the state does not stand 'outside' society but, on the contrary, consummates a whole hierarchy of intermediate concentrations of power. It draws its strength not from the electoral expressions of abstract individuals, but from the promotion of class interests. Hence it is correct to say that the state in Britain, despite its apparent autonomy and neutral appearances, is basically an instrument of the monopolies.

This situation can only be changed if we confront concentrated capitalist class power with the concentrated power of the working class and the forces allied with it. In this class battle, there is a key role for a state under popular influence to *begin* the

process of restructuring the economy on the basis of a programme for nationalisation and public controls. The struggle for socialism cannot be finally won unless state power is ultimately concentrated in working class hands, thus making it possible to underpin society as a whole with the legal structures and ideological concepts appropriate to a planned socialist system.

Of course, looking into the future, it is the distinctive feature of working class state power that it is of necessity self-dissolving, but political power cannot be dissolved back into the purely social institutions of a classless society until class power as a whole has been first concentrated in the working class state. Moreover, the process of dissolving away of the state power can only occur under the guidance of Marxist leaderships in a way which *strengthens* a planned socialist system.

A naive belief that political movements reflect the autonomous wills of free-floating individuals rather than the concentration of class forces leads the 'left libertarians' to the wholesale rejection of Marxism on the grounds that tragically, the working class cannot emancipate itself without making use of state power!²¹ This view moves on logically to the argument that working class leadership is allegedly authoritarian in nature and presumably needs to be resisted at all costs. It is not surprising that erstwhile 'left libertarians' can sometimes end up historically with some strange, reactionary bed-fellows.

The question of politics and class struggle is one to which Marxists continually return. Theoretical research of this question does involve very real complexities, but they are not insurmountable. Our classical Marxist heritage contains a reservoir of vital concepts which we draw upon to develop our strategy, tactics and political theory. The objective of this creative development is to enable Communists to play their full role in the struggle to win and sustain the power of the working class, striving to translate communist ideals into reality.

¹ See, for example, *Marxism Today*, April 1984, pp. 25-29; May 1984, pp. 29-32; February 1985, pp. 25-29.

² E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, Verso Books, London, 1985, pp. 55-66.

³ *Marxism Today*, July 1978.

⁴ G. Hodgson, 'Overstating the State', *Marxism Today*, June 1984, p. 20; S. Hall, 'The State-Socialism's Old Caretaker', *Marxism Today*, November 1984, p. 24.

⁵ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, pp. 395-400.

⁶ For details see J. Hoffman, *The Gramscian Challenge: Coercion and Consent in Marxist Political Theory*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1984, Ch. 4.

⁷ A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971, p. 160.

⁸ See J. Hoffman, *The Gramscian Challenge*, pp. 94-95.

⁹ A. Gramsci, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

¹⁰ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 32.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 99.

¹² Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962, pp. 603-604.

¹³ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956, p. 72.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 71-79.

¹⁵ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973, p. 108.

¹⁶ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 751.

¹⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 83.

¹⁸ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 271.

¹⁹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 495.

²⁰ S. Hall, 'The State-Socialism's Old Caretaker', *Marxism Today*, November 1984, p. 24.

²¹ For details see *Morning Star*, January 14, 1985.

Tropical Africa: The Way Out of the Crisis

Dakar Round Table on 'Current Development in Africa and the Problems of Democracy'

The burning problems in the current development of the countries in Tropical Africa—the critical state of the economy, and the plight of the popular masses, the political instability, and the violations of the working people's democratic rights in various countries—were considered at a round table arranged by *WMR* together with the journal *Guestu*, the theoretical organ of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour (SPIL). It was attended by representatives of the SPIL and other political parties in Senegal, among them the Democratic League—Movement for the Party of Labour (DL—MPL), the Senegal National Democratic Association (SNDA), the Party for the Liberation of the People (PLP), the ruling Socialist Party of Senegal (SPS), and of trade unions, various public bodies and the country's scientific circles. Among those who took part in the discussion were representatives of the French Communist Party (FCP), and the Marxist journals *The African Communist* (South Africa), and *New Horizon* (Nigeria). Papers were also presented by the Communist Party of the Sudan (CPS), the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE), and the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, whose representatives were unable to arrive at Dakar in due time because of impediments created by the Senegalese authorities.

Below is a survey of the round table proceedings.

AFRICAN states, many of which took the way of independent development over a quarter-century ago, have a wealth of natural and manpower resources, but they are now in a state of deep economic, social and political crisis. The rapid growth of their population, especially of the urban population,¹ has not been paralleled by a corresponding growth of industrial and agricultural production. Their staple-food crop yields are the lowest in the world, and the cereal crops they take in fall short of meeting half their domestic requirements, so that there is a steady increase in food imports. Famine, worsened by years of drought in the region, is a terrible problem facing the countries to the south of the Sahara.

The external-debt problem is at the root of the sharpening crisis: it not only slowed down economic development and increased the spread of poverty, but has also doomed the African states to ever greater dependence, and is yet another source of their political instability.

The Debt Bondage

These problems were analysed in a paper presented by **Ablaye Diagne** (SPIL), who said that the external debt of the south-of-the-Sahara countries has been growing steadily, since the 1970s. Their debt totalled \$9.1 billion in 1970, and \$81.6 billion at the end of 1981. From 1971 to 1981, Africa's debt grew 5 per cent faster than Latin America's, and that without the short-term external borrowing, and the credits obtained from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), neighbouring African countries and private companies, all of which come to at least one-half of the total 'official' debt.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAS) countries held a summit meeting at Addis Ababa in July 1985 to formulate a common platform for negotiations on the loans and the external-debt repayment. It was said at the summit that the shrinking export revenues were making it more difficult to meet the debt obligations: from 1971

to 1981, exports went up by only 2.1 per cent, while export revenues even dropped as a result of the decline in the export prices of raw materials. Meanwhile, import prices of food went up to such an extent that food imports now absorb the bulk of the foreign-exchange earnings.²

Ablaye Diagne considered the causes behind the vast growth of debt, and pointed first of all to the capitalist division-of-labour mechanism, under which there is a constant transfer of Africa's economic resources to the area of developed capitalism as a result of operations by the transnational corporations (TNCs). There is a growth of the African countries' technological and financial dependence on the TNCs, since the latter strive to maximise profits without regard for these countries' development problems.

Another cause is that many African states use their borrowing not for production development, but for high-prestige and low-priority projects in the infrastructure (access roads, international conference centres), and also for private-sector development. Most of the loans in effect serve to consolidate the parasitic bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which is being further entrenched in the administrative apparatus.

The international tensions, which have been growing through the fault of the United States, are also largely behind Africa's intractable problems, with militarisation and the arms race, in which many of the African countries have been involved by imperialism, being an important cause of their crisis. Border clashes and civil wars are a drain on capital, and an obstacle to the development of areas fit for agriculture or rich in minerals. Arms imports have risen to colossal proportions, and in 1984 were for the first time valued at more than the African countries' cereal imports.

Seydou Sissoko, the late Chairman of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour (he died last March), gave a trenchant political assessment of the economic crisis and its core, the growing external debt. He tied in these problems with the legacy of colonialism and the present neocolonial situation, and said that direct responsibility fell on imperialism, which was undermining the very foundations of the African states' development. At the same time, he sharply condemned the bureaucratic bourgeoisie's anti-patriotic activity in taking funds out of the country and keeping them on lucrative accounts in foreign banks.

Because of the debt, international financial institutions, and the imperialist governments through them, exercise control of the African states' economics and politics, while the debt servicing falls as a heavy burden mainly on the working people, a burden the SPIL has described as a 'new slavery'.

Roger Trugnan, head of the Africa Sector, FCP CC said that his country's ruling circles would be prepared, according to François Mitterrand, to study the possibility of a debt rescheduling, but such an approach merely compounds the disorder and aggravates the African countries' dependence on the banks and the IMF. The latter demands that, in return for a debt rescheduling, prices should be increased, wages and social spending frozen or cut, enterprises in the state sector privatised and other measures taken to the detriment of national sovereignty, the long-term interests of development, and the vital wants of the population.

The participants in the round table emphasised that the debt, hunger and other problems were sooner political than economic, and in this context recalled Lenin's dictum that while economics was primary with respect to politics, the latter had the leading role to play, because only political transformations allowed a radical solution of economic problems. In this context, there was above all the need to combat the inequitable arrangements in the world capitalist economy and the neocolonialist models of development in the African countries themselves.

Yoro De of the DL—MPL listed in his paper some of the law-governed processes

under an alternative model for a transition-period economy of such countries as Senegal: organisation and involvement of the popular masses in effecting economic transformations, participation in the development of the productive forces of the national private sector, efforts to raise social labour productivity and social welfare, and emphasis on cooperation with countries pursuing similar economic strategies.

Dapo Fatogun, editor-in-chief of *New Horizon*, spoke of the damaging effects for Nigeria of the sway of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie acting in league with the TNCs. The state has failed to take any effective measures to develop agriculture and national industry, and this has driven the country into a situation of crisis. The TNCs and the comprador bourgeoisie have also put strong pressure on the present government to make it take out a fettering loan from the IMF. But the trade unions affiliated with the Nigerian Labour Congress and the other progressive forces called on the masses to resist the scheme, and as a result of a nation-wide discussion which brought out the people's clear-cut anti-imperialist stand, the Babangida government, which came to power in 1985, rejected the IMF's harsh terms.

Legesse Lemma, deputy department head, WPE CC, considered the tangible measures being taken to overcome the effects of the drought and the economic crisis in Ethiopia. The party and the government have put their stake on the development and modernisation of agriculture, higher labour productivity and expansion of exports. A system of agricultural education and training has been set up and is functioning in the country. It includes the 'Agarfa' Multipurpose Peasants Training Centre, which has already trained over 8,000 peasants in such fields as modern farming, animal husbandry and agricultural management; the 'Yekatit-25' Institute which studies the problems and ways of cooperation; and the Alemaya University of Agriculture. Efforts are being made to enlarge the network of agricultural cooperatives and state enterprises. Under the 1984-1994 plan, more than one-half of the peasants are expected to join cooperatives, while state farms will have 500,000 hectares of land. The objective of the WPE's agricultural policy is to build up a basis for the socialist transformation of the countryside, self-sufficiency in food, and higher living standards for the population.

Representatives of the ruling SPS, the 'for a New Senegal' Group of Meetings and Exchanges of Opinion (GRESEN), and the Dakar 'Nation and Development' Club recognised that the country faced grave economic problems, but tried to reduce them to the effects of the state of international crisis. Moreover, they stood up for the Senegal government's course, claiming that criticism of it by the opposition was wrong, and that the opposition had no realistic alternative for a way out of the crisis.

Shifts in the Social Structure

The search for scientifically-grounded alternatives to the present state of the African economy and to the growing political instability in some countries requires a study of the changes in the social structure and the process in which political institutions were adapting to them, speakers said.

Changes in the economic and social system of the society caused by the attainment of independence and the choice of political orientation by the young states had the most substantial impact on the processes of class formation in Africa. Wherever the socialist perspective has been adopted, the peasantry's stratification is being contained by the policy of cooperation and the establishment of state farms, while social differentiation has been spreading and deepening in countries with pro-bourgeois regimes as a result of the growth of private enterprise in town and country, and the formation of a big bourgeoisie.

The number of those employed in agriculture has been steadily declining within the structure of the economically active population, with a growth of employment in industry and the services. According to 1980 ILO data for 39 countries, 66.8 per cent

of the population was employed in agriculture, 13.9 per cent in industry, and 19.3 per cent in the services.³

We find that the peasantry is still a majority of the population in the African countries. There is an active process of stratification in the presence of the conserved subsistence economy and traditional structures in the countryside; almost 50 per cent of the economically active population on the continent are small rural producers employing primitive implements, and from them springs the stratum of big and medium landholders engaged in capitalist farming. The account for a relatively large share in such countries as Kenya, Senegal, Nigeria and South Africa, where wide use is made of agricultural labourers on capitalist farms and plantations.

A semi-proletarian stratum has also been emerging in the rural localities. It is made up of so-called family workers, and also seasonal workers who spend a part of the year eking out a livelihood in the towns, and working their land parcels for the rest of the year. But the conditions of their employment and labour make it impossible to include them all in Africa's working class.

The most essential changes have taken place within the working class in the period of independent development: in 1980, it numbered almost 20 million, making up over 12 per cent of the economically active population of the continent. It is estimated that workers come to about 70 per cent of those working for a wage in the newly liberated countries of Africa (without South Africa and Namibia).

Qualitative changes in the make-up of the African proletariat in the period of independent development are equally important. The share of seasonal migrants with close ties to the countryside has shrunk. The education and skill standards have gone up. There is an absolute and relative increase in the number of industrial proletarians and their growing concentration. The number of those employed in industry has grown considerably: almost 8 million in 1980, or 40 per cent of the working class.

The dialectics of the African proletariat's development is determined primarily in internal factors: the extent and nature of national production growth, workers' involvement in political action, maturing of proletarian class features, and the educational work by members of the more educated social groups taking a proletarian stand. But external factors—the influence of the international working class movement and the practice of existing socialism—are also of great significance.

The growing production and territorial concentration of the working class is an important factor in enhancing its organisation and activity. Changes in the make-up and structure of the African proletariat help to raise its class consciousness, expand the trade union movement, shape revolutionary-democratic parties with ever stronger ideological commitment, and develop the communist movement on the continent. The working class of Africa is evolving into an important force in the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

These economic and social shifts have also affected the class of the African bourgeoisie, whose formation is complicated both by the coexistence of different economic and social structures, and survivals from the epoch of colonial domination, and also by the sway of foreign monopolies. The weight and make-up of the bourgeoisie in the various countries differs accordingly. While South Africa is dominated by local white-minority monopoly capital, a big bourgeoisie is just emerging in most countries of Tropical Africa, where the national bourgeoisie usually has rested content to play secondary roles, such as middle-man activity, commerce and servicing, and to suffer from foreign dependence.

There is ever greater differentiation within the bourgeoisie, as its most successful section moves ahead by fair means and foul, including corruption, favouritism, high-prestige and highly-paid posts, and fills the ranks of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, an anti-people reactionary stratum providing a social basis for pro-capitalist neocolonialist regimes. Another section of it refuses to accept its dependent

status, and in concrete conditions sides with the progressive forces, although its stand is a fairly shaky one, because the margins between the bureaucratic and the national bourgeoisie are relative and fluid.

The bureaucratic bourgeoisie is formed from the senior servants and managerial personnel, the party elite and the bureaucratised scientists and technicians, who often use their posts and influence in vital areas to make fortunes and acquire power. This tiny elite makes up an insignificant fraction of Africa's economically active population, but it has the crucial influence on the economic and social processes in the capitalist development countries.

The middle urban strata (which includes the petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors and traders, handicraftsmen and artisans, and owners of service establishments), employees of state and private establishments, medium-level workers in the arts and the scientific and technical fields, students and army officers, are an important component part of the social structure of the African society. By the 1980s, office workers and intellectuals on the continent as a whole totalled about 9 million, of whom over 3.6 million were in the countries of Tropical Africa.

The area south of the Sahara also has most of the intermediate strata and *declassé* elements (lumpen proletarians and paupers) in Africa. This category includes able-bodied persons, especially young people (often with an education) who have no definite occupation and make a livelihood from casual and temporary jobs. This section has a dangerously explosive potential. While reaction tries to use it for attacks against progressive regimes, the revolutionary forces need to work with these people and to win them over to their side.

Participants in the round table described the present-day structure of the African society and remarked on the interpenetration within it of class relations and traditional relations. This was dealt with, in particular, in the paper presented by **Ali Ahmed el Tayeb** (CPS) and **Legesse Lemma**. With things as they are, class solidarity is often confronted with clan, ethnic or denominational solidarity, while the growth of class consciousness is slowed down by diverse preconceptions and prejudices.

Political Institutions and Democracy

The political organisations of most African states differs from that of the industrialised capitalist countries. Among its specific features are the exceptionally great role of official institutions, the coalescence of the apparatus of the ruling parties with the state, and the coexistence of modern and traditional forms of social life.

The main lines of social development of the African countries are reflected in their political parties. On the one hand, there are the parties advocating a socialist perspective (communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties), and on the other, those advocating the capitalist way (bourgeois, pro-bourgeois and social-reformist parties).

Each country's problems are directly related to the nature of its regime. **Fode Ndiaye** (SPIL) said that the forms of power in the pro-bourgeois oriented countries may vary, but there is, as a rule, little difference in their substance. Some states have one-party regimes preserved and maintained by means of repression, as they are in Zaire or Cote d'Ivoire. There are some widely-touted 'unlimited pluralistic democracies' of the Senegalese type. But there again, a pro-bourgeois-party dominated system takes shape. The opposition forces are denied the possibility of exerting any marked influence on the political course and, for all practical purposes, have no chance of winning an election, whose returns in Senegal are usually rigged by the authorities.

There was a sharp discussion at the round table on the problems of democracy. Spokesmen for the SPS claimed that their country had 'complete democracy', which is expressed in the existence of 16 parties, freedom of the press, and so on. **Babacar**

Sine (SPS) declared that pluralism was the main merit of the Senegalese system, and made it clear that what he meant was bourgeois democracy, thereby acknowledging the class substance of political pluralism, whose aim is to divert the activity of the progressive forces into futile debates, and to bend them to the rules of the political game dictated by the exploiter strata. No wonder the SPS spokesmen insisted on abstract calls for a 'democratic dialogue with the authorities' as a substitute for analysing the gist of the democracy in Senegal.

Malamine Kourouma, of the Law Department of Dakar University, put forward an abstract conception of democracy outside the class framework, suggesting that some kind of golden mean should be found by averaging out bourgeois and socialist democracy, that efforts should be made to seek national accord, so as to end the left-right divisions in the country. He assailed the opposition for allegedly refusing to take part in solving Senegal's economic and social development problems. He declared that the most important thing for the African countries was to assure the people of a necessary subsistence minimum, an approach that required joint efforts and at least a dialogue with due respect for the ideological and political differences between its participants.

SPIL speakers gave a well-argued critique of the substance of Senegalese democracy, and defined it as a democracy for a minority, under which the interests of the popular masses are subordinated to those of the ruling elite. There is no democracy, **Fode Ndiaye** said, without a free expression of the people's will and mass participation in running the affairs of the country. What kind of democracy is it, when the working people have no genuine economic, political or social rights?

Essop Pahad (*The African Communist*) showed up the false reasoning of the apologists of 'Western democracy'. On behalf of the South African Communist Party he issued a wrathful condemnation of the imperialist powers, especially the United States, which keep holding forth hypocritically on human rights, but refuses to apply effective sanctions against Pretoria when it comes to apartheid, the most degrading affront to democracy in the world. The liberation of South Africa, he said, would help to consolidate and safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the whole continent, and would make a considerable contribution to the struggle against neocolonialism and imperialist exploitation.

Dapo Fatogun announced that Nigeria's progressive forces were preparing a broad discussion on the kind of democracy their country needs to have so as to meet its people's vital wants. Here, with the political parties still banned, the trade unions are in the forefront of the fight against reaction, the imperialist monopolies and their local agents. Young people's, notably student, organisations are also active. *New Horizon*, journal of the Nigerian Marxists-Leninists, is making a contribution to analysing and explaining the conditions and tasks of the present phase.

In the course of the discussions, comparisons were drawn again and again between the countries with pro-bourgeois neocolonialist regimes and the socialist-oriented countries ruled by revolutionary democrats, when the ruling parties exercise their leading role within the framework of a political system ensuring the effective functioning both of the state, and of the trade unions, and youth, women's and other mass social organisations.

The revolutionary-democratic parties are in the process of formation and development, being specific political coalitions, or blocs, of progressive forces. They often operate as the only political party in their countries, but there is also the practice of setting up national fronts of kindred parties repressing various social strata (as in the Democratic Republic of Madagascar). Such fronts support a common governmental programme.

At the same time, there is evidence of a tendency in the socialism-oriented countries towards the formation and strengthening of working people's vanguard

parties, with more clear-cut programmes and internal structures than those of the national fronts. They lay emphasis on popular power, meaning mainly the involvement of the masses in running the society, so as to ensure its development in accordance with the people's vital interests.

Experience shows, many speakers said, that the progressive and humanistic substance of democracy is not at all originally determined either by political pluralism or by a one-party system. Democracy has to go beyond the formal recognition of rights and freedoms, to their actual, guaranteed exercise in every sphere of life. However elaborate the democratic institutions, democracy inevitably remains hypocritical and limited so long as there is exploitation, economic, social and ethnic inequality, and power in the hands of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie or the neocolonialist circles.

True democracy implies broad and constant participation by the popular masses in political and social life, and that alone can truly promote the success of a national democratic revolution and the African countries' liberation from imperialist oppression.

Raising the Role of the Masses

The importance of the human factor has grown immensely in our revolutionary epoch. This means both a creative role for the popular masses in production, in social and political transformations, and the creation of spiritual values, and a role for the individual. This matter was dealt with in a paper presented by **Aida Mosseiko**, Cand.Sc. (Philos.), senior researcher at the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Bourgeois reformist theories about the leading role in national construction of 'outstanding personalities' or an 'educated Westernised elite' are closely bound up with the ideology and social strategy of neocolonialism. Such theories claim that the African countries can modernise only when the elite performs the functions of 'men of action', like businessmen and managers in the capitalist countries. That is an attempt to prove that the objective of the African elite and of the West's bourgeois-technocratic circles are identical.

While these theories contain a rational kernel—the idea of the growing importance of educated people in national transformations—they on the whole instance the narrow class approach to assessing the role of the popular masses and of the intelligentsia, and of the relationship between them.

The training and reproduction of national cadres of the scientific and technical intelligentsia are a key problem facing Africa. It is a formidable one because very often trained specialists cannot be provided with appropriate jobs. The result is their dequalification or loss via the 'brain drain' to the industrialised capitalist countries. Another aspect of the matter is that skilled personnel tend to be bureaucratised, since universities often become not only centres of research, learning and cultural activity, but also arenas of struggle for power, for political, administrative and technical influence.

The forward-looking part of the national intelligentsia in the African countries has sided with the working people and is helping to enlighten and politicise the masses. The latter is highly important because 'the greater the scope and extent of historical events, the greater is the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions in that it is necessary'.⁴

Such explanatory work in the masses was carried on by the Sudanese Communists over the sixteen years of Nimeiri's bloodstained rule. The March 1985 uprising, which put an end to the dictatorship, said **Ali Ahmed el Tayeb**, was a creative and heroic

action by the Sudan's popular masses and the results of an intricate process of struggle which evolved from the simple to the complex up to the point at which the contradictions led to the revolutionary explosion.

The March victory bore out the CPS's tactics while exposing the flimsy views of the petty-bourgeois circles, which spread doubt about the feasibility of the mass action slogan. They tried to bend the development of the popular movement to their subjective assessments and notions and spread within it a mood of despair and a passive expectation of the moment when salvation would come from some adventurist assassinating Nimeiri, or from some group of putschists.

It is essentially important at the present phase to correctly determine the social and political forces capable of fulfilling the strategic tasks of the national democratic revolution: in the Sudan, it is the working class, the peasantry, the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia and army officers, and the national bourgeoisie, excluding the comprador bourgeoisie.

The Communists believe that since the objectives of the Sudanese revolution are identical with the interests of a number of classes and social strata, there is no need to unite all the forces in a democratic front in the fight against imperialism and the neocolonialist order. The question of who can lead it will, of course, be decided in the concrete situation. In the Sudan, this role belongs to the working class, which has the greatest stake in building socialism, and which is, for that reason, the most consistent fighter for the creation of the prerequisites for socialism in the course of a national democratic revolution. At the same time, the leading role of the class cannot be imposed on the masses: they need to be convinced that the workers are ready and able to lead the struggle for democracy, for radical social transformations in the interests of the whole people.

Some speakers stressed that, in view of the undeveloped character of the African proletariat, the revolutionary intelligentsia and the middle strata can and often do become the leading force of the national democratic revolution. Their organisations can lead the popular mass struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. Thus, **Essop Pahad** noted the unprecedented popularity in South Africa of the African National Congress, the oldest organisation of the liberation movement bringing together the middle strata and the progressive intelligentsia, and its solid alliance with the South African Communist Party, an alliance forged in the flames of battle. The revolutionary actions of the popular masses against apartheid are now merged in the United Democratic Front (UDF), which includes almost 700 non-racial organisations with a total membership of two million.

It was recalled in this context that the Second Congress of the Comintern adopted Lenin's proposal that the Communists of the East need to work in various mass organisations, to take part in joint action with non-proletarian anti-imperialist forces and, while preserving the communist movement's independence, to seek alliances with the progressive and bourgeois democratic elements, 'to regard with particular caution and attention'⁵ national sentiments and religious beliefs of the working masses.

The experience of national liberation, national democratic revolutions shows that it is not right to ignore any organisations, including nationalistic and religious, which could have a most essential role to play in concrete conditions. At the same time, Africa is now faced with the pressing problem of the role of the political party acting as the leading vanguard of the masses. On the character, class substance and cohesion of this organisation depend the extent to which the masses are actively involved in the revolutionary struggle, and ultimately the victory in it.

Contact with the people and reliance on their support are a key criterion of a political organisation's strength and effectiveness. No wonder all parties, regimes and groupings strive to win over as many people as possible. But the discussion showed

that there are two diametrically opposite conceptions of such work: the progressive, Marxist-Leninist conception, whose substance is development of mass consciousness, and the reactionary, bourgeois conception, which seeks to manipulate the mass consciousness.

Lenin believed that the Communists' education task in the colonial and dependent countries 'is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organisation, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true communist doctrine, which was intended for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people'.⁶

Those are the lines on which the communist and revolutionary democratic parties of Africa now strive to act. These objectives in Ethiopia, for instance, are served by the party press, the political school 'Yekatit-66', and short-term courses in Marxism-Leninism, the Ethiopian representative said. Discussion circles have been set up at all the enterprises in the country for regular examination of pressing aspects of political life. They are guided by full-time party workers, many of whom have solid ideological and theoretical grounding.

The African revolutionaries' work in the masses is made more difficult by the fact that they have to deal with men and women with different levels of political consciousness and general education, who are frequently under the influence of ethnic and religious traditions. All these differences need to be taken into account so as to decide on the specific forms in which influence can be exerted on each age and occupation group of the population. In Ethiopia, this approach is ensured through the mass organisations: trade unions, peasant associations, unions of youth, women, and urban dwellers, and professional associations of intellectuals.

The work of mass organisations bears on political, economic and ideological matters, and involves virtually the entire adult population. The broad participation by the popular masses in social and political life and their revolutionary activity provide the basis for a fundamentally new political system which is emerging with the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. A nation-wide discussion of a draft constitution was held in June 1986 in 25,000 clubs expressly set up for the purpose in towns and villages across the country.

Not only the activation of classes and social strata, but also the moulding of the individual's stand in life is of exceptional importance for the successful solution of the problems facing Africa, it was said at the round table in Dakar. That means developing in the human beings the need and capacity for conscious choice of mode of action and way of life, in accordance with a definite set of value judgements. Masses of people tend to be uprooted from their habitual and traditional environment and made to seek a place in the new life by the rapid changes in the process of national construction. The challenging, but vital and noble task of the present generation of African revolutionaries is to prevent such people from becoming onlookers, and to turn them into committed participants in and imaginative creators of this life.

International Solidarity

External factors are having a growing impact on the development of economic and social processes and on the pattern of political forces in Africa. Imperialism, primarily US imperialism, has mounted a massive and wide-ranging offensive against the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America simultaneously on the military, political, economic and ideological fronts. This course has been recently theorised as the conception of 'neoglobalism', which justifies and even encourages direct, including armed, intervention by the United States in any part of the Third World, where it may feel that its 'vital interests' i.e., its global ambitions, are threatened.

Efforts are being simultaneously stepped up to impose on the less developed countries diverse scenarios of the neocolonialist growth model adapted to the present conditions. In the economic sphere, the stake is on expanding the activity of the TNC's and international financial institutions, and encouraging local private capitalist enterprise. In the political sphere, there is propaganda of so-called guided democracy of the bourgeois-nationalistic type with unconditional external orientation towards the imperialist powers. In the ideological sphere, there is a preaching of the line of 'Americanisation' and glorification of bourgeois, mainly US, values.

The strategic conception of unifying all the anti-imperialist forces, which Lenin addressed to the Communists of the East in November 1919, becomes especially meaningful in these conditions. The dialectics of this conception is that it brings out the most significant and vitally important aspects of solidarity at each historical period. Today, the problems of the liberated countries' economic and social revival, the struggle to wipe out the residue of colonialism and racism, and to do away with the neocolonialist domination are connected with the solution of the paramount problem of our day: removal of the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe, disarmament, and efforts to ensure lasting and guaranteed peace. The militaristic principle of armaments instead of development must give way to the principle of disarmament for development.

International solidarity is most necessary for the African peoples engaged in heroic struggle against racism, neocolonialism and imperialist intervention. The internationalist support of the Sudanese people by the progressive and democratic forces had a big part to play in overthrowing the dictatorial regime of Nimeiri, a henchman of international imperialism and Arab reaction, **Ali Ahmed el Tayeb** emphasised.

In our revolutionary epoch, in this period of profound change and rising struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, it is exceptionally important for the working class and all the peoples to become aware of the importance of solidarity and of their common interests, said **Roger Trugnan**. That is the task the FCP has set itself in acting for the interests of its country, for a socialist perspective for France, urging its compatriots to support its proposals for the struggle against poverty and hunger throughout the world, and for equitable international cooperation free from hegemonistic ambitions.

The French Communists have always sided with the peoples, believing that their struggle is of crucial significance both at home and in the countries of Africa. The FCP rejects the reasoning of those who predict a fatal backwardness for the whole continent against which nothing will allegedly work except charity. Africa, with its vast manpower and material resources, is not doomed to perpetual poverty in any sense. What is doomed is the order produced by the colonial epoch, the order the TNCs are now trying to re-establish.

The FCP's concrete proposals start from the need of assistance to the African peoples without delay: the EEC's food mountains should be used to combat hunger; the debt must be cancelled; military budgets must be cut by ten per cent, and additional taxes must be imposed on the arms makers, with the funds so obtained used for development purposes; and finally, France must conclude long-term and equitable agreements with the less developed countries.

Many speakers remarked on the broad potentialities opened up before the African states by their cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The attempts by some spokesmen of the ruling SPS to minimise the importance of Soviet-African ties by referring to purely quantitative indicators, as compared with Western 'aid', were shown to be ill-founded. **Amath Dansoko**, SPIL General Secretary, has stressed that this cooperation is valuable above all in that it is based on the principles of equality, and consideration of the partners' interests, and is a new

type of international relations.

Besides, the statistical computations which some use in an effort to play down the scale of Soviet-African cooperation are not all that convincing. Here are some of the figures cited by the USSR delegates at a special session of the UN General Assembly on Africa at the end of last May:

The Soviet Union has inter-governmental agreements on economic and technical cooperation with 37 African countries. More than 330 projects have already been completed or commissioned on the continent with the USSR's assistance; nearly 300 are under construction or on the drawing-board. More than 450,000 specialists and skilled workers have been trained for the African countries with Soviet help. Over 30,000 Africans have graduated from higher and secondary specialised academic institutions in the USSR, and another 22,000 are now studying there. The Soviet Union has helped to set up almost 100 teaching centres in Africa. In so doing, it has not sought any privileges, concessions or control over the African countries' natural resources.

The struggle to democratise international economic relations, for a new international economic order, participants in the round table said, is a component part of the African countries' genuine liberation. But the main thing is changing the existing order and development strategy of the state itself. The socialist orientation, which entails resolute struggle against internal and external reaction, provides a realistic alternative to the capitalist and neocolonialist exploitation of the peoples of the continent. Africa's progressive forces oppose fettering treaties with the imperialist powers, they demand equitable international cooperation, and look to the solidarity of all the peoples for the triumph of the cause of peace and social progress.

¹ From 1960 to 1980, annual population growth in Africa was 2.6 per cent. The urban population went up by 5.1 per cent, from 18 per cent of the total in 1960 to almost 30 per cent in 1980.—*Ed.*

² According to the UN Economic Commission for Africa, these countries' aggregate external debt by the end of 1985 reached \$162 billion, and interest payments on it—\$19.5 billion, or 22.3 per cent of total export revenues.—*Ed.*

³ The figures given here and elsewhere relate mainly to the 1960-1980 period because of the lack of any tabulated statistical data for the subsequent period.—*Ed.*

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 498.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 151.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

viewpoints

Period of Transition on the Socialist Path

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FORTY-ONE years separate us from the August Revolution, which rang in a new stage for the Vietnamese people. These years were marked by the pressures of

carrying out democratic and socialist reforms and repulsing the arms aggressions by international imperialism and its lackeys. At its Fourth and Fifth congresses the Communist Party, which headed the struggle for the country's unity, independence, and freedom, and led the people to victory, determined the course of the socialist revolution throughout the whole of Vietnam, a course that is being followed with confidence by the republic's working people. The upcoming Sixth Congress will sum up what has been accomplished, and map out the targets for further socio-economic progress. In retrospect one gets a clearer vision of how our society moved in the direction of socialism, of what it has achieved, and of the problems before us, and how they can be resolved.

The experience of the countries where the socialist revolution triumphed has compellingly borne out the conclusion of the classics of Marxism-Leninism that there has to be a period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Unlike all other socio-economic systems, each of which grew out of the previous one, the communist system (of which socialism is the first stage) does not stem from the capitalist system that precedes it. The latter only prepares the material conditions for the birth of communism. In the case of Vietnam, where capitalism was poorly developed, we can speak of progress toward socialism actually from colonial and semi-feudal rule under which there were no developed forms of capitalism. One can therefore appreciate that in our country we shall have a fairly long transition period.

Society's restructuring in keeping with new principles begins, as everybody knows, after the exploiting classes are removed from power and the dictatorship of the proletariat is set up. But even in this case socialism does not emerge overnight. This requires plenty of time 'because the reorganisation of production is a difficult matter, because radical changes in all spheres of life need time, and because the enormous force of habit of running things in a petty-bourgeois and bourgeois way can only be overcome by a long and stubborn struggle'.¹

Of course, the duration, the actual historical content, and the forms of the transition period differ from country to country. They are determined by the course of the revolutionary process, by the level of economic and social development reached by society, the extent to which the people participate in building the new life, the vanguard party's strength and the quality of its ideological arsenal, the international situation, and some other factors. Out of all this there takes shape the distinctive specifics of the changes in this country or that. Of course, there are such specifics in Vietnam as well. However, practice shows that steady progress, the surmounting of the difficulties of growth, and the settlement of contradictions are based on the application of the basic principles of socialist construction.

In this context, the propositions and conclusions offered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are of fundamental significance. The new edition of its Programme, adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, speaks of the immense importance of principles such as the power of the people with the working class playing the leading role; society's leadership by the Communist Party armed with the ideology of scientific socialism; the establishment of public property in the basic means of production and, on that basis, planned economic growth in the interests of the entire people; implementation of the principle of 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work'; the promotion of socialist democracy; the equality of all nations and nationalities and friendship among them; the defence of revolutionary advances against attack by class enemies.

These principles are visibly in operation at every phase of socialist construction but the transition period has features that have to be recognised and taken into account in practice. We see the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the realisation of the power of the working class acting in alliance with all other working people, as the principal instrument for attaining all the objectives of the transition period in all areas

of society's life. This is the only way in which the masses can be enlisted into socialist construction, the influence of the bourgeoisie destroyed, the resistance of the deposed exploiting classes broken, and external aggression repulsed.

Socialism Grows Stronger

Progressive changes arouse savage resistance from the capitalist class, which has been defeated but not yet entirely eliminated. The struggle projects itself into all areas of society's life. It is merciless and it is fought on the single maxim of 'who will beat who'.

In our country the specifics of this confrontation spring from the distinctive character of the historical process. In North Vietnam, which won the war of Resistance against the French, socialist changes have been unfolding since 1954, while in the South a sustained struggle had to be waged against US imperialist aggression, for the salvation of the homeland, for national liberation. The transition to socialist construction commenced on a country-wide scale only after Vietnam was reunited in the spring of 1975 and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, was proclaimed on July 2, 1976.

By that time, in the North the exploiting class had been eliminated in the main, socialist relations of production had been asserted, and the material and technical foundation of the new society had been created. Concurrently, an ideological and cultural revolution was started and the living standard and cultural level of the population was rising. In the economy, however, small-scale production still predominated.

But at the time the South had only shaken off the fetters of neocolonialism. True, capitalism had reached a higher stage of development there than in the North, but small-commodity production was still predominant there as well.

Since then society's reorganisation along new lines has been gathering momentum and sinking ever deeper roots. The party sees this process as directed basically, with reliance on the state of the proletarian dictatorship, toward setting up a system of collective economic management by the working people and mobilising the masses for conscious and innovative participation in three revolutions simultaneously—one in the sphere of relations of production, the other in science and technology, and the third in ideology and culture. The key revolution is in science and technology with socialist industrialisation as the central objective of the entire period of transition.

The old relations of production are being restructured along socialist lines, the various forms of exploitation have been in the main extirpated, and two sectors, state and cooperative,² which are steadily expanding and growing stronger, have been formed in key branches of the economy. The economy's material and technical basis is being gradually restored and reinforced, and large industrial, agricultural, and transport projects, of which some are already in operation, are under construction. Agricultural production, chiefly the production of food, is growing and now the people's essential food requirements are being met, and there is active exploration for and production of oil and gas. In recent years there has been some growth in exports. Science, technology, education, and culture are being increasingly coupled to the problems of economic construction and management. A new style of work is spreading in socio-economic life, particularly at local level, in work collectives.

We have all the conditions for a further consolidation of the new system. The dictatorship of the proletariat is firmly established, having gone through gruelling tests in the crucible of long years of struggle. The Vietnamese people are known for their revolutionary traditions, spirit of freedom, and readiness for self-sacrifice in the service of their country. The Communist Party, which now has more than 1,800,000 members, is a tempered and experienced Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people, enjoying their affection and absolute confidence. The key positions in the economy

are held by the state, in whose hands are concentrated the basic means of production and the principal levers for managing public relations, education, and culture. Quite considerable valuable experience has been accumulated in the course of revolutionary transformations. Cooperation is being extended with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and also with progressive forces throughout the world. The conclusion can thus be drawn that socialism is winning ever stronger positions in our country. This process coincides with the objective trends of history.

Of course, the CPV does not close its eyes to difficulties and shortcomings. A weak material and technological basis, manual labour, and a low productivity level currently characterise Vietnam's economy. Much ground has still to be covered by large-scale, particularly heavy, industry; it is as yet unable to equip the economy with means of production. Industry and agriculture are inadequately interrelated. They do not form a single, coherent structure. For the time being the gross national product cannot ensure extended reproduction and satisfy the population's vital requirements without enlisting resources from without. The system of economic management remains to be properly regulated. Left-overs of bureaucracy and excessive centralism and departmentalism are still tangible.

The principal way for surmounting difficulties is to continue drawing more people into active participation in socialist construction. 'The state of the proletarian dictatorship has to develop the right of the people to collective management, . . . closely combine transformations with construction in order to form new relations of production, build up the productive forces, consolidate the new system, the new economy, and the new culture, and mould the new socialist citizen.'³

A task confronting us is to convert backward small-scale production into large-scale socialist production, promote industrialisation, and continue reorganising agriculture on the basis of cooperation. Socialism will defeat capitalism, Lenin wrote, precisely by better organisation and management.

That is why at its plenary meetings in the past three years the CPV Central Committee has outlined measures to reorganise the economy and build a dynamic economic mechanism that would make it possible to mobilise all production potentialities, utilise labour reserves, and develop the land resources and other national wealth. There is to be a definite transition to a system of management in which the central element will be planning in combination with cost accounting and the independence and initiatives of work collectives.

Safeguarding Independence—The Immediate Task

Our country's socialist course has constantly encountered, as it still does, savage resistance from imperialism and local and external reaction. They have not abandoned their hope of restoring capitalism and are using every possibility to undermine the people's power. Defence of national independence and sovereignty remains the priority task to this day. We have to counter external aggressors and their accomplices in the country. Developments constantly bear out the conclusion that the 'acute and complex character of the class struggle under conditions of socialist transformations manifests itself not only in the efforts to turn bourgeois elements into working people but also in the struggle against anti-socialist elements, who are trying to scuttle socialist transformations'.⁴ The adversaries of People's Vietnam abroad are in collusion with the varied internal reaction, instigating it to perpetrate acts of subversion.

This attitude is implicit in, regrettably, the policy of our northern neighbour—China. This policy encourages the bent of the ASEAN states, particularly Thailand, toward confrontation with Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. Vietnamese counter-revolutionaries are given refuge on Chinese territory, from where armed gangs cross our frontier. Beijing continues to support the terrorist activities of the bloodthirsty

Pol Pot clique, which was driven out of Kampuchea and has not given up its attempts to resurrect a political corpse—the so-called 'democratic Kampuchea'. Relative to Vietnam a sort of subversive war is being conducted in all areas: political, economic, ideological, and cultural. Its objective is to exhaust our country, provoke disorder, and influence the peoples of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and of the other two states of Indochina.

The Vietnamese people, however, will not be caught napping. They are vigilant and prepared to counter any sinister design. The new system is solidly rooted, and nobody will succeed in reversing its development. Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee, noted: "We have the intellectual and material resources for carrying out two strategic tasks simultaneously—building socialism and defending the country."⁵ The government will go on reinforcing the combat capability of the armed forces, safeguarding national security, and cutting short any subversive action against the republic with determination.

We support the stand, spelled out in the April 1986 Statement of the Soviet government, that the promotion of open and equitable cooperation rather than confrontation between countries can and should be the foundation for friendly relations and building up confidence and mutual understanding among the peoples of the Asian and Pacific region. This attitude, welcomed by all nations, has no room for the formation of blocs and counter-blocs, of all sorts of 'axes' and 'triangles', closed groups, and the cultivation of protectionism and discrimination in trade and economic relations.

Features of the Class Confrontation

The new system's stability and its relatively rapid consolidation is to some extent due to the fact that in Vietnam capitalism had not reached a high level of development. Pressured by international imperialism, it was weak politically and economically. In the North most of the bourgeoisie, which had very little property, yielded to socialist transformations without resorting to violence. There the revolution was accomplished peacefully. In the South the compradore bourgeoisie had totally discredited itself in the eyes of the people by its collaboration with US imperialism. After liberation many members of this exploiting class, as well as feudal landowners, fled abroad, where they assiduously serve their foreign masters to this day. Reactionary emigres go to all lengths to organise subversive actions against the Vietnamese revolution and people. The capitalists remaining in the South complied with the requirements laid down by the new authority.

Socialist changes shattered the economic foundations of capitalism. Many large private enterprises were taken over by the state or became mixed, private-state ventures. Medium-size and small enterprises, producing mainly consumer goods or offering services, remain in private hands but operate under state direction and control.⁶

However, because development ran into objective difficulties and also by virtue of our managerial miscalculations, the bourgeoisie, especially the merchant bourgeoisie, found ways for restoring some of its strength, for reinforcing its positions to some extent. It still has a quite considerable economic potential and maintains links to international capital.

Bourgeois elements are doing all they can to obstruct socialist changes. They resist accounting and control, deconcentrate their property, and ferret out all sorts of loopholes for circumventing the law and receiving maximum profits. They profiteer, raise retail prices, cut wholesale prices, try to evade taxes, embezzle public property, forge bank-notes, and resort to camouflaged forms of exploiting working people. They do not shrink from smuggling foreign currency, gold, silver, and drugs, entering into criminal relations with dealers abroad, and persuading unstable vacillating

elements to emigrate, helping them to go abroad by secret routes. They even try to bribe executives in order to move them from their firm class positions. In other words, members of the remaining exploiting classes are making criminal use of the difficulties in the life of the people for their selfish aims.

The acuteness of the struggle between the two ways of development is also due to a very significant circumstance, namely, that the scale of small-commodity production is large. Peasants, artisans, and small shopkeepers comprise the overwhelming majority of Vietnam's population. They were the leading force in the national, people's democratic revolution, and the bulk of them remain allies of the working class in the period of transition to socialism. The alliance between workers and peasants is the cardinal basis of all our achievements.

However, it should not be forgotten that the social nature of small producers is ambivalent. This was noted at the Third Congress of the CPV: 'Labour is the basic feature that determines their essence. From this standpoint they are a strata of the population supporting socialism and the closest and most reliable allies of the working class in the socialist revolution. However, they are small-commodity producers running individual enterprises. From this point of view they have a tendency to more or less gravitate toward spontaneous capitalist development—this is to be observed most clearly among the upper strata of the prosperous middle peasants and a section of small proprietors and small shopkeepers.'⁷

The experience of the North and South indicates that precisely the middle peasants with their productive assets, livestock, tools, and knowhow are 'at the crossroads', that they vacillate when it is a matter of progress toward socialism. As regards small merchants or shopkeepers, many of them usually come under the influence of the bourgeoisie, frequently provoking disorder in production and distribution by their actions. Some become wealthy, owning considerable property.

What are the party's tactics relative to these classes and sections? On the one hand, to fight those who are openly anti-socialist and, on the other, by reorganising small-scale production along socialist lines, on a voluntary basis, gradually, with the use of the corresponding flexible forms of enlisting peasants into collective work, to restructure the social nature of these people, to make them working people who accept the fundamental principles of the new system.

Practice has made it clear that in order to put an end to petty-bourgeois spontaneity it is vital to strengthen the socialist sector of the economy and promote the efficiency of economic management. A task of the immediate future is to gain predominant positions in the market, gradually stabilise prices, and reorganise trade and the procurement system in such a way as to give the state control over most of the marketable output of agriculture and forestry, fishing, and small-scale and artisan industry, and also of the entire output of state-run factories and mills.

We shall go on conducting extensive explanatory and educational work. It is helping people to understand clearly that food shortages and unemployment are the direct outcome of the old social system; that profiteering, smuggling, and other illegal activity accompanying the drive of private proprietors for enrichment are seriously hurting the country; that slackness and egoism are incompatible with the morals of the builder of the new society.

Progress Cannot Be Halted

On the political and ideological level the class adversaries are attacking the policies of the Communist Party day after day, hour after hour, questioning the correctness of the choice made by our people, smearing the socialist path of development, and nurturing the intention to revive a political opposition in the country. They seek to discredit the government, engineer a split between the party and the people, erode the alliance of the three fraternal countries of Indochina, break off the SRV's

relations with the USSR and the other socialist-community countries, isolate us from the world revolutionary movement, cast a stain on the clean image of the Vietnamese revolution.

Efforts are being made to impose upon the Vietnamese people ideas alien to them, a foreign way of life presuming the enrichment of some people at the expense of others, a craving for luxury and self-indulgence. Moreover, enemies try to use religion for their purposes, to animate patriarchal suspicions, and counterpose them to socialist reality. They would like to tailor our culture after Western models and count on luring chiefly young people into their traps.

The party constantly analyses the prevailing situation. The Political Report to the Fifth Congress of the CPV stated: 'In culture, ideology, and the way of life an exceedingly complex, day-to-day struggle is going on between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward, the progressive and the reactionary, and we cannot afford to underrate this struggle.'⁸

The confrontation between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in Vietnam is closely linked to the sharp and violent class collisions on the scale of the whole of humanity. Imperialism and international reaction harbour illusions about retrieving the positions they have lost, have not drawn lessons from the past, and are trying to swim against the current. World tension has reached its highest-ever point on account of the dangerous policies pursued by the US ruling circles, which are out to upset the military-strategic equilibrium prevailing in the world, extend the arms race to outer space, force their will upon sovereign nations, and openly interfere in their internal affairs.

• However, there is no force that can arrest onward development. The image of the world has undergone and continues to undergo profound changes as a result of the impressive strength built up by the revolutionary currents and their powerful impact on all aspects of humanity's life.

The congresses of communist and workers parties of socialist-community countries held over the recent period formulated programmes calling for a considerable growth of the socio-economic potential of the countries concerned. We shall do the same at our congress. Attainment of the targets that have been set will unquestionably facilitate a further change in the world situation and give a fresh impetus to the struggle of the peoples for peace, independence, democracy, and socialism.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam will continue strengthening friendship and all-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, promoting solidarity and militant comradeship with Laos and Kampuchea, and expand state-to-state relations in keeping with the principles of independence, sovereignty, and mutual benefit. This is the guarantee of our country's successful advance toward socialism, of its triumph over the forces of counter-revolution and reaction.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 388.

² The process of cooperation on the scale of the whole of Vietnam developed by stages. In the North collectivisation was completed in the main in 1960. In the seaboard districts of Central Vietnam and in the Central Plateau, i.e., where socio-economic reforms were enforced during the years of armed struggle in the zone controlled by the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, collectivisation was completed in 1979, while in the southern provinces it was in the main completed in 1985.

³ *Resolution of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the CPV Central Committee, June 24, 1983*, Hanoi, 1983, p. 17 (in Vietnamese).

⁴ *Third Congress of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party* (as the CPV was called until December 1976.—Ed.), Hanoi, September 5-12, 1960.

⁵ *Nhan dan*, February 27, 1986.

⁶ It is the CPV's policy to let a multi-structural economy persist in the republic for some years to come (state, collective, and individual in the North, while in the South there are in addition, the state-private and private capitalist sectors).—Ed.

⁷ *Third Congress of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party*.

⁸ *Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam*, Hanoi, March 27-31, 1982.

Fresh Winds Sweeping Through the Ranks of Labour

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In his State of the Nation address to Congress in February, President Ronald Reagan declared the US economy 'healthier than it has been for decades.' Since then, the stock market has indeed hit new highs. Profits of the biggest corporations and banks continue to soar. An infusion of hundreds of billions of dollars has kept the 'defense' industry booming. It is true that in Reagan's United States, the rich are getting richer. But how about the working people? For them the realities of life are proving just the reverse.

Their living standards have declined drastically. Since 1977, the average real spendable income has dropped by a minimum of 13 per cent. As many as 14.4 per cent of the population—34 million people—live in abject poverty. Millions of homeless people are forced to live in the streets. A recent survey by the US Commerce Department has revealed that more than two-thirds of all US families live far below standards set by the government itself as 'comfortable.'

The current administration is squandering billions of dollars on Star Wars and other military adventures. In 1987 alone, 303 billion dollars are expected to be spent on militarist schemes. At the same time, deep cuts in funds for social needs have sharpened the crisis in medical care, education, housing, farming and welfare programs for the unemployed and needy. Taxes on the rich individuals and corporations have been cut by 20 per cent, while taxes on working people have risen by the same ratio.

Since the President's optimistic address to Congress, the feeble upturn in the economic cycle is now on the wane. There have been more shutdowns and layoffs in the auto, steel and other basic industries. The oil industry is in a depression. Headlines in the *AFL-CIO News* provide a more accurate picture of the 'state of the nation' this year: "RECOVERY STUTTERS. JOB CRISIS DEEPENS IN 25 STATES," "SLUGGISH GROWTH HEIGHTENS DANGER OF NEW DOWNTURN," "CORPORATIONS USE TAX BREAKS TO SPUR PROFITS, NOT JOBS," "SURGE IN JOBLESS RATE SHARPEST IN REAGAN ERA."

Unemployment is stuck at permanently high levels that only a few years ago were considered to be those of a serious recession. The US Bureau of Labour Statistics admits to official 7.2 per cent unemployment rate for March 1986—8.5 million people. The official figures, however, have long been suspect. Labour economists calculate closer to 15 million unemployed. Admittedly, the government does not even count the more than two million 'discouraged' workers who have given up a vain search for jobs. Millions of Americans are forced to work part time. If a worker has a job for even one hour a week, he is not counted among the unemployed.

A section of the Officers' Report to the recent AFL-CIO Convention (October 1985) graphically detailed the suffering unemployment imposes on the lives of workers and their families: "Unemployment has a terrible effect on the lives of those unemployed in terms of social stability and measurable health effects. Job loss is strongly associated with depression, anxiety, aggression, insomnia, loss of self-esteem, and marital problems, divorce and child abuse. Prof. Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University found a sustained 1.4 per cent increase in unemployment was directly responsible for 51,570 deaths, including 26,440 heart disease deaths, 1,740 homicides, and 1,540 suicides. This rise in unemployment was also directly

responsible for 7,660 additional state prison admissions and 5,520 state mental hospital admissions."¹

Only one-third of the officially counted unemployed are eligible for even adequate, short-term unemployment payments. All the rest are forced to rely on charity, family or welfare handouts.

The Big Business Onslaught

The structural crisis that has swept basic industry is having a profoundly harmful effect on working class communities. A February 1986 report by the Office of Technological Assessments established by Congress declares that in the five years between 1979 and 1984 alone, 11.5 million jobs were wiped out due to the shutdown of factories, mines and mills. Since 1979, one-half of the jobs in basic steel and one-third of the jobs of US auto workers have been wiped out. Two-thirds of the copper mine and smelter workers are jobless, while 90 per cent of the copper mined in Pinochet's fascist Chile is imported into our country.

A major reason for this disastrous situation is the massive export of capital by the US transnational corporations and banks. In their greedy search for maximum profits, they shift to any country that provides an environment free of unions, with low wages, no right to strike, fat tax concessions and no troublesome health and safety regulations. Preference is given to US 'client states' where brutal military dictatorships are kept in power only by an infusion of military and economic assistance from the US government.

A special report in the big business organ, *Business Week*, describes a 'new kind of company' in the US—'manufacturing companies that do little manufacturing. They import component parts or finished products from low-wage countries, slap their own names on them, and sell them in America.' The *Business Week* article went on to give examples. For instance, General Electric (GE) will close its last domestic TV manufacturing plant before the end of the year. GE will make all its air conditioners in South Korea. It already imports its microwave ovens from Japan. And it already imports most of its small electrical household products and a substantial portion of its heavy generators and dynamos from plants abroad which it either owns outright, or with whom it has highly profitable licensing agreements. GE has just merged with another electronic giant, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), in order to get a bigger piece of the Star Wars pie.

Of the ten million new jobs created between 1979 and 1984, almost all were in service-type industries, wholesale and retail trade, finance and so on. These industries are characterised by low wages and a low level of unionisation. Workers who lose their jobs in manufacturing must frequently accept other work at a 30- to 40-per cent wage cut on their new job. Besides, a high proportion of the ten million newly created jobs is held by part-time, 'temporary' workers. They receive greatly reduced wages, no benefits, and little or no union protection.

A green light for intensification of the anti-labour offensive was given when Reagan destroyed the Air Traffic Controllers' Union. As soon as he was elected, he began dismantling every single law won by labour over the past 50 years and designed to give at least some degree of protection to the rights of labour. Never satisfied, the corporations are pressing for new anti-labour legislation in Congress to destroy the rights of workers on the picket line.

Ultra-rightist Reed Larson, head of the anti-union Right to Work ('for less', as the workers add) Committee, writing in the *Independent Coal Leader*, published by mining companies, gloats that "there is a new influential ally in the fight against extortionist union demands. It is the President's Commission on Organised Crime, and it joins the FBI and the US Justice Department on an already impressive list" in support of the above anti-labour legislation.

Big business is endlessly seeking new ways to attack the trade unions and drive down wages and working conditions. A nationwide campaign has been launched by the corporations to establish 'two-tier' wage systems. They would like to force workers to agree that newly hired employees perform the same jobs at permanently lower wage levels. The unions see this as a serious threat not only to wage standards but also to the unity of the workers. A number of national unions have announced they will not even consider discussing such proposals.

'Contracting out' is yet another anti-union, wage-cutting scheme. Work formerly done by members of a single industrial union in a given plant or mill is now being 'contracted out' piecemeal to low-wage, non-union outfits. 'Contracting out' is threatening the very fibre of industrial unionism. The Reagan Administration is doing the same thing to government workers' unions through 'privatisation'—relinquishing government responsibilities to private companies for private profit.

In the 1980s, the courts have given companies the right to abrogate union contracts merely by filing for bankruptcy. They can then immediately impose heavy wage cuts and ignore working agreements. The banks frequently conspire with the companies to use this outrageous court decision to put workers in a vice. A company borrows from a bank. The bank then announces it will deny further loans until the company 'becomes more profitable.' The company immediately calls on the workers to 'sacrifice' in order to 'save the company and save your jobs.' Even the threat to file for bankruptcy is used in an attempt to force workers into line, no matter how profitable the company.

In another anti-union scheme, companies are demanding that before they will even consider investing new funds in plant modernisation, etc., the union must agree to a cut in wages—usually a minimum of 20 per cent. The companies further demand that the grievance machinery be eliminated and grievances handled by labour-management 'cooperation teams.' They further demand that job classifications be eliminated. This permits the company to indiscriminately move workers from job to job. First imposed by General Motors on the United Auto Workers (UAW) before even beginning work on a new auto plant called Saturn, this scheme has spread to other companies and industries.

Militant shop steward systems were a major target in the Cold War of the 1950s. The corporations have again launched an attack in a new effort to destroy them. Many companies are insisting that grievances be handled solely by 'labour-management participation teams,' a form of company unionism. Across the country, companies are refusing to settle even the simplest grievances on the shop floor. In factory after factory, literally thousands of unsettled grievances are piling up.

The massive offensive against the unions has been launched in the name of 'making the company competitive' against 'foreign imports' from low-wage countries. Most of such 'competition' comes from factories and mills owned by US transnational corporations and banks abroad. What we are seeing is an attempt to 'transnationalise' labour relations and force the wages and working conditions of US workers to the lowest possible common denominator.

Over 1,000 firms describing themselves as 'labour consultants' have sprung up across the country. Comprised of lawyers, propagandists, psychologists and similar professionals, their function is to advise the corporations on how to break strikes, bust unions and block union organisation. If need be, they can provide scabs, gun thugs, agents provocateurs, spies and armoured vehicles in order to break a strike. The use of police, state troopers and national guardsmen has become commonplace in all parts of the country.

The organisation of the unorganised is now a major issue. The membership of the AFL-CIO has fallen from 24 per cent of the workforce to a present 18 per cent. In spite of the fact that over a million new members have been organised in the last two

years, total membership still continued to decline. This is due both to the structural crisis which has thrown millions of workers in the highly organised basic industries out of jobs and to the intense opposition of the corporations to union organisation.

Fighting Back Against Monopoly

Workers are challenging the massive attacks on their living standards and trade union rights with an angry determination to fight back. Their mood is reflected in strike struggles taking place in all parts of the country—strikes in steel, auto, mining, chemicals, machinery, transportation, shipyard, meat packing and food processing. The armament industry has not been excluded.

Below are some examples of the strike struggles.

8,500 members of the United Steel Workers' Union (USWA) struck the Wheeling-Pittsburg Steel Co.'s seven mills in a month-long strike in response to the company's arbitrary decision to abrogate its contract with the union, drastically reduce wages and ignore established work standards, after filing for bankruptcy.

Shipyard workers in Bath, Maine conducted a militant, months-long strike against company efforts to impose a two-tier wage structure.

60,000 auto workers struck the Chrysler Corporation for 15 days to prevent job loss due to the company policy of 'contracting out.'

UAW members closed a big Chrysler auto assembly plant in St. Louis. This strike prevented the company from imposing a grievance procedure that would have seriously damaged the ability of the union to protect workers on the shop floor.

Coal miners in the Appalachian mining regions struck a number of mines owned by the Massey Coal Co. They bravely faced company gun thugs, armoured trucks and state police in a year-long struggle.

8,500 members of the Machinists' Union (IAM) conducted a strike against United Technologies in Hartford, Conn. United Technologies is the nation's largest manufacturer of military aircraft engines. Until recently, it was headed by Gen. Alexander Haig, former Secretary of State.

At the General Electric plant in Lynn, Mass. the company began to systematically harass shop stewards. A successful two-week strike forced the company to change its policies.

The totality of the strike struggles is not reflected in official government statistics. Because the monopolies have destroyed industry-wide bargaining, workers are being forced to fight company by company and often, plant by plant. As a result, there are many strikes involving fewer than 1,000 workers. The Reagan administration decided not to include such strikes in its statistics.

Solidarity has become the watchword in the trade union movement. Strikes and other struggles bring rapid support from the labour movement and its allies. Money, food, clothing and medical supplies are collected for strikers and their families in the local unions and central labour councils and in working class communities. When picket lines are under attack, fellow trade unionists rush to the aid of their striking sisters and brothers. When Wheeling-Pittsburg Steel attempted to open its mills to scabs, hundreds of coal miners and other workers joined in blocking the mill gates.

In April 50,000 railroad workers struck in support of their fellow workers fighting union busting attempts by the Maine Central Railroad. Maine Central is a small but profitable railroad owned by the filthy rich Mellon family.

Even Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, and other top national and state union officers now make a point of joining picket lines to indicate support.

Shifts in Trade Unions

Working class militancy has exerted a profound impact on the entire trade union movement. Class partnership and pro-imperialist policies are still present, but they

have been put on the defensive. The positive trends that surfaced around the historic Solidarity Day march of 500,000 on September 19, 1981² have become much stronger.

These trends were reflected at the latest AFL-CIO convention. CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall has described this convention as 'more anti-monopoly, more anti-transnational, more anti-racist, and more politically independent.'

Peace was a major issue at the convention. Numerous resolutions calling for a reduction in nuclear arms, a freeze of nuclear weapons and ratification of SALT II were introduced. A resolution urging economic conversion from arms production to peacetime production was introduced by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department. A similar resolution was submitted by the UAW.

The Officer's Report to the convention was critical of wasteful military spending and called for unity with the forces in the community on political action for reduction of the defence budget. A resolution adopted by the convention declared there was no justification for pushing people into poverty by reducing funds for social needs, stating: "... We reject the contention that there is no other option but to choose between the general welfare and the common defence."³

For the first time in the history of the AFL-CIO or its predecessor the AFL, the convention rejected a position in support of policies of US imperialism. By overwhelming vote, it rejected the top leadership's support of Reagan's policies in Central America and demanded a political, rather than a military solution to the situation around Nicaragua. The vote was preceded by a vigorous debate in which the AFL-CIO's International Department was publicly criticised for its notorious ties with the CIA.

Since the convention, 27 national union leaders have vigorously opposed Reagan's demand that Congress authorise an additional 100 million dollars for the 'contras' in Nicaragua. Only five heads of small unions were identified in support. Lane Kirkland was conspicuously silent.

Labour's opposition to racism and discrimination of women was strengthened at the convention. Support for affirmative action programmes and comparable pay for jobs of comparable worth were reaffirmed. The racist policies of the Reagan administration came in for heavy criticism.

The trade unions have stepped up their campaign against apartheid South Africa. Recently, the AFL-CIO and the United Mine Workers have launched a nationwide boycott against Shell Oil because of its role in South Africa. On March 22, the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, large anti-apartheid rallies were organised in seven major cities.

The economic and political struggles of the working class have become irrevocably joined. The anti-labour and racist policies of the Reagan administration have driven this home as never before. Since the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, the trade union movement has intensified its activity in the political arena. In spite of the lack of a political entity independent of the two bourgeois parties, it is actively engaged in strengthening its political apparatus at the grass roots.

At this stage, the trade unions are channeling their electoral activities through the Democratic Party. Besides, Political Action Committees (PACs) are being organised in every local union and central labour council. The role of a PAC is to explain the issues to the workers and encourage them to register and vote for labour-endorsed candidates. Between elections, the PACs are key in organising mass lobbying in support of pro-labour legislation.

In the coming congressional elections to be held in November, the trade unions are working in harmony with the Afro-American community and other democratic elements in an effort to wrest control of the US Senate from Reagan and the Republican Party. At the same time, they hope to strengthen the anti-Reagan forces

in the House of Representatives.

While the unions work within the framework of the two-party system, they are becoming more and more critical of the Democratic Party. They have learned that it, too, is a very weak reed on which to lean in the struggle against the big corporations. The AFL-CIO has reserved the right to enter the process of selecting candidates for office in the party primary elections. This has angered both the Democratic and the Republican party machines who claim this as their exclusive prerogative.

There is much debate in trade union circles on the question of political independence. Centre forces in labour, under a growing influence of Social Democratic concepts, are divided. Some advocate working in the Democratic Party in order to 'capture' it. Others are pushing for an independent but narrow-based, purely Social Democratic party. Still others, in alignment with Left forces, see the need for a labour-led political formation. Such a party would encompass labour, in a leading role, the Afro-American community, the Hispanic and other communities of racially oppressed peoples, the peace movement, women's movement for equality and other democratic movements comprising an anti-monopoly coalition.

The International Imperatives

There is a growing understanding of the threatening role of the US transnationals and their relationship to US foreign policy. The growing opposition to the policies of US imperialism is combined with the striving for closer international trade union cooperation.

The opposition to Reagan's policies in Central America that exploded at the AFL-CIO convention was fueled by the export of US capital to those countries. The Officers' Report to the convention notes that "the export of capital, and technology . . . that damage the US economy should not be promoted."⁴ The convention called for an end to all government policies that encourage investments by the US transnationals abroad, such as tax incentives and insurance against nationalisation. 'Interests of workers, both domestic and foreign, will not be furthered by providing greater protection for international business.'⁵

Richard Trumpka, president of the United Mine Workers, was a guest of the convention. Speaking to the delegates, he declared: "It is time for us to fight for a foreign policy which is supportive of working people around the world," adding "If we do not, we will find ourselves under the guns of the corporate profiteers." Trumpka went on to attack US foreign policy, emphasising that it is designed to "make the world safe for corporate profiteers" and that it "backs dictators of any stripe who will maintain a 'good business climate' by keeping down wages and keeping workers from organising." Trumpka's speech won a thunderous ovation from the 1,000 delegates.

Since the convention, the AFL-CIO has joined with the progressive-led United Electrical Workers in support of a bill introduced by Congressman Don Pease. The Pease bill would stop US aid to any country that denies its workers their basic rights to organise and strike. It is based on findings that 'exports from countries that deny internationally recognised worker rights undermine living and working standards in both the developing countries and the US, as international corporations play workers off against one another to minimise costs.'

Speaking in favour of the Pease bill, top trade unionists denounced US support of right-wing governments in Chile, South Korea, Taiwan, Turkey and the Philippines (hearings took place before Marcos' ouster), all havens for US transnational investments. Lane Kirkland has recently sent an open letter to President Reagan demanding an end to all aid to the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile because of its denial of basic rights to working people.

There is a growing discussion in trade union ranks on how to strengthen trade

union relations with the workers in other developed capitalist countries, in the developing nations and in the socialist countries. This has brought the role of the AFL-ICO's International Department under increasing attack, as well as the role of such CIA labour satellites as the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD). Participation of trade union officials in such pro-imperialist organisations as the Committee on the Present Danger and the National Endowment for Democracy is also under question.

At the winter session of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, a number of union leaders grappled with the problem of how to deal with the transnational corporations. A special press conference was called to discuss this specific question. The head of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, described the attempts of BASF, which is based in West Germany, to break the unions in three plants it owns in the US. An officer of the Cement Workers talked about the need for international trade union cooperation, citing, among other things, the fact that 40 per cent of the cement used in the US is produced by French and West German companies. A spokesman for the Communications Workers stated that the communications industry was international and the union had no other choice than to talk with unions in other countries. He insisted that barriers against contacts with Communist-led unions needed to change. "Trade union contacts between the US and the USSR, for instance, is important. Why not cooperation?"

Despite official AFL-CIO policy, more leading trade unionists visited the Soviet Union in the last year than in the previous twenty. US trade unionists work with the WFTU-affiliated trade unions in Nicaragua in defence of democracy in that country.

The foregoing confirms the correctness of the Trade Union Programme of our party, the first draft of which was issued last year. It states that 'fresh winds are sweeping through the ranks of labour. Ferment and revitalisation are beginning to replace the stagnation and decline that set in with the Cold War days of the 1950s. Powerful grassroots pressures are fueling a rising spirit of militancy.'

The Programme stresses the role of the Communists in this new situation: 'Organised labour needs the Communist Party for many reasons . . . Because of our working-class policies, we are sparkplugs of the trade union movement. Our science, Marxism, has clearly proven the irreconcilable conflict between capital, in search of maximum profits, and the working class, in search of a decent life.

'As adherents of this science, we have consistently rejected such schemes as concession agreements, profit sharing, Quality of Worklife Circles and employee stock option programmes (ESOPs), as illusory solutions to such problems as plant closings and layoffs. In all relations with the corporations, we advocate a class struggle position, be it fighting grievances on the shop floor, at the negotiating table or in the political arena.

'As Communists, we work for close fraternal ties with the trade unions of all other countries as being mutually beneficial.

'The trade union movement makes its greatest strides when Communists and other Left forces work in harmony with socialists and other Centre forces around programmes of common agreement. We work for the revitalisation of this process as essential to the revitalisation of the trade union movement.'⁶

The positive, constructive role of the Communists in the labour movement is gaining growing recognition at all levels. In this, too, is the proof that 'fresh winds are blowing.'

¹ *Report of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Sixteenth Convention, Anaheim, Washington D.C., 1985, p. 134.*

² On that day the AFL-CIO sponsored a mass march on Washington 'For Jobs and Justice.'—*Ed.*

³ *AFL-CIO. Resolutions, Sixteenth Convention, Washington D.C., 1985, p. 13.*

⁴ *Report of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Sixteenth Convention, Anaheim, p. 63.*

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *Organised Labour. A Draft Trade Union Programme*, Communist Party USA, New York, 1985, pp. 29-30.

The Cancerous Growth of Militarism

Gerry van Houten – member of the Central Committee and Research Director, Communist Party of Canada

OVER the two years that have elapsed since its advent, the Conservative Party government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has taken Canada on a sharp rightward turn in both domestic and international affairs. A course is being steered toward a regime of 'free trade' with the United States and, in conjunction with this, there is sharp curtailment of a wide variety of social services, including the unemployment insurance programme. By creating more unemployment and reducing living standards, the Tories want to create a large pool of cheap labour, intensify exploitation and increase the competitiveness of those Canadian monopolies which survive the transition to free trade.

The government has undertaken to tie Canada more closely to Washington's military and foreign policies and to the arms race it is spurring on. A key part of US imperialism's plans to absorb Canada is the Canadian arms industry which, in essence, is an extension of the US military-industrial complex.

Canada's labour, progressive and peace movements are becoming acutely aware of the links between free trade, cutbacks in social programmes, militarisation of the economy and the subordination of Canada to the interests of US imperialism. Therefore, the struggle for peace involves not only a change in the federal government's policy, but also a curbing of the national arms industry and of the US military-industrial complex in Canada.

The Grip of the Overbearing Neighbour

The term 'military-industrial complex' was coined by the late US President Dwight D. Eisenhower when, stepping down in 1961, he used it to describe a growing coalescence of interest between the US military and those US monopolies specialising in arms production. Marxists have given deeper meaning to this term. As we interpret it, it incorporates the fact that the militarist section of monopoly capital has achieved substantial influence on and even control of the state and a corresponding political and ideological influence on capitalist society as a whole. The military-industrial complex is, in short, the extremely reactionary, militaristic core of state-monopoly capitalism, the material basis for militarism. The fascism of the 1930s has similar social roots. Like fascism, today's military-industrial complex seeks to solve monopoly capitalism's problems by military means.

The advent of the Reagan administration in the US marked a dramatic change in that nation's politics, namely the transition of the military-industrial complex from its status as a subordinate section of US monopoly capital to that of a dominant section. The chief characteristic of the current US administration is the unprecedented acceleration of the arms race aimed at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union. In the US, military spending now accounts for 13 per cent of total durable goods production—up from 5.5 per cent in 1973 and almost equal to the 1967 level, when the war against Vietnam was at its height.

Canada is particularly susceptible to pressure from the US because the latter

controls three-quarters of foreign investment in Canada. As the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration pointed out in its 1978 report, 'Canadian industry features a higher proportion of foreign ownership than does any other developed country'¹ and this is the reason why Canada's 'industrial sector is the weakest area of the economy.'² US transnationals control most of the key high technology industries and half the capital employed in this sector.

Degree of Foreign Ownership in the High Technology Industries of Canada

Industry	Percentage
Industrial Chemicals	69
Plastics and Synthetic Resins	83
Pharmaceuticals	84
Communications Equipment	39
Electrical Industrial Products	86
Office and Store Machinery	78
Aerospace	55
Total, All Manufacturing Industries	50

Source: Statistics Canada, *Manufacturing Industries of Canada: national and provincial areas*, Ottawa, 1980.

Together, US ownership and Canada's disadvantageous trade relationship with the United States deny thousands of jobs to Canadian workers, aggravate Canada's balance of payments problems and undercut the strength of the Canadian dollar. Still, a considerable part of Canadian monopoly willingly accepts this situation in the belief that subordination to US imperialism will give Canadian businessmen easier access to the US market and a share of the profits Washington derives from plundering other countries.

Obtaining information about the arms industry is more difficult in Canada than in the United States. In Canada, there are no readily available statistics which separate a corporation's military sales from its civilian sales, unless voluntarily made public by the company concerned. The federal government in fact deliberately conceals this information. In the late 1960s it ceased publication of figures on the volume of trade between Canada and the US under the terms of the 1958 Defence Production Sharing Agreement. Obviously, the federal government wants to hide the true extent of military relations with the US and to cover up Canada's complicity in the arms race and the betrayal of our country's national interest to the Pentagon and the US transnationals. Nevertheless, the facts that are available enable one to draw certain conclusions.

Dealers in Death

There are in Canada about 150 to 200 firms that do business in armaments and profit from military sales. The arms industry displays its own, distinctive features: Canadian-owned companies are smaller than their foreign counterparts. In the main, they play the role of parts suppliers, while the larger corporations are, as a rule,

controlled by foreign, mostly US capital. Most of the military output comes from the aerospace, electronics, transportation and communications industries. The first three industries are majority foreign-owned, while the foreign presence in communications equipment is also quite substantial. The high technology companies make up a majority of arms manufacturers. Seven of the 12 leading firms have improved their positions among the top 500 corporations in Canada. But this does not mean that the other five have suffered. For example, Spar Aerospace has registered an increase in profit of 564.2 per cent during the past five years.

Over the years, Canada's top military exporters have tended to be a stable group. In the early 1980s, 60 per cent of the value of Canadian exports of military products was realised by a mere ten firms: Canadair, Canadian Marconi, Litton Systems, General Dynamics Manufacturing, Bristol Aerospace, Spar Aerospace, Pratt & Whitney of Canada, De Havilland Aircraft, Computing Devices of Canada (Control Data Corp.) and CAE Electronics. Military exports are vital to these companies' prosperity. Revenues derived from such exports range from 50 per cent for Spar Aerospace to 95 per cent for Computing Devices of Canada. Canadian-owned firms have as much a vested interest in the arms race as foreign-owned military-oriented companies.

Given Canada's dependence on the US economy, the militarisation of the latter inevitably affects our country too. Political pressure from Washington on Ottawa to kowtow to militarist plans also plays its role. The resulting substantial growth of Canada's arms industry has been particularly encouraged by the Defence Production Sharing Agreement. It provides for the removal of trade restrictions on military products, encourages Canadian-based firms to obtain military contracts in the US and obliges Canada to 'concentrate production, as well as research and development, in fields where Canadian manufacturing industry is most effective.' With few exceptions, the Canadian arms industry also plays the role of parts supplier to the weapons systems designed and manufactured in the US.

In 1979, Canada's two-way trade in military goods with other countries was 900 million dollars; four years later it rose to three billion dollars. The US is the biggest partner. In 1983 (no later data are available) it accounted for 74 per cent of Canada's military exports and 95 per cent of its imports—compared to 61 and 88 per cent respectively in the early 1970s.³ The relevant agreement stipulates that Canada is supposed to be able to export in military hardware to the US as much as it imports. In practice, however, the arms trade has favoured the US. From 1979 to 1982, Canadian military exports to the US increased at an average annual rate of 37 per cent, but imports jumped an average annual rate of 70 per cent.⁴ This was mainly the result of US pressure on the Canadian government of spend more on modernising and expanding the armed forces and to increase Canada's NATO and NORAD contributions. Since Canada does not have as sophisticated an arms industry as the US, the Canadian government has been forced to import much of its arms requirements from the US.

Willing Acceptance of Bondage

The federal government and big business acquiesce in this willingly for political and economic reasons. For the arms industry, the military budget represents a guaranteed and captive market. In the fiscal year of 1978-79, the military budget stood at 4.1 billion dollars and, four years later, more than doubled to top the 9.2 billion-dollar mark. In 1980-1984, the government purchased six patrol frigates (5.5 billion dollars), 136 CF-18 fighter planes (4.9 billion dollars), small arms (231 million dollars) and heat-sensing devices (85.8 million dollars).

The state's role in military production is by no means passive. The federal and several provincial governments are owners of enterprises that produce military

hardware. However, the state only operates those companies which private enterprise considers too risky from the standpoint of profitability. Naturally, private enterprise is more than willing to accept the government offer to privatise them provided they become profitable, that is, after the taxpayers have paid off their debts.

For example, Spar Aerospace was a division of de Havilland until 1968 when it was bought by L. D. Clarke, the company's present president. Spar has proven to be highly profitable while de Havilland lurches from debt crisis to debt crisis. It is interesting to note that when Clarke was chairman of the Sector Task Force on the Canadian Electronics Industry in the mid-1970s, he advocated government support for firms in this industry. Oddly enough, Spar Aerospace happened to be one of the companies that qualified. Among the millions of dollars Spar has received in government assistance was 110 million from the National Research Council to develop the remote manipulator system, or Canadarm, for the US space shuttle.

The federal government has also taken the advice of Clarke's Task Force that, in determining who should receive government support, 'the important factor is not corporate ownership but corporate behaviour.'⁵ In other words, the government should not discriminate against foreign-owned companies. This advice, however, was in line with what the government had been doing for years anyway. For example, the Litton Systems transnational, producer of the Cruise guidance system, has been the recipient of 72.5 million dollars in government assistance for purchases of capital equipment and research and development.

In recent years, there has been a substantial increase in financial incentives to military-oriented firms. In the 1977-78 fiscal year, more than 43 million dollars were awarded under the Defence Industry Productivity Programme (DIPP); in 1981-82 DIPP grants amounted to almost 155 million dollars, and now they are over 200 million. The magazine *Canadian Machinery & Metalworking*, a strong advocate of increased military spending, says the DIPP's 'main objective is to promote defence-related exports.'⁶

The government has selected about 30 companies for special attention in developing a 'world-class' military technology in Canada; these firms are to become 'centres of excellence.' The government is thus pursuing a conscious policy of both privatisation and militarisation: privatisation because the development of these centres of excellence is intended to expand the government's military purchases from private enterprise while reducing the relative importance of state-owned corporations; and militarisation because corporations are being encouraged to invest more in military production. Thus, for example, Ingersoll Machine & Tool received an exclusive government contract to supply shell casings for the Canadian armed forces in return for investing five million dollars in new machinery and expanded plant facilities.

Featuring prominently in the drive to subordinate the Canadian arms industry to the interests of the Pentagon are the Defence Production Sharing Programme and the Defence Development Sharing Programme, both aimed at involving companies operating in Canada in research and development for the US Defence Department. Aside from political considerations, these programmes are designed to promote Canadian military exports. According to *Canadian Machinery & Metalworking*, these programmes are a 'key to profitability for many defence-oriented firms, since it improves their access to the huge defence market across the border.'⁷ This job is performed by the federal Defence Programmes Branch of the Department of External Affairs and by the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce. They publish the 127-page *Canadian Defence Products Guide* which lists more than 90 companies and a detailed description of their products. Another similar publication notes that many Canadian firms 'have developed considerable capability in military type work as subcontractors to major Canadian and US primes as a result of the

Canadian/US Production Sharing Programme.⁸

Through the state-owned Canadian Commercial Corporation, the federal government sometimes acts as a contracting agency for the arms industry. In 1985, for example, it received a contract of 61.6 million US dollars from the US Navy on behalf of Litton Systems Canada for the production of navigation computers for Tomahawk cruise missiles.

As a rule, government agencies justify Canada's involvement in the arms race on the grounds that the development of military production allegedly creates jobs. As *The Globe and Mail* wrote in reference to such claims, "when a contract is signed, armed forces press releases invariably give as much ink to the number of jobs created as to the equipment."⁹ The truth is that money spent on housing, better education and health services creates far more jobs than the production of the vehicles and instruments of death. The US Bureau of Statistics has calculated that one billion dollars would create 187,000 new jobs in education, 139,000 in health, 100,000 in construction, 86,000 in public services and civil programmes and 76,000 in the military industry. Even *Fortune*, a US big business magazine, admits that "military-industrial policy is not particularly efficient . . . Economists calculate that the same investment in the civilian economy could produce roughly 25% more jobs."¹⁰ In other words, increased military spending also lowers people's living standards, is responsible for huge deficits, brings about high interest rates and is a cause of economic stagnation in many industries except those dependent on the military.

We have similar problems in Canada, many of them directly imported from the United States—budget deficits, unemployment, high interest rates and cutbacks in social services. For example, by mid-summer 1984, about 60 military projects were under way in Canada, worth a total of 15 billion dollars. The bill for each individual man, woman and child in Canada was 600 dollars which did *not* go to health, education, housing, day care or other socially necessary programmes.

For the Canadian people, our country's involvement in the arms race means lower living standards. For Canadian monopoly, the partnership with the US military-industrial complex has been a highly profitable relationship. Canadian monopoly is unwilling to challenge US domination in any meaningful way, while the government readily capitulates to Washington's pressures on most of the important economic and political questions. It is therefore meaningless to distinguish between US and Canadian corporations. The arms industry, both Canadian and transnational, is motivated by the desire to reap maximum profits from the production of weapons. It is no accident that such firms are strong supporters of increased military expenditures and of Reagan's foreign policy. The arms race and anti-Sovietism go hand in hand. The latter is not only an expression of imperialism's profound class-based hatred for socialism but also a way to justify the arms race and a big leaf for corporate profiteering.

A Change of Course Is Needed

Benefitting from their close integration in the US military-industrial complex, Canada's military-oriented firms believe that their experience should be extended to the whole of the Canadian economy. They therefore favour free trade with the United States, a policy that is highly dangerous to Canadian economic and political independence. In all fairness though, the impact of the arms industry on Canada's economy and politics is noticeably weaker than that of the military-industrial complex in the United States. Ottawa devotes about nine per cent of its budget to the military, against more than 25 per cent in the US. Washington spent 30 billion (Canadian) dollars on military research and development in 1983, while Canada spent only about 200 million. Although there is a core of firms whose main sphere of economic activity is military-oriented, most Canadian companies are not as

dependent on military production as their counterparts in the US.

As a result, the realistically-minded section of the ruling class, which sees peaceful coexistence as the only sane and viable alternative to nuclear war, has a stronger voice in determining Canada's foreign and military policy than its counterpart in the US. This explains why some politicians, such as former Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau, differ with the aggressive aspects of the policies pursued by the Reagan administration, particularly with respect to the Soviet Union and the national liberation movements.

However, the current Conservative government is sending out clear signals of its willingness to subordinate Canada's national interest even more to US imperialism, to take part of the arms race and to yield to those sections of Canadian monopoly which favour closer integration into the US economy. Finance Minister Michael Wilson has stated that the government "plans to attach higher priority to national defence despite the extremely difficult economic environment in which we find ourselves."¹¹ The government appointed Robert Coates, a well-known right-winger, as its first Defence Minister. Even the pro-Tory *Globe and Mail* has called him a 'poodle for the military'—a description which would apply equally well to his successor Eric Nielsen.

A number of measures have been launched to strengthen Canada's military and political ties with the US. The strong opposition of Canadian public opinion to Reagan's Star Wars plans compelled the federal government to announce, in September 1985, that it would not participate directly in the Strategic Defence Initiative. However, the Communist Party of Canada warned that this left open the door of indirect participation through government subsidies and other financial support to firms which win Star Wars contracts. William Kashtan, CPC General Secretary, warned that "this back door operation will suck Canada into the Star Wars programme with all its serious consequences" and that as far as Canadian Communists were concerned, "the battle against Canadian involvement directly or indirectly in the US programme is far from over."¹² Within a few months, government moves fully bore out this warning.

Public opinion was gravely concerned over the December 1985 sale of state-owned de Havilland to the US Boeing Corporation. The federal government had invested 760 million dollars in this enterprise to keep it from going bankrupt. And then, in one stroke, one-quarter of Canada's aerospace industry was given as a plum to the US military-industrial complex. Outrageous in itself, the cynicism of the giveaway was underscored by the fact that de Havilland was sold to one of the biggest Star Wars contractors which, besides, builds cruise missiles that are tested in Canada.

More ominous is the willingness of the government to allow the integration of Canada into the Pentagon's Star Wars plans via NORAD. In 1981, a clause in the NORAD agreement prohibiting ABMs on Canadian soil was dropped. Now the reason for this is obvious. US and Canadian military officials have finished a study called the Strategic Defence Architecture (SDA) 2000, envisaging a two-phased rebuilding of NORAD. During the first phase, a new radar surveillance system is to replace the outmoded distant early warning line. The first two contracts were awarded to consortiums led by Spar Aerospace and Canadian Astronautics for the study of the technology for the satellites to be integrated into this system. The second phase of SDA 2000 visualises the deployment of an ABM system in Canada's North—in violation of the 1972 ABM treaty.

In November 1985 the Pentagon renewed its invitation to Canada to join Star Wars, specifically, to participate in ballistic missile defence planning which coincides exactly with the second phase of SDA 2000. This invitation was made through NORAD. During Brian Mulroney's visit to the United States in March 1986 the NORAD agreement was extended for another five years, without the clause prohibiting Canada's participation in an active ABM system. It is therefore still

possible for Canada to be drawn into Star Wars via NORAD. The current announcements of non-participation on a government-to-government basis are intended to lull the Canadian people and the fast-growing and powerful peace movement.

The Tory government's policy of tying Canada ever more closely to the US war machine makes it incumbent on the labour movement and on other progressive and peace forces to intensify the struggle for an independent foreign policy and for a stop to the sell-out of Canada's national interest. It is not too late to secure a change of the present dangerous course. In the short term, it is particularly important to force the government not to join, either directly or indirectly, Reagan's Star Wars programme. Making Canada a nuclear-free zone and cancelling the weapons testing agreement and the Defence Production Sharing Agreement are also on the agenda.

We hold that Canada must break its links with the US military-industrial complex starting with the nationalisation and conversion to peaceful uses of the Canadian arms industry. Canada must conduct an independent foreign policy and programmes for independent economic development.

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration*, Ottawa, 1978, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

³ *The Financial Post*, December 1, 1984.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *A Report by the Sector Task Force on the Canadian Electronics Industry*, Ottawa, 1978, p. 19.

⁶ *Canadian Machinery & Metalworking*, September 1983, p. 37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸ *Canadian Defence Industry*, Ottawa, 1984, p. 18.

⁹ *The Globe and Mail*, July 7, 1984.

¹⁰ *Fortune*, April 30, 1984, p. 42.

¹¹ M. Wilson, *A New Direction for Canada*, Ottawa, 1984, p. 83.

¹² *Canadian Tribune*, September 16, 1985.

A Doddering Regime in Agony

Rogelio Gonzalez – CC member,
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IN March, April and May 1986 Asuncion was in turmoil: the streets of the Paraguayan capital were thronged with thousands of people, despite the state of siege which has been in effect for over three decades. They demanded democracy, an end to the repression, bread and work, and the immediate resignation of 'President' Alfredo Stroessner.

The whole police machine was mobilised, and used clubs, tear gas and weapons. In their efforts to put down the demonstrations, the 'minions of the law' have been beating up and imprisoning demonstrators. But the Paraguayan people's tolerance is wearing very thin; the fascist regime was in a state of agony . . .

Dictator Stroessner is a typical Latin American tyrant, whom US imperialism has fostered and foisted on our continent. He seized power in 1954, and has turned my country into a vast concentration camp. All these years, the despot has managed to survive only with the aid of the most reactionary circles of the United States. Paraguay's patrimony, with its rich deposits of oil and uranium, is being sold off right and left by the ruling clique. Virtually all of the country's natural resources are in the hands of six major transnational corporations (TNCs), while 77 per cent of the best lands are held by the dictator, his satraps and foreign companies. Meanwhile, 1.2 million of the 3.9 million Paraguayans are doomed to a life in poverty. One in three

citizens has been forced to flee abroad to escape hunger and the regime's persecution.

The Paraguayan economy is in deep and protracted crisis; 30 per cent of the able-bodied population is unemployed; average wages are one-third of the subsistence minimum; the external debt has been growing, and debt servicing has swallowed up more than one-half of the export revenues, which have steadily dwindled; the production of meat, textiles and other traditional exports, and building operations have been cut back; prices have been going up; the constant trade deficit and balance-of-payments deficit, the shortage of foreign exchange and the mounting external debt testify to the regime's incapacity to cope with the economic crisis.

The corruption, which Stroessner has encouraged, has reached extreme and scandalous proportions. State funds are being brazenly plundered: \$7.0 million has mysteriously disappeared from the pension fund, and millions of dollars from the real-estate-tax fund. The Working People's National Bank has been robbed of \$30 million; while \$100 million has fled abroad from the Paraguayan Central Bank. Funds have been embezzled from the Paraguayan Alcohol Administration and many other state agencies. The large-scale legitimised smuggling has aroused indignation and protest among broad political and social circles in the country.

The country's inner political life is shot through with wild demagoguery, lies and fraud. The mass media, including some 30 state-owned radio stations, are engaged in extolling the corrupt regime round the clock, emitting a flood of poisonous slander against the Communists, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the other socialist and non-aligned countries. These low-grade propaganda concoctions are being regularly fed into Paraguay by the US news agencies and the CIA. There is a stream of broadcasts on 'Coloradismo with Stroessner',¹ calling for repression against the Paraguayan patriots, notably the Communists, and the leaders and activists of the opposition with consistent democratic views.

Television, radio and the press, monopolised by the government and its supporters, are being used by the regime to inflate a hysterical and provocative campaign against the progressive forces in order to misinform, intimidate, split and paralyse them. By constantly drumming up the lie of some 'peace and progress', which allegedly reign in our country, the dictatorship has up to now managed to dupe and disorient a section of national and international public opinion.

Stroessner echoes his idol, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda Goebbels, who insisted that the bigger the lie, the sooner it will be believed. The senior members of the regime, its head in the first place, keep making Nazi-type speeches, claiming to be continuators of the progressive cause of the heroic Paraguayan fighters for freedom and independence, and ranking themselves with leaders like Rodriguez de Francia.² They have auctioned off the country's resources and have claimed to be the champions of national independence, professing a love for 'representative democracy' in the service of Paraguay's 'prosperity'. This turbid tide of demagoguery has aroused a growing indignation among various strata of the Paraguayan society. Even the Archbishop of Asuncion, Ismael Rolon openly declared on radio *Nanduti* that 'the people are tired of the flood of lies and immense suffering'.³

In the recent period, political life in Paraguay has been marked by a sharp aggravation of class contradictions, a polarisation of forces, and a rise of the liberation anti-dictatorship struggle. The social base of the regime has been extremely narrowed down, now consisting only of the armed forces and the repression machine. Not only the working people, but also members of all the bourgeois parties, including various factions of the Colorado, businessmen, and the Catholic Church are now coming out against the tyranny. The bourgeois conciliators' illusory hopes of 'convincing' Stroessner of the need for democratic change have been shattered. The meek attempts to propose limited reforms have been met with repression. The dictatorship has further curtailed the already puny opportunities for legal activity of

the opposition, the trade unions and public bodies, but it has failed to break the will of the patriots selflessly fighting for the liberation of their country, which is under the iron heel of the clique of those who have betrayed national interests.

The dictatorship has itself, objectively, impelled the opposition circles of various political lines to seek unity, an effective instrument for doing away with the hated regime. What it had been impossible to do over the decades, took place in a few months: there is a ground swell of unification of the forces opposing the tyranny in Paraguay. It has been most manifest in the joint action which has rocked the country over the recent period. Despite the ruthless repression and terrorism, the democratic movement has scored its first tangible successes. Many fighters incarcerated for political and trade union activity have been released, with international solidarity having an obvious and important role to play, a fact which has demonstrated once again the importance for our people of support from the world's working class and all the other anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Favourable prerequisites and conditions for overthrowing the dictatorship are being created by the furious economic crisis, which is rocking Paraguay and which keeps breeding general and growing discontent, a rising democratic movement and a mounting tendency for its unity.

The fact that it is now a matter of the Paraguayans' survival as a nation and defence of our country's trampled dignity is now being increasingly realised in various strata of the people, and it serves to unite everyone in daily struggles and street demonstrations—not only the working people, but also the forward-looking circles of the national bourgeoisie not allied with the imperialist TNCs, and honest and patriotically-minded military and religious leaders. In the light of the experience of the 1930s,⁴ we know that they are capable of becoming the allies of the main motive forces of the Paraguayan revolution: the working class, the peasantry, and the progressive middle strata.

It is now safe to say that the dark night of the fascism is coming to an end. The dictatorship's collapse is inevitable. It is incapable of stemming the inexorable march of time. The people, rising against the tyranny, has come out into the arena as the main protagonist.

The lessons of the past several decades of struggle and sacrifice urge the need to resort to such measures as organisation of active self-defence of the masses, so as to exert an influence on developments and channel the preparations for a general uprising, which is the only way to topple the Stroessner dictatorship and prevent its replacement by another authoritarian regime.

Only the most vigorous struggle can help the people to escape the traps which its enemies keep planting in its way. This is understood by trade union, peasant, student circles, representatives of the various political parties, and realistically-minded church leaders supporting the broad anti-dictatorship movement. It is now going forward with unprecedented force and speed, despite the fiercer repression, which have led to the death of many patriots and to hundreds of new arrests.

There is every indication that the substance of what is happening in Paraguay is being realised in Washington, and that it is coming to see that its loyal satrap is doomed. Indeed, Stroessner himself no longer suits his US masters, because he has compromised himself in the eyes of world public opinion by his brutal repression. The White House is looking around for someone more suitable to replace the dictator. The US Embassy in Asuncion has been feverishly active in the past few months, with US Ambassador Clyde Taylor brazenly meddling in the country's internal affairs, as members of the US State Department are in the habit of doing. He has openly met with representatives of the opposition, and, according to foreign news agency reports, even took part in a protest demonstration on April 24 against the dictatorship in Asuncion.⁵ At the end of April, Taylor had talks with representatives of the parties

which had signed the National Accord Declaration,⁶ and with 'renewed' Coloradists, and representatives of other opposition circles.

During the exchange of views, it was reported, everyone who spoke with the ambassador heard what he had wanted to hear, but everyone was told that the United States had democracy at heart. Taylor gave them a summary of George Schultz's recent speech which said in so many words that the United States had no intention of giving Stroessner continued support. Paraguayans, the US Secretary of State declared, could now want to establish democracy, and that the United States and other countries would give them crucial support. What was needed, he claimed, was reconciliation and amnesty for the attainment of social peace and support from such institutions as the army and the church.⁷

We find that the recipe has been written out, while the former 'best friend and ally' has been sentenced. History repeats itself. Let us recall what happened to the Haitian dictator, and to many other US puppets in Latin America and Asia.

The sweep of the anti-dictatorship struggle and the attitude of his masters, of which Stroessner must surely be aware, have thrown the 'president for life' into a panic. A secret agreement has reportedly been concluded with Taiwan guaranteeing sanctuary for the tyrant without fear of being deported. Rumours of this had the effect of a powder-keg explosion: speculators and government officials who have made fortunes on corruption and smuggling, rushed to sell off their real estate, shareholdings and other ill-gotten gains in readiness for fleeing the country at a moment's notice. They are perfectly well aware of the tears and grief they have caused the people, and of the powerful revolutionary potential that has built up over the decades of the state of siege, starvation and repression.

It looks as though the FRG also wants to rescue Stroessner from popular retribution. How else can one view the invitation to him to come 'for treatment' to Bavaria. But in this case, Bonn has far-reaching purposes: it wants to influence Asuncion's political circles in order to avoid any deep changes in the country that could pose a threat to the thousands of Germans, many of whom are Nazi war criminals hiding out in Paraguay since the rout of Hitler Germany.

There is another rumour that the tyrant may well live out his last days in South Korea. In other words, the ruling clique is running through the various scenarios in the light of the experience of Haiti's fugitive 'Baby Doc' Duvalier. Not many are willing to provide refuge to executioners nowadays.

The democratisation of the South American countries is a process that helps to develop the revolutionary movement in Paraguay. Acting First Secretary of the PCP Julio Rojas has emphasised: 'The Paraguayan Communist Party believes that objective conditions are maturing in our country for a democratic national liberation revolution, given a favourable international situation. Our country is no longer surrounded by Stroessner's dictatorial accomplices, but by democratic governments of the Southern Cone countries with a public opinion sympathetic to our struggle.'⁸

The subjective conditions have also been rapidly maturing. The working people will no longer tolerate economic and political oppression. The proletariat's self-consciousness has markedly strengthened. Despite their party differences, the workers now have a better understanding of the need for class independence and unity.

The participants in a mighty tide of demonstrations which rolled across Paraguayan cities in March, April and May 1986 demanded not only better living and working conditions, but also democratisation of the whole of social life, an end to the terrorism and repression, and liquidation of the dictatorship.

The peasants' long struggle for land, and against the evictions and violence perpetrated by the army and the police, has recently assumed especially large proportions. There is also a growing tendency among rural working people to unite

their ranks, irrespective of party affiliation. This is best seen from the militant action by 7,000 peasants in the Caaguazu department, the popular demonstration in Alfonso Lomas, in which about 5,000 people took part, and the march in San Jose de los Arroyos.

The workers' and peasants' struggle has resolute support from the middle strata of the population, the students, and a sizable part of the national bourgeoisie, which also suffer from oppression by the corrupt anti-national regime. Even Stroessner's enthused supporters are now going through the motions of distancing themselves from the clique of butchers and killers. The 'ruling' Colorado Party is in a state of deep division and disarray; many of its factions have taken an open stand against the tyranny. The ranks of the anti-dictatorship camp have been growing rapidly; the masses have been accepting the Communist Party's slogan: no task is now more important for Paraguayan patriots than the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

Since its foundation in 1928, the PCP has been schooled in a struggle heavy with sacrifice and suffering, and carried on in the harshest clandestine conditions. What Mikhail Gorbachov said at the 27th Congress of the CPSU fully applies to our party: "The communist movement in the non-socialist part of the world remains the principal target of political pressure and harassment by reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. All the fraternal parties are constantly under fire from anti-communist propaganda, which does not hold back from the most despicable means and methods. Many parties operate underground, in a situation of unmitigated persecution and repression. Every step the Communists take calls for struggle and personal courage."⁹

The PCP has consistently followed its course of uniting all the anti-dictatorship and democratic forces, and our stand was clearly expressed in the CC Political Commission Manifesto, which says: 'Democrats and patriots are faced with this urgent task: liquidation of the fascist dictatorship. To do this it is necessary to create a force capable of overthrowing the dictatorial regime and winning freedom.

'Our party has already declared . . . that a truly broad anti-dictatorship front can be set up only through higher cohesion and organisation of the struggle of the working class, peasants, students, teachers, employees, intellectuals, workers in the arts, merchants and national entrepreneurs on the basis of a concrete understanding of all the opposition forces coming out against Stroessner's nazi clique. . . In these conditions, there is a need for active preparation to overthrow the dictator through a combination of every form of struggle and with orientation towards a general popular uprising.'¹⁰

This principled stand was reaffirmed in the PCP CC Manifesto of January 25, 1985, which says: 'The overriding problem today is to overthrow the dictatorship and to replace it with a provisional military-civilian government, including representatives from all the anti-dictatorship forces capable of assuring the people of broad freedoms and convening a National Constituent Assembly for the adoption of a democratic constitution.'¹¹

The Manifesto also stresses that the party will give even greater attention to the unity, cohesion and organisation of all the anti-dictatorship trends, and the creation of active unity committees at enterprises, in the neighbourhoods, academic centres, the rural localities and wherever else these can be set up on the basis of even a minimum identity of democratic positions of the various strata of the population.

The PCP intends to redouble its efforts for the release of all the political prisoners, the lifting of the state of siege, the return of all exiles without exception, and efforts to save the life of our party's leaders Antonio Maidana, and Emilio Roa, Colorado Party member Augustin Goiburú, and Febrerist Party member Esther Ballestrino, who are incarcerated in the tyranny's torture-chambers. We demand to know what has happened to the Communists Miguel Angel Soler, Derliz Villagra, Martin Rolon Centurion, Diego Rodas and hundreds of other patriots who disappeared without trace following their arrest by the Stroessner secret police.

Our task is to act with resolve and courage in exposing and isolating those who collaborate with the regime, and those who are slowing mass action, supporting the pro-US line, and cheating the people with diverse promises in order to entrap it and ignore its interests once again. We are working to further invigorate the mass struggle and to have the unity committees formulate the most urgent economic demands and act against the dictatorship. The PCP's goal is to win the people's complete confidence, to help it overcome the prejudices, and to refrain from equating true patriots, even when they do not agree with us, with anti-communist and anti-Soviet elements.

Our struggle, which enjoys international support, is pervaded with internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity with Nicaragua, Cuba, Libya and Lebanon, and with all the peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation, and for peace, democracy, sovereignty, social progress and socialism.

The party is preparing itself for every possible form of action, depending on the concrete conditions, in order to do everything to topple the present dictatorship or any other that may try to replace it, and to help build in Paraguay a society up to the historical level of development in our epoch.

We intend to recruit many new members into the party: young people and women, the best sons of the working class and of the entire people, thereby putting to rights any omissions in this area.

The party leadership has begun a consistent and firm struggle in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism against liberalism in PCP activity, passiveness, spinelessness and apathy, against any breach of the principles and rules of security and vigilance. We are carrying on a persevering ideological struggle against opportunism, sectarianism, and acceptance of shortcomings in our work. We want to put a resolute end to these unwholesome phenomena which discredit and subvert conscious discipline in the party. If it is to act as a real political force, efforts must be made to overcome in practice the weaknesses from which it has suffered for decades, and to stop referring to the influence of hostile ideas and practices, introduced into the PCP by the renegade Creydt in his day.¹²

'Left' and right opportunistic attitudes, sectarianism and tailism have weakened our reliance on the masses and hampered consistent implementation of the party's line. In view of that, we concentrate our attention on the working class, the struggle to fortify its class consciousness and unity, develop the peasant movement, win over forward-looking middle strata and create a national anti-dictatorship front capable of effecting democratic changes in the country and paving the way for deep transformations for building socialism.

The party is working to strengthen its ties with the masses both at home and abroad, where one-third of our country's population now lives. The Communists are aware that the difficulties can be overcome only with the help of the masses. Solid principles require resolute resistance to indiscipline, breaches of party secrets, cliqueishness and rumour-mongering, all of which are disorders that have plagued a sizable section of the party organism and have been caused mainly by the long years of struggle in exile, deep underground, ceaseless persecution, and inadequate ideological training of the Communists. The leadership and the sound section of the party apparatus have undertaken a firm commitment to bring about a change in the content and style of our work.

The Paraguayan Communist Party must now start to prepare itself for emerging from the underground and for legal activity, mobilising for this purpose all its cadres, including those who have lost their ties with the organisation for various reasons. The Communists are aware that they can fulfil the tasks facing them by correcting their errors in a principled manner, and by taking a consistent stand on exactingness and loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Our party's patriotic and internationalist mission is honestly to do its revolutionary duty to the Paraguayan working class, the people and the world's communist movement, and to do so by rallying all the forces for

a victorious democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution paving the way for socialist construction in our country.

¹ The Colorado Party is the accepted term in Paraguay for the National Republican Association, which Stroessner claims to be the 'ruling party'.—Ed.

² The first head of the independent Paraguayan state (1814-1840), who carried out important reforms.—Ed.

³ *Granma*, May 6, 1986.

⁴ The February 1936 uprising, which was supported by broad masses of people and which brought to power the R. Franco government (1936-1937); it effected a number of progressive transformations.—Ed.

⁵ *Informe Latinoamericano*, May 9, 1986.

⁶ It was signed by the Genuine Liberal Radical Party, the Revolutionary Febrerist Party, the Christian Democratic and other opposition parties.—Ed.

⁷ *Informe Latinoamericano*, May 9, 1986.

⁸ *Adelante*, No. 228, 1985.

⁹ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 82.

¹⁰ *Manifiesto. Comisión Política del Comité Central del PCP*, agosto de 1981, pp. 11-12.

¹¹ *Manifiesto. Unidos conquistamos la libertad, la paz, y la justicia social*, 25 de enero de 1985, p. 11.

¹² O. Creydt insinuated himself in the party leadership and in effect tried to liquidate the party. Together with the handful of his supporters, he was expelled from the PCP.—Ed.

Non - Aligned Movement from New Delhi to Harare

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THE Eighth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries is to open in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital, at the close of August. This summit coincides with a notable jubilee—the 25th anniversary of the non-aligned movement.

The movement has come a long way since its first conference in Belgrade in September 1961. Uniting more than a hundred nations with an aggregate population of over 1,500 million it has become a major factor of present-day international relations. The joint efforts of non-aligned states, the countries of the socialist world, and all other forces of progress and democracy in the world have been crowned with many noteworthy successes along the path towards the political and economic emancipation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of the new nation-states. The multiform peace-making work of the movement, which regards peaceful coexistence as a universal norm of state-to-state relations and speaks out against the arms race and the nuclear threat to humanity, has won the general recognition of the international community. The anti-imperialist thrust of non-alignment has grown increasingly pronounced.

But it is no secret that the movement has quite a few vulnerable, weak aspects. These include the very motley social composition of its participants, their differing

levels of economic and political development, and the disparity in their attitude to pressing international issues and in their views about the movement's aims and tasks. Imperialism and reactionary forces are bringing massive pressure to bear on the non-aligned countries to undercut the movement's unity, divert it from its anti-imperialist positions, sow discord among its member-states, and blunt the effectiveness of their joint actions. These actions are, of course, living compelling illustrations of how countries with different socio-economic systems can cooperate and move together to achieve noble common aims.

Every non-aligned summit attracts world-wide attention because it addresses issues vital to the destiny of nations, draws up explicit long-term programmes for international actions by many tens of nations, and examines pressing political and socio-economic problems of the Third World. These summits work out collective, coordinated attitudes and decisions and answer questions posed by life, by world developments.

A little over three years ago this many-sided work was performed by the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi, capital of India. With a new summit about to take place, this time in independent Zimbabwe, the international community is showing a heightened interest in the non-aligned movement's activities over the past few years. The purpose of this survey is to draw attention to some important aspects of these activities in the period between the New Delhi and Harare conferences.

Humankind's Central Problem

The exhortative New Delhi Message, adopted at the movement's Seventh Summit, is still fresh in people's minds. It says in part: "... Speaking for the majority of the world community, (the non-aligned countries—*Ed.*) want an immediate halt to the drift towards nuclear conflict which threatens not only the wellbeing of humanity in our times but of future generations as well." Permeated with concern about the destiny of civilisation, the Message made it clear that the course towards confrontation and war could only bring disaster and called upon members of the world community, the great powers in the first place, to come to 'wise decisions'. The leaders who conferred in New Delhi declared that they were determined to use every opportunity to help improve the political climate in the world.

However, it must be noted straight off that following the New Delhi Summit international tension rose to an unprecedented level as a result of actions by imperialism's chiefly by US imperialism's most aggressive quarters. The Reagan administration rejected the Soviet Union's level-headed, realistic peace initiatives, including its proposals for ending the nuclear arms race. In its drive to change the strategic equilibrium in its favour, Washington deployed US intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, feverishly continued to expand its militarist activities, and undertook acts of aggression in various parts of the planet in defiance of the protests from the newly-free nations and the international community as a whole. A challenging mission fell to the lot of the non-aligned movement and its chairman, India—that of fulfilling the peace injunction of the New Delhi Summit in a situation least propitious for it.

Nonetheless, it could be seen that for several years, despite the cold war winds generated by imperialism, the movement was able to go on perseveringly and staunchly upholding its fundamental line in international affairs of championing peace, the security of nations, and the revival of detente, acting against colonialism and neocolonialism, and calling for a new international economic and information order.

As early as the autumn of 1983, on the initiative of the late Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, representative informal meetings took place in New York of statesmen of non-aligned and some socialist and capitalist countries who had come to

attend the 38th session of the UN General Assembly. The purpose of these talks was to inaugurate a joint quest for ways of defusing international tension and solving the Third World's most acute economic problems. By giving priority to disarmament and bridling the nuclear threat, the participants in the talks stressed the need for considering these issues in close association with the problem of promoting the economic and social advancement of developing nations.

Then, from the lectern of the United Nations, the world heard the non-aligned movement speaking concernedly for peace. Non-aligned nations authored resolutions calling for a reduction of military budgets and a linkage between disarmament and development, co-authored resolutions urging, among other things, the freezing of nuclear armaments, a ban on the use of these weapons, and steps to prevent a nuclear war. They sponsored a resolution, aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space and taking into account proposals made by the USSR and some other countries, which was passed by the latest, 40th, session of the UN General Assembly by 151 votes. The only abstentions in the voting were by the USA and the puppet Grenada regime that servilely followed its master.

During these years the peace efforts of the non-aligned nations were enriched with new positive experience. On the initiative and with the direct participation of a number of influential members of the movement headway has been made by the internationally innovative form of collective diplomacy in which together with other nations non-aligned states are acting on humankind's basic problem, that of war and peace. These actions were initiated in the spring of 1984 when a joint statement by the leaders of India, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania appealed to the nuclear powers to stop entirely the development, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, freeze nuclear arsenals, and forthwith begin reducing them. Some months later these six nations adopted the Delhi Declaration to the world community, reiterating their insistence on an immediate halt to the arms race. The leaders of four non-aligned nations (India, Argentina, Tanzania, and Mexico¹), neutral Sweden, and NATO member Greece pointed to the danger posed by the militarisation of outer space, appealed for a halt to the testing of all kinds of nuclear weapons, and called for the conclusion, at an early date, of a treaty on a nuclear weapon test ban. 'Such a treaty,' the Declaration said, 'would be a major step towards ending the continuous modernisation of nuclear arsenals.'

This collective diplomacy by six nations was approved by the non-aligned movement, which saw this new initiative as a realistic opportunity for promoting the struggle against the arms race. The efforts of the Delhi Six helped to restart the Soviet-US dialogue, which is crucial to our planet's future. Their proposals were consistent with the letter and spirit of the non-aligned movement's phased approach to disarmament problems. It insists, above all, on a ban on the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances and a halt to nuclear tests, and emphatically rejects the sinister plans for starting a new spiral of the suicidal arms race.

The non-aligned movement censures militarist activity of any kind, condemning military preparations not only globally but also regionally. Such activity was sharply criticised at a conference of foreign ministers of Mediterranean non-aligned nations with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation held in the autumn of 1984 in Valletta, capital of Malta. The Declaration adopted at this meeting noted that the US-Israeli strategic alliance was a threat to the countries of the Mediterranean. Non-aligned countries are demanding the creation of nuclear-free peace zones in this and other regions. The peace initiatives of the non-aligned nations invariably serve the interests of world security and show concern for the destiny of detente, which was put to crucial tests in the first half of the 1980s.

Against the background of this exceedingly complex period of world development, the indications of a turn in Soviet-US relations in the middle of the decade were seen

as a gleam of hope: at first the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons were resumed, and then, in 1985, came the meeting between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachov and the US President Ronald Reagan in Geneva. The resumption of the dialogue between the two powers was hailed by the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers Conference in Luanda, capital of the People's Republic of Angola, in September 1985. In its Final Declaration this meeting called upon the nuclear powers to give proof of their political will to curb the arms race with concrete steps towards the conclusion of an all-embracing treaty that would ban nuclear weapons of all kinds in perpetuity. The non-aligned movement has been insisting on this ever since it was formed. The Luanda Final Declaration stressed in no uncertain terms that there should be a moratorium on all nuclear tests in order to facilitate negotiations.

Up to now tangible steps in this direction have been taken unilaterally, and only, by the Soviet Union. The Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions of all kinds, in operation since August 1985, has been re-extended to August 6 of this year. Acting in this way, Moscow has not only demonstrated real concern for the interests of world peace and its sincere striving to travel its part of the road to the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear tests but set an example of the closest consideration for the stand of the non-aligned and other peace-loving nations on these issues. The top Soviet leadership have declared their readiness to accept the proposal made in the Delhi Declaration to facilitate the verification of compliance with a test ban if, of course, this readiness is reciprocated by the other side. Moreover, in the Soviet capital there was an affirmative response to the ideas, put forward by the Six, of a safe world without nuclear weapons, ideas that harmonise with the concept of an all-embracing system of international security proclaimed at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

High appreciation has been voiced in developing countries for the Soviet phased programme for eliminating all nuclear weapons everywhere by the year 2000 provided agreement is reached on banning the development, testing, and deployment of space strike systems. The Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religion Dante Caputo called this programme "the most significant of the initiatives hitherto proposed in this area". In New Delhi (April of this year) the non-aligned movement's Coordinating Bureau welcomed this far-reaching Soviet peace programme. The New Delhi Political Declaration states that the aims of this programme are to a large extent consistent with the stand steadfastly held by the non-aligned nations on these problems.

Peace-loving peoples and countries have thus, over the recent period, accomplished much to improve the international climate, but the Reagan administration persists in its negative attitude to any moves towards peace and disarmament. Nuclear explosions reverberate in US testing sites, and Washington has begun putting into effect the preparations for its Star Wars projects. The USA is out to strip the Soviet-US dialogue of its substance—the question of bridling the nuclear arms race and ultimately eliminating all nuclear weapons.

In the context of the realities of the latter half of the 1980s the non-aligned movement is acting together with other powerful anti-war forces. By underscoring the urgency of measures to normalise the international situation and articulating its profound anxiety over the absence of any perceptible downturn of tension, especially in the recent period, it mobilises peoples, governments, and public opinion to counter imperialism's dangerous designs. It considers the removal of the threat of a nuclear holocaust as the *most crucial issue confronting humankind*.

The Luanda Priorities

A Foreign Ministers Conference is convened in the interim between the highest forums of the non-aligned countries. Its purpose is to consider how much progress has

been made towards fulfilling the programme approved earlier by the leaders of the non-aligned states, evaluating how far the summit decisions are consistent with the new problems facing the world community and the non-aligned countries themselves, and thereby more accurately determine the priorities of the movement's current and long-term actions. In the period we are considering, such a meeting was the aforementioned conference in Luanda. It was attended by representatives of 101 countries; some 60 delegations were led by ministers. By the time this conference took place the movement had already held meetings to coordinate the actions of its member-states in the United Nations and meetings of its Coordinating Bureau. The questions examined by the latter included the situation in Central America and around Nicaragua in connection with the aggressive moves by the USA, the granting of independence to Namibia, and the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon. The Commission of Eight on the Palestine Problem functioned in accordance with a decision passed at the New Delhi summit. In Jakarta the Information Ministers of non-aligned states addressed questions related to the struggle against information imperialism² and considered the plans for a further coordination of the efforts of non-aligned nations in the sphere of information.

Luanda gave a fresh impulse to the activities of the non-aligned movement and stressed the continuity of the guidelines formulated earlier and the relevance of the resolutions passed by the New Delhi Summit in 1983. Furthermore, the Luanda Conference showed that in view of the developments of recent years, particularly in Southern Africa, the non-aligned movement considered it necessary to reaccentuate the urgency of resolving the issue of decolonisation.

According to UN statistics, there still are about 20 non-self-administering territories or colonies in the world. These include Namibia, Palestinian lands, some territories in the Caribbean, Micronesia, Puerto Rico, the Bermuda and Malvinas (Falkland Islands), and Diego Garcia Atoll. In violation of the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the UN General Assembly more than a quarter of a century ago, some colonised territories are being used for imperialism's military bases and for the testing of nuclear weapons. Glaring violations of the right to self-determination are the occupation of Namibia by the racist South African regime and the denial to the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights, including the right to form their own state on their own land.

The conference focused on the problem of Southern Africa, where an emergency, crisis situation has been created by the policies pursued by the racist regime and its Washington patrons. At international forums the non-aligned movement has time and again unequivocally raised the question of decolonising Namibia, uprooting the apartheid system in South Africa, and taking steps to counter aggression by Pretoria against neighbouring countries. The very fact that the non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference was held in the Angolan capital was seen by its participants as an expression of solidarity with a 'Frontline State in the vanguard of the struggle against the abhorrent system of apartheid'. The Conference strongly condemned the aggressive operations of the racists and the acts aimed at destabilising Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and other frontline states politically and economically, and demanded all-embracing, mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa and Israel.

At the conference delegations stigmatised the apartheid regime for its barbaric policy of oppression, repression, and discrimination against the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population. The Final Declaration stated that only the total eradication of the apartheid system and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society would constitute a solid foundation for a just and durable settlement of the situation in that country. There was general condemnation of the USA's notorious policy of 'constructive engagement' with the South African regime that had given the racists a totally free hand. From Luanda all countries were urged to

go beyond expressions of solidarity with the liberation struggle of the patriots and render them effective assistance.

Moreover, the conference gave its attention to some of the terrible socio-economic disasters that have hit Africa. In the mid-1980s the drought and the prospect of famine threatening the lives of tens of millions of people starkly brought to light the depth and tragedy of the problems being encountered by the new African nations. Generated by the colonial past, these problems are reproduced by neocolonialist exploitation and compounded by the effects of the crisis of the capitalist world economy. The pressure of debts is today giving rise to particularly negative consequences. The sum needed to service the external debt to imperialist creditors is larger than the annual export revenues of some African countries.

Measures for dealing with the consequences of the unparalleled drought in Africa were charted by leaders of African countries in the summer of 1985. 'We,' says the Economic Declaration passed by the 21st session of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa, 'recognise that the collective effort of the member states is the most important weapon for tackling the current economic crisis . . . However, the magnitude of the crisis makes it imperative for the international community to supplement that effort.' This approach was mirrored at the Luanda Conference. It approved the measures taken earlier on the initiative of the non-aligned movement to alleviate the plight of drought-stricken countries, and adopt an action plan to develop special programmes and projects for promoting food production and fighting drought on a long-term basis. The conference called upon the international community to help eradicate the underlying causes of such cataclysms and showed a determination to prevent a repetition of the African tragedy.

Because of the role played by Africa in the ongoing anti-racist and anti-imperialist battles, the pressure of the economic problems confronting the continent's peoples, and the prestige enjoyed by the African countries, which constitute the largest group of states in the non-aligned movement (51 nations), the frontline state of Zimbabwe was chosen as the venue for the Eighth Summit. The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, is to be the next chairman of the movement.

Threat of Imperialist Terrorism

As the liberation struggle of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America widens, imperialism grows increasingly more provocative and aggressive. At the non-aligned conferences over recent years deep concern was expressed repeatedly about the steep rise of instances of imperialist interference, provocations, and acts of destabilisation against non-aligned nations, let alone acts of direct armed aggression.

At the 1983 summit in New Delhi the late Prime Minister of Grenada Maurice Bishop prophetically warned that imperialist terrorism was threatening his country and other developing nations. In the period covered by this survey the small island state of Grenada was its first victim. US aggression against Grenada was one of a series of crimes by US imperialism in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Any non-aligned, developing nation that today pursues an independent course may become the target and victim of the intrigues of international reaction.

The non-aligned movement unswervingly exposes the unceasing US acts of aggression in Latin America and the Caribbean—the undeclared war against Nicaragua, the interference in El Salvador, and the hostile schemes against Cuba. In the Middle East and in Africa Washington is keeping a large group of anti-imperialist states constantly in its gun-sights. These are, in the first place, Libya, Syria, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and some other frontline states. The NATO powers are flagrantly flouting the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. In Asia undeclared wars are being fought against Afghanistan and Kampuchea with the undisguised participation of the Pentagon and the CIA. The list may be lengthened since with

the proclamation of the doctrine of 'neoglobalism' by the Reagan administration, other governments uncongenial to Washington are under the threat of being black-listed.

The non-aligned movement is itself being pressured by imperialist quarters. Immediately after the New Delhi Summit these quarters were still trying somehow to put a good face on the matter by expressing the hope that the transfer of the chairmanship of the non-aligned movement from Cuba to India would modify its orientation and make it 'genuinely equidistant', in other words, 'neutral' relative to imperialism. Since this neither took nor could take place on account of the intrinsically anti-imperialist nature of the movement, the attacks and insinuations directed against it acquired the character of a malignant campaign, the start for which was signalled by President Reagan at the 38th session of the UN General Assembly when he said: 'Client governments of the Soviet Union, who have long since lost their independence, have flocked into the non-aligned movement and once inside have worked against its true purpose.'³ The notorious 'Soviet threat' allegation was used in this case also as camouflage to divert from the USA the increasingly biting criticism by non-aligned countries.

The developing countries rightly saw the US occupation of little Grenada as the signal for a broad offensive by imperialist reaction against sovereign, independent nations and the non-aligned movement as a whole. Further developments only bore out that under the guise of fighting 'international terrorism' Washington was mounting an unprecedentedly intensive campaign to destabilise developing states and relying on the utmost use of armed force. The unparalleled act of state terrorism by the USA against Libya was a further reminder of the world community of the dangers implicit in the course being pursued by US imperialism. Hence the growing significance of concerted efforts by peace-loving states and united actions by Communists, by all patriots and democrats against the US policy of militarist piracy.

The so-called secret operations of the imperialist forces against the non-aligned movement are likewise ominously menacing. The Indian newspaper *National Herald* has reported that the US National Security Council has gone so far as to draw up a long-term programme for undermining the movement. It not only suggests eroding the role of prestigious members of the movement such as India, Cuba, Algeria, Tanzania, and Nigeria but makes provision for controlling these nations. Subversive actions are to be closely coordinated with the direct participation of the CIA and other US governmental and non-governmental agencies. In the light of these designs it may be recalled that imperialism has no intention of abandoning its design of physically eliminating 'objectionable' leaders of non-aligned and other countries. Hired killers have slain India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who enjoyed immense prestige as chairperson of the movement, and the Prime Minister of Sweden Olof Palme. There has been an attempt on the life of another signatory of the documents of the Delhi Six—Argentina's President Raul Alfonsin. There was a very real threat to the life of the leader of the Libyan revolution Moamer Qadhafi, whose country was barbarously bombed by US aircraft.

The non-aligned movement steadfastly abides by a principled, determined stand relative to subversive actions and any foreign interference. Its Coordinating Bureau has denounced the perfidious US invasion of Grenada and demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from that island. Staunch support for Libya was declared by this Bureau recently when it met in New Delhi to prepare for the new non-aligned summit. The United States and Great Britain, its closest ally, were censured. The condemnation of the US action by the Indian Foreign Minister in the UN Security Council was so sharp that the US representative found nothing better to do than to repeat threats against the non-aligned movement and charge it with being traditionally one-sided.⁴

As well as showing solidarity with Libya, non-aligned nations are demanding an end to the encroachments on that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the immediate and full compensation for the human and material losses inflicted on Libya by the American bombing. They are trying to get the USA to halt its hostile anti-Libyan actions, which are threatening peace and security in the Mediterranean and have seriously aggravated the international situation.

Complexity of the Struggle on the Economic Front

In the last quarter of our century the calamitous economic situation in developing nations has become a global problem. The crisis of the capitalist world economy has acquired scandalous, ugly forms on the fringes of that economy. The debt of Latin American, African, and Asian countries to capitalist banks threatens to rise above the trillion dollar mark, and many national economies are sinking ever deeper into stagnation. A survey conducted by the UN in 83 developing nations showed that last year in 49 of these nations (with an aggregate population of 700 million) the per capita incomes were already alarmingly low or even falling from that level.⁵

The enormous economic gulf between the industrial capitalist powers and the developing nations can hardly be closed as long as the laws of capitalism operate, as long as there is dictation from the capitalist world market, which compels producers of raw materials to sell their output at ludicrously low prices and to take for granted the protectionist tariffs in the markets of the former colonial masters. Underlying this gap of a magnitude exceeding 10:1 in per capita incomes is the policy of plunder pursued by imperialism, which exploits the peoples of developing countries and piles up wealth at their expense.

The non-aligned movement notes that the economic situation has not improved since its New Delhi Summit. There has been no progress at all in solving key problems of the world economy, while African and Latin American nations have found themselves in a most severe economic crisis.

Non-aligned nations are steering a course towards a complete restructuring of the existing unjust economic order to bring about a new international economic order. They regard the world economy as being interdependent and hence their determination to put an end to the present unequal economic relations with the capitalist powers. The way to this is to organise, within the UN framework, international cooperation and dialogue, which, in the view of the non-aligned states, would in future enable them to solve their economic and social problems.

The orientation towards a new international economic order that has been steadfastly paving the way for itself for more than a decade was reiterated also at the 1983 New Delhi Summit. This summit was followed by a conference in the Indian capital of ministers representing four regional groups of the non-aligned movement—Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. This conference called upon the leading capitalist powers to take reciprocal steps towards establishing a new economic order. To get things moving in the context of global talks on energy, raw materials, trade, and credits, proposed as early as 1979 by the Sixth Non-Aligned Nations Summit in Havana, special envoys of the movement were sent to the capitals of Western industrial countries. Further, the objective was set of exercising some influence on the attitude of the 'Big Seven' when they conferred at Williamsburg, USA, in 1983. However, even on this occasion nothing came of the attempts to revive the long-stalemated 'North-South' dialogue. The capitalist powers resounded to the efforts of the advocates of restructuring economic relations with supercilious silence.

The initiative of the New Delhi Summit to convene a world monetary and financial conference has likewise encountered undisguised obstruction in the past few years. The facts indicate that the tune at the annual summit conferences of the leading capitalist nations is called by Washington, which shows contempt and distaste for any

Third World initiatives. As a result, the entire spectrum of problems linked to the distress of the developing states receives steadily diminishing attention. Expressing dissatisfaction with the outcome of the recent 'Big Seven' conference in Tokyo and clearly having the US President in mind, the Prime Minister of Malaysia Mahathir bin Mohamad declared: "It is unfortunate that the most powerful people feel that they have no necessity to work with the South or to take into consideration the problems of the South."⁶

In reply to the great-power policy of ignoring the legitimate demands and interests of developing nations pursued by the 'captains' of the capitalist world, the non-aligned movement has to a certain extent readjusted its economic programme. A larger emphasis is being made on plans for collective self-reliance as was shown, in particular, at the Luanda Conference and the April meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in New Delhi. Noting the progress made in establishing regional and other forms of cooperation among non-aligned nations, the Luanda Conference formulated new targets for joint economic projects and adopted an action programme on economic relations. The latter is seen as a kind of 'countervailing force' in negotiations with capitalist powers. Concurrently, the non-aligned movement continues to feel that effective solutions to present-day problems of the world economy can only be found through the concerted efforts of all countries.

Attention is attracted by the stand of a group of non-aligned states on the question of the external debt. It will be recalled that in early 1985 Cuba's leader Fidel Castro urged considering the question of the Latin American states annulling their debt or placing a moratorium on the repayments of this debt. This initiative gave a further impetus to the developing world's struggle against imperialist exploitation and helped to start a discussion in the non-aligned movement on ways and means of putting an end to debt bondage.

While recognising the obligation to service this debt, a special resolution passed by the Luanda Conference stresses that it is an intolerable burden and calls for a dialogue aimed at reaching a fair and long-term settlement of the debt crisis. It is suggested, in particular, that the developing countries should seek to limit their debt service from their export earnings to a percentage compatible with their development needs and with their economic and social requirements. In a situation in which the debt mechanism, the double-dealing, and the arbitrary bank rates are everywhere leading to a transfer of resources to the capitalist centres—a situation in which non-equivalent exchange and the widespread discriminatory trade practices are means for pillaging the developing countries—it is becoming practically impossible to repay debts. Hence the need for fundamental solutions, chiefly on the basis of a fair and democratic restructuring of international economic relations leading to the establishment of a new international economic order, a point that is being constantly made by the non-aligned nations and their allies in the socialist world.

In its Economic Declaration the New Delhi Summit stressed that the approach to negotiations on global economic problems had to be based on a new concept of international security. This means recognising that all peoples and countries want economic progress. In the past few years the non-aligned movement had to contend much too often with the opposite, imperialist approach. In all cases its members found their economic security jeopardised. Nicaragua and then Libya were made the targets of the economic war waged by the USA. Trade embargoes and other sanctions have time and again been enforced against many African, Asian, and Latin American states, and the world community is naturally deeply disturbed by the obtaining situation. It is noteworthy that on these issues non-aligned and socialist countries usually act together. For example, only a short while ago the USSR and Angola urged the convocation of a world congress on problems of economic security to consider the entire range of difficulties burdening the world economic relations. The two countries

reiterated the pressing need for a just settlement of the developing countries' external debt problem precipitated by the imperialist policy of neocolonialism.

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Developments in the period between the New Delhi and Harare summits distinctly show that, as in past periods, the peace and anti-imperialist actions of the non-aligned movement have been unfolding in the channel of the common struggle of the planet's forces of progress and democracy. The communist and workers' parties think highly of the contribution being made by the non-aligned nations to this struggle, of their peace and many other important initiatives, and of their role as an independent global factor in the system of contemporary international relations.

The non-aligned movement's principled approach to the problem of decolonisation, its defence of the interests and sovereign rights of its member-states, its propagation of the aims of a new international economic order, and its determination to curb the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, not only have the understanding but coincide directly with the aspirations of the Communists and other forces of progress.

For many decades the fraternal parties have been carrying on a tireless struggle for the peace, security and genuine independence of nations. The Communists are the ones who are pressing the ruling circles of Asian, African, and Latin American states to give a substantive content to and effectively implement the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist guidelines of non-alignment on political, economic, and social issues. At the new stage of the movement's activities, to be opened by its Eighth Summit, even greater significance than before will be acquired by concerted action on the part of the forces of progress and democracy, of all peoples and governments prepared to help ensure a peaceful future for humanity and uphold the ideals of freedom and democracy.

¹ Mexico has observer status in the non-aligned movement.—Ed.

² Of late, this term has been used increasingly in documents of the non-aligned movement to designate a special form of imperialism's ideological warfare against the socialist world, the national liberation movement, and all other forces of peace, democracy, and progress. This warfare is conducted through the mass media and propaganda. The developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the main target of information imperialism.

³ *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 13, 1983, p. 20.

⁴ *International Herald Tribune*, April 26-27, 1986.

⁵ *International Herald Tribune*, May 20, 1986.

⁶ *International Herald Tribune*, May 9, 1986.

Live in Diversity or We Shall All Perish

Professor *Jean Ziegler* — Geneva
University Bureau member, Socialist
International

The guests at the recent congress of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries included representatives of a wide spectrum of socialist, social democratic, and labour parties from different parts of the world. As was noted at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, despite the evident ideological differences between the Communists and Social Democrats and the dissimilarity and non-equivalence of their experience and achievements, an unbiased

knowledge of the attitudes and views of each other is useful to both sides, chiefly in the context of stepping up the struggle for peace and international security. For some years *WMR* has carried contributions from leading personalities of the social democratic movement. In this issue we offer an interview with Jean Ziegler, a leading figure in the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, member of the Socialist International Bureau, professor of Geneva University and the Sorbonne, and author of several books on developing nations and world politics, who gives his personal views on some pressing international issues.

Professor Ziegler, you are known in and outside Switzerland as a scientist studying problems confronting African and Latin American nations. To what extent, in your opinion, would a curb on the arms race help to improve the situation in these countries?

TO a colossal extent. There is a direct link between the military expenditure in the world, which in 1985 were of the order of 1,000 billion dollars, and the external debt of 950 billion dollars owed by 122 developing nations. This debt compels Third World peoples to make unbearable sacrifices. One of the principal contradictions of the existing world order is between the uncontrolled growth of military expenditures and the increasing pauperisation of the Third World.

Let me add that the huge funds being spent on armaments have a steadily dwindling link to legitimate defence needs. The great powers now have 50,000 nuclear warheads, which amount to an enormous global overkill capacity. The continued super-armament has long ago come into conflict with common sense. A reason for this race is reciprocal fear, as well as attempts to achieve military superiority, which in any case would be illusory.

It is true that in this race the USA has usually been the first to develop new types of nuclear weapons, while the Soviet Union sought to restore parity. But today it is not enough to identify the instigator. I repeat, we now find ourselves in an absurd situation. Superarmament generates new and less controllable threats to peace. It consumes vast natural, manpower, and financial resources. The American people are paying for this with a budget deficit that in 1985 reached 200 billion dollars, while for people in the Soviet Union it is spelled out by social and economic restraints. And if the Star Wars plans are put into effect, it would be the height of madness, for the arms race would get another powerful impetus and the threat to the planet would be still harder to control.

Meanwhile, the situation in most Third World nations continues to deteriorate. According to FAO statistics, more than 1,200 million people suffered from chronic malnutrition in 1984, while by 2000 famine will threaten the lives of 250 million people. For the poorest countries the terms of commercial exchange are extremely unfavourable, especially as the price of their main export commodities has plummeted. For instance, in the period from 1979 to 1982 the price of coffee fell by 20 per cent, of sugar by 37 per cent, and of cocoa by 50 per cent. The situation for the new nation-states is compounded by regional conflicts and large-scale purchases of armaments: African states alone spent 16 billion dollars in 1985 for this purpose. In short, superarmament is proceeding largely at the expense of Third World peoples, condemning some of them to gradual extinction.

In the West today many people have become pessimistic about the possibilities for disarmament and the solution of other serious global problems. What is your view of this?

Despite the complexity of the situation in the world, there are such possibilities. The

decisive condition for realising these possibilities is a return to detente. This is not only my own opinion. It is now the predominant view in the Socialist International. All the issues to which the Socialist International gives priority attention can only be resolved under conditions of detente, in an atmosphere of mutual confidence between the great powers. These are the settlement of regional conflicts, notably in Central America, and radical cutbacks of nuclear armaments. Moreover, it is vital to prevent the militarisation of outer space, ensure universal compliance with human rights, secure the decolonisation of South Africa, and create the conditions for the all-sided development of the Third World.

I regard as extremely positive the fact that at its 13th Congress held in Geneva in 1976 the Socialist International elected as its Chairman a person like Willy Brandt, who is a staunch adversary of war, a person who has remained true to his anti-fascist past. At the same congress many persons sharing his views were elected to leading bodies of the Socialist International. By that time there had been a visible strengthening of the socialist parties in a number of West European countries, notably in Portugal and Spain, where fascist regimes fell. Activists of the movement seek to give a fresh impulse to the organisation's activities, in the first place to extend its participation in the struggle for peace, security, and the settlement of regional conflicts.

In early 1978 the Socialist International set up a working group on disarmament, which began a quest for ways of improving the international climate and resuming the East-West dialogue. At the same time, the Socialist International began giving more attention to developments in the Third World and to contacts with national liberation movements. In 1980 our organisation declared, for the first time, its solidarity with the government of Nicaragua and apprised the US administration of its position.

The election of Ronald Reagan to the US presidency, the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe, and the proclamation of the Star Wars plans sharpened the Socialist International's attention to international security. I feel that there is some measure of irrationality in the USA's present policies. This is seen most strikingly in the intention to achieve a quantitative advance in military capacity by militarising outer space. Of course, further evidence of this is the psychological war which the USA is conducting in line with its faulted perception of the world. All this is very adversely affecting Soviet-US relations. True, there have been conflict situations in the past, but now, as it seems to me, the USA is deliberately abandoning detente, although the Soviet Union has been and remains its principal and indispensable partner in any disarmament negotiations.

I am not a Communist, and in all probability I shall never be one. I am a Social Democrat and a citizen of a small neutral country in the centre of Europe. I do not agree with many aspects of the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policies. However, I am deeply disturbed by the psychological war that the Reagan administration is conducting against the Soviet Union, and I consider it unwise. In the nuclear age it is patently absurd to abandon dialogue and conduct a psychological war. In a nuclear war the conqueror can only be death. I am married and have children. Like any other parent, I want my children to live.

I firmly believe that for every Socialist, for every democrat an absolute priority today is to help revive the spirit of Helsinki and restructure international relations on a reasonable foundation. The Helsinki Conference benefited the political climate in Europe by, among other things, the fact that the inviolability of existing European frontiers and mandatory compliance with human rights were proclaimed in its Final Act. Regrettably, many of the Helsinki projects have not materialised. It is vital to revive the spirit of Helsinki.

How, in this context, do you assess the Soviet line towards concrete agreements with the USA, in particular, the Soviet-US summit in Geneva, and the proposals formulated in Mikhail Gorbachov's Statement of January 15 and enlarged upon at the 27th Congress of the CPSU?

Direct contacts between the leaders of the two great powers have always been useful, and the Geneva meeting was, unquestionably, an important step towards resuming their dialogue. Thanks to television, which gave this meeting broad coverage, millions of people throughout the world could get a better appreciation of how great the threat to peace is today, to feel the depth of this problem. But the problem itself was not resolved. Geneva generated high hopes but did not yield concrete results.

I believe that the Soviet proposals of January 15, 1986 are reasonable. I will not comment on Reagan's assertion that they are part of a 'propaganda ploy'. The reduction of nuclear stockpiles and their destruction by means of mutual, simultaneous, and controlled disarmament up to the year 2000 may seem to be a utopia. But my reply to the Gorbachov proposals is: let us use them, make the first step, discuss them together. There is public opinion in the West. It must mobilise itself and put an end to psychological warfare. The law of the jungle prevails in international relations today. In a jungle there is no future for any nation. Let me repeat: I am no different from the billions of other people in the world. I want to live and for this I am fighting for peace. However, peace can only be achieved through dialogue, negotiations, disarmament. It cannot be ensured by confrontation, slander and non-acceptance of the other side.

What contribution could the Socialist International make, in your opinion, to the re-establishment of detente?

This could be a very considerable contribution. Although the Socialist International is not an inter-state organisation, it is a major force in political, diplomatic, and moral terms.

I have already mentioned our efforts to restore confidence between the European nations, our efforts to influence the US administration in questions related to its Central American policy, the Socialist International's opposition to the plans for militarising outer space, and its struggle for compliance with human rights everywhere, in the West and in the East. The parties affiliated to the Socialist International attach great importance to establishing and extending contacts with the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty nations despite the very profound differences between them and the ruling parties of these countries. In the first place these concern human rights, the state system, and the situation over Afghanistan. Nonetheless, there is cooperation since there is a reciprocal striving to continue the dialogue.

There is no common approach, no unanimity in the Socialist International on all major international issues. This is quite natural: it comprises 49 parties with more than 80 million people voting for them. These parties function in the most diverse conditions. Among them are large and influential organisations like the Social Democratic Party of Germany (roughly one million members) and the Socialist Party of Austria (700,000 members), and also relatively small organisations such as the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland (52,000 members), to say nothing of the new and numerically small parties in African countries. Of course, this make-up itself leads to some divergences.

Personally, I find intolerable the very thought that Europe might be a theatre of a 'limited' nuclear war. Nor can I accept the stationing of missiles in countries whose governments are in fact denied the right to veto their use. But while this is the attitude of most of the parties affiliated to the Socialist International it is not shared by all its

members. Thus, one still cannot speak of total unity in the organisation. The French Socialist Party, for instance, approves the deployment of Pershing missiles. Nevertheless, the underlying tendency, expressed in the Brandt line, in the course pursued by the West German, Swedish, Austrian, and some other social democratic parties, consists of actions against the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and against the Star Wars plans, of actions calling for negotiations with the Soviet Union and other East European countries with the aim of progressing towards simultaneous, mutual, and controlled disarmament.

You said that the Socialist International wants a settlement of regional conflicts, particularly in Central America. What, in your view, are the main conditions for restoring peace in the region?

In the first place, the USA must renounce its aggressive policy towards Nicaragua. In the period from 1961 to 1979 the people of that country lost 60,000 of their sons and daughters in the struggle against the Somoza family dictatorship. Somoza was a criminal who pillaged the nation with US support.

Yet now, two years after the people, led by the Sandinist National Liberation Front, finally overthrew the bloodthirsty dictatorship, Nicaragua is being attacked by mercenaries funded and armed by the CIA, by the 12,000 Somoza holdovers currently entrenched in Honduras and Costa Rica. Meanwhile, the USA is mining and blockading the nation's ports. With my own eyes I saw the US aircraft carrier *Kennedy* several miles off Nicaragua's Atlantic coast.

This is a war of aggression against an independent people, against a sovereign nation, and there is no justification for it. This war only serves to protect the privileges of the US transnational corporations in Central America; quite naturally, they fear social changes. They are afraid that in the wake of Nicaragua, liberation will be won by El Salvador and then Honduras, and then Guatemala . . .

In order to justify its policy, the US administration alleges that Nicaragua is a 'Moscow client' and a menace to the USA's southern borders. The truth is that the US administration cannot reconcile itself to the fact that the people of Nicaragua, as the people of Cuba, have opted for national liberation and the establishment of a democratic socialist regime. Socialism has brought immense changes for the Cuban people. Impressive advances have been made during the 27 years since the revolution in a country that was as poor as the other Latin American states, a country where children died from starvation and almost the entire population was illiterate. Today there are hospitals everywhere, an agrarian reform has been carried out, and human dignity has been restored. In Washington they continue to assert that Cuba is part of an 'empire of evil', that it is an 'outpost' of Moscow in the Western Hemisphere.

Then take the assertions of the US administration that the government in Nicaragua is in power only because of Soviet and Cuban support. This is patently absurd. I have been to Nicaragua on several occasions, and have come away with the conviction that it has an independent government enjoying the wholehearted support of the people, with the exception, of course, of the compradore bourgeoisie.

To round off my answer to your question, I should like to quote splendid words by Thomas Borge, one of the top Sandinist leaders. In July 1979, soon after the Sandinist National Liberation Front triumphed, US President Carter wrote a letter to its leadership. Noting that the Sandinists had triumphed and the USA had erred in backing Somoza. Carter wrote that if in Nicaragua elections were to be held immediately and a democratic constitution adopted, the USA would formally recognise its new government. Borge replied: 'Mr President, our people have already voted. They have voted with their own blood.'

Many Nicaraguans gave their lives for the revolution. To this day, they, above all

young soldiers of the Sandinist army, are dying daily along the frontiers, voting for socialism, independence, and democracy with their own blood.

Progress Publishers of Moscow are putting out your book entitled *The Year 2000: The End of Humanity? The East-West Dialogue*, which you wrote in collaboration with the Soviet academic Y. Popov. Some quarters in Switzerland believe that this may jeopardise your image.

You see, anti-communism is strong in my country. A book written jointly with a Soviet author and, over and above that, brought out by Progress Publishers carries some risk for my public image. But I am used to being attacked from the right. I have been a target of such attacks time and again for my writings (for example, for the book *Switzerland—Beyond Suspicion*). I belong to the left wing in the SDPS. I militate against the 'secrecy of bank accounts', which permits attracting crime-tainted capital to Swiss banks, and against the domination of my country's economic and social life by the financial oligarchy and transnational corporations.

But the essential thing is in something else. Today, 14 years before the close of the twentieth century, we have to choose explicitly between learning, given all our differences and divergences, to live in peace on one planet or perishing one and all in the inferno of a nuclear holocaust. We are living in a mad world. Humankind may be annihilated at any moment. It is up to intellectuals to bring this simple truth home to the largest possible number of people.

The present contacts between social scientists in the East and West are still very limited. I hope that a contribution to promoting these contacts will be made by our book, in which a sharp, polemical but useful dialogue is conducted by two academics representing societies with different state systems and antipodal ideologies. It is my belief that dialogue and discussion are the only way out of the present situation. Renunciation of reciprocal enmity, despite existing distinctions, is the principal condition for the preservation of peace and, consequently, the survival of humanity.

surveys, information and mail

What's Behind the Aggressive Doctrine

The basic demand on policy is that it should reckon with the realities, a virtual imperative in our day. Each of the numerous states in the world has its own interests, but these are contrasted to the overall human interests only at the risk of causing a world-wide catastrophe. The state of nuclear confrontation, tension and the arms race dictate new approaches, ways and forms of relations between the different social systems, regions and states. There is now a task of

fundamental significance: without being blind to social, political and ideological differences, all have to master the science and art of restraint and circumspection on the international scene, to live in a civilised manner, in other words, under conditions of civil international intercourse and cooperation.

Both socialism and imperialism have responded to the challenge of our epoch. The Soviet peace programme, which was put forward by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, and which has the approval and support of the fraternal parties and the other progressive and peace forces on every continent, is a concentrated expression of socialism's response.¹ 'Neoglobalism', the latest US foreign-policy doctrine, is a concentrated expression of imperialism's long-term response.

What are the basic ideological and political goals and methods of 'neoglobalism' in various parts of the world? What does it have in store for the world community of nations? These issues were summarised by a *WMR* international working group consisting of **Satiadjaya Sudiman** (CP Indonesia), **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese CP), and **Jaime Barrios** (CP El Salvador).

THE sources of the present tension in the world are perfectly obvious to Communists: they do not lie in the origination of socialism and its development into a world system, nor in the collapse of the colonial empires and the emergence of a powerful political force in the international arena consisting of the newly-liberated states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are rooted in the nature of imperialism, which keeps generating aggressive and adventurist policies, with repeated and characteristic relapses into attempts to solve international problems by means of armed force. Imperialism ignores the will of the sovereign nations, seeks to deny their right to choose their own way of development, and poses a threat to their security. That is especially true of US imperialism.

The history of the United States abounds in armed interventions in various parts of the world under the pretence of defending 'US vital interests'. There were over 150 such interventions in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century; from 1946 to the mid-1980s, the US armed forces were used abroad on almost 290 occasions;² in that period, the United States toyed with the idea of using nuclear weapons on more than 30 occasions.

Hegemonistic tendencies have, therefore, been ever more pronounced in the US ruling circles' foreign policy since the Second World War. Despite the diverse ways and forms in which the postwar strategy of US imperialism has been realised, it can, on the whole, be defined as globalistic, both in geographical and in social and political terms. What then is so new about the doctrine of 'neoglobalism', which President Ronald Reagan announced on February 6, 1986?

A Strategy for Social Takeback

The US President's February message to the Congress, presented as a programme for America's future, gives a good idea of the US imperialist circles' long-term line in international affairs. They intend to have it in place until at least the twenty-first century. It is a doctrine justifying the Reagan administration's sharp turn from detente to a policy of force, total confrontation and intervention, and rejecting peaceful coexistence, good neighbourhood and cooperation as principles of world development, as a political philosophy underlying present-day international relations. The problem of regional conflicts is made central to Soviet-US relations, and the solution of the key problem of our day—limiting and ending the arms race, above all, in nuclear and space weapons—is made contingent on a settlement of such conflicts.

What are the most characteristic features of the 'neoglobalism' doctrine? The main

one is that it is aimed against world socialism and the national liberation movement. Washington right-conservative circles insist that an improvement of Soviet-US relations depends on a change of the USSR's 'behaviour' in the less developed world, so trying to justify the lack of progress on the key issues of limiting the arms race, and attacking the outcome of the Geneva meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the United States, which has alarmed them, in an effort to overcome the confusion caused by the dynamic Soviet initiatives, especially the historic programme for getting rid of all nuclear weapons by the end of the century. What is more, they regard as a zone of US influence not only some limited regions, such as Latin America, which was declared to be a US 'backyard' under President Monroe (Monroe Doctrine); or the Middle East, which was declared to be a 'sphere of US vital interests' under President Carter. 'Neoglobalism' goes much farther: their claims now extend to the whole of the less developed world.

This, one could say, is a 'neo-attempt' by US imperialism to stop the tide of history, to undermine the positions of socialism and its interaction and cooperation with the newly-independent states, and to fight for social takeback on a world scale. The point is to prevent the disintegration of the system of capitalist enslavement on which the affluence of the United States itself is largely based. US ruling circles regarded the progressive changes in various Third World countries in the 1970s as their own major geopolitical losses. The architects of US foreign policy perceive a line beyond which they refuse to retreat, and insist that the time has come to retrieve what has been lost. But how is that to be done?

The fact is that there is now a no-win situation in the central area of world politics: the military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, the East and the West, with mutual assured destruction in the event of a 'big' war. This is why the accent in the fight against socialism has been shifted to the so-called periphery of the modern world, where the imperialist forces hope to mount a counter-offensive in an effort to win back their lost beachheads, without the risk, hopefully, of provoking a universal suicidal conflict. The task is, on the one hand, to intensify pressure on the independent, newly-liberated states through overt and covert support for and activation of counter-revolutionary, anti-government elements, and, on the other, to bolster Third World regimes suitable to the United States, with a change of front here and there. A stake has been made on what the Pentagon believes to be safer, 'little', or 'limited', wars, and on non-nuclear means of fighting them. The advocates of 'neoglobalism' within the US administration expect such 'neat' wars, fought a long way from the shores of the United States, to satisfy the appetites of the military-industrial complex and monopoly capital as a whole, and their own ambitions, without excessive risk or a great trial of strength.

It is the opinion of the working group that these US imperialist tendencies were in evidence long before the announcement of the 'neoglobalism' doctrine, also known as the 'Reagan Doctrine'. The 'new phase' began at the time of the landing of the US marines in Lebanon (1982), and especially of the US armed intervention against Grenada (1983), together with the sharp step-up of the tense situation over Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Even then it was evident that the United States was returning to the interventionist way of settling international problems, above all in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and trying to vindicate the armed-force methods in attaining strategic goals. The Reagan administration has now merely provided itself with an adequate political and ideological framework for its practical activity by putting the finishing touches to its doctrine of 'neoglobalism'.

Reliance on armed force and its use in the most brutal forms and on a large scale are the distinctive features of 'neoglobalism'. What kind of picture do US global military preparations now present? A palisade of missiles; poised strategic bombers; armadas of warships plying the seas and oceans; hundreds of military bases across the globe

packed with the most diverse weapons.

Support of all reactionary, dictatorial and despotic regimes is an important aspect of present US strategy, and in this respect there has been no departure from the earlier doctrines. Whatever the White House may say on this score, the United States has sponsored every anti-people dictatorship, supplying it with US money and weapons, and sending in its own troops to protect it from the people—whenever that seemed to be necessary. The repressive regimes have slavishly served the United States, providing it with support, however flimsy, in its desperate attempts to stem the process of social change in the world.

Ideology of Counter-Revolution

General Secretary of the CPUSA Gus Hall says that 'neoglobalism' is the same old Dulles Doctrine of 'rollback' being used against the Third World countries. It is based on Reagan's urge to nullify the victories of the anti-imperialist forces since the Second World War, which have enabled many Third World countries to win political independence and to take the way of non-capitalist development; it is an attempt to reverse the wheel of history to the postwar period, to turn back the clock of national liberation one hundred years into the past. It is an ideology of counter-revolution, the ideology of US corporate domination of the world.

The credo of the doctrine is a crusade against the ideas of communism and the national liberation movement, and a fight against them everywhere by every possible means. The starting and far-reaching 'neoglobalist' idea, formulated by US Secretary of State George Shultz, is indeed most akin in spirit to the idea of 'containing communism' in the Cold War period. It says: 'the forces of democracy', led by the United States (and these forces are given such a hazy definition as to include any country and any political formation allied to the West), are faced with a new threat—a world-wide offensive by terrorism. According to Shultz, all countries or movements having close ties with Moscow are 'instruments of terrorism and totalitarianism'. Anyone who opposes them is, of course, automatically ranked among the 'guardians of democracy' led by the United States, and deserves to be given its military and other aid.

That is the kind of black-and-white, bipolar world the United States portrays, unencumbered by the complexities of the dialectics of relations, identical or discrepant positions, rivalry or cooperation. Everything is cut and dried, as it is in a Western movie: the bad guy is sure to kill, unless he is killed first. That is the only kind of truly biased and primitive perception of the world that allows the Savimbi bandits, the Nicaraguan 'contras', the Pol Pot cutthroats and the Afghan thugs to be ranked among the 'freedom fighters'.

The working group noted that Washington took a very broad view of 'terrorism', meaning above all the national liberation movements. The extremely hostile approach to them was formulated in National Security Directive No. 138, which President Reagan signed in 1984. Out-and-out international brigandage, as practised by the United States in its aggression in Indochina, has once again been enshrined as national policy, to become a policy of state terrorism.

US right-wing ideologists and strategists insist that this is the only way to dispel the 'Vietnam syndrome' and restore the 'national dignity' of the United States, with fresh faith in its own strength for a counter-offensive against communism and the national liberation movement. They want the United States to act the world gendarme more vigorously and to build up its interventionist potential. They are helping the US administration to develop its imperial mentality and political philosophy of armed-force diktat.

Who Benefits

The 'neoglobalist' ideology is an expression of the interests and tendencies of the forces linked with the transnational corporations (TNCs). Capital going beyond the national borders tends to develop into a force with globalist claims and objectives by the sheer logic of its own development. The TNCs are now an important economic and political factor in international life, and their operations have a substantial impact on the situation in the various countries and regions.

There are now close to 400 TNCs operating throughout the world, almost one-half of them—and the most powerful ones—belonging to the United States. They have managed to create a tricky system of neocolonialist exploitation, and to throw the web of economic dependence on many countries, primarily those in the less developed world. US (and not only US) imperialism continues to exist as a system largely by plundering and ruthlessly exploiting these countries. US TNC investments abroad may be likened to the country's 'second economy'. The TNCs are, in effect, sprawling dollar-ruled empires with operations larger than the gross national product of many states, and the profits they have extracted from the less developed world over the past decade are four times as high as their investments; the TNCs now control 40 per cent of the industrial output, and one-half of the foreign trade of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Their growing operations have spawned ever more acute contradictions between these states and transnational, primarily US, capital. US capital is not interested in any drastic change in the system of relations which suits it, or in creating a new international economic order to take account of the people's legitimate interests. It protects its privileges and profits through the use of force and armed coercion. Not only are the TNCs actively involved in building up imperialist armed strength, but also in moving closer towards the instruments of political power those who share their imperial view of the world and back up their global interests by means of armed force. Economists have estimated that in the recent period nearly one-half of the newly manufactured means of production in the United States has been used for military purposes. As a corollary, important posts in the Reagan administration are held by representatives of monopolies from twenty industries most closely involved in the arms business and external expansion. US analysts point out that there are 28 millionaires and 22 multimillionaires among the 'Presidential hundred' (senior administration officials).

Armed force is the key element of the 'neoglobalism' doctrine, and it is the instrument used by Washington to back up the expansion of US capital abroad over the widest range: access to areas of investment, sources of primary materials, and commodity markets. The emergence of national-patriotic liberation movements seeking to limit the exploitation of the labour and resources of other peoples by the US monopolies anywhere in the capitalist world is regarded by the US ruling circles as a threat to 'US national interests'. The Pentagon's war machine is instantly put into gear, while the CIA and other US special services step up their subversive activities.

Arsenal for Intervention

The 'neoglobalism' doctrine is put into effect by a wide range of instruments, among which these two basic ones stand out: traditional US foreign-policy acts, and special military operations. The former include collaboration 'in the interests of security' and supply of weapons, economic aid, diplomatic initiatives, and support for 'freedom fighters'. The latter in a sense serves to fill the vacuum between the political and diplomatic sphere, and that of conventional, regular-army military operations ('medium- and high-intensity conflicts'). It is the sphere of 'low-intensity conflicts' within the Pentagon's 'conflict spectrum'. The US war in Vietnam at its early stages was a textbook example of such conflicts, later developing to the level of a

'conventional conflict'.

US activity in the Third World indicates the growing volume and significance of special operations, which, depending on the objectives, fall into three groups:

- (1) classical counter-insurgency action, or 'internal defence abroad' (El Salvador);
- (2) support for insurgents, or 'special military operations' (Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea); and
- (3) 'active' defence against 'terrorism' (interception of an Egyptian airliner by US jets, and the strike at Libya). Terrorism was at first regarded in Washington as a form of non-military operations, but since the raid on the US marines barracks in Beirut, it has been regarded as a 'fullscale military threat' to the United States.

The orientation towards 'low-intensity conflicts' is evidently a return to the past, to the 'counter-insurgency operation doctrine', which was discredited in Vietnam. It was formulated in the early 1960s by the Kennedy administration as a hybrid strategy combining the traditional military anti-guerrilla tactics with political, economic and psychological action. It was a strategy designed to win the 'hearts and minds' of the local population at the first stage of the war, and to cut off and isolate the revolutionary elements. Within its framework, special-purpose forces, the 'Green Berets', were given a higher status, and a number of other units for counter-guerrilla operations formed.

The Carter administration got down to revising the Vietnam 'experience' in 1980, with the idea of using it to fight the national liberation movement in El Salvador with Washington's direction. Somewhat earlier, in June 1979, a decision was taken to set up an interventionist 'rapid deployment force', with US warships carrying marines on board on constant patrol in the Indian Ocean. The February 1979 overthrow of the Shah regime in Iran provided the immediate impetus for a start on overcoming the 'Vietnam syndrome', and restoring and improving the 'globalism' machine. Characteristically, the decision was taken three months before the occupation of the US Embassy in Tehran, and six months before the revolutionary events in Afghanistan, although efforts were later made to get world opinion to believe that President Carter was merely responding to those events.

The Clarke Amendment, prohibiting US involvement in the war in Angola, was repealed in 1985, and the Congress is now considering a bill to give the US President wider powers to use the armed forces abroad, thereby undermining the War Powers Act, which requires the President to obtain congressional sanction for armed intervention abroad. The Act, like the Clarke Amendment, was designed to ensure against Vietnam-type adventures. It is now proposed that a decision by the US chief executive on whether a country encourages 'international terrorism' should provide formal and adequate grounds for aggression. Accordingly, the bill allows the infliction of 'pre-emptive' and 'punitive' strikes in response to 'terroristic threats from abroad', including the physical removal of heads of state (as Libya's example showed, there is no special need for a new law, since congressional sanction is often no more than formal).

'Neoglobalism' rests on a powerful military arsenal, which is being improved qualitatively and built up, especially in the areas of potential military operations. The Pentagon has stockpiles of weapons, munitions and equipment for four mechanised and armoured divisions in Western Europe, and is stockpiling weapons for another two divisions for use by troops totalling up to 200,000 men ferried in from the United States, in addition to the over 300,000 strong US army on the European continent.

There are similar stockpiles in South Korea and several other countries. According to press reports, 17 US depot ships are stationed in the northwestern part of the Indian Ocean to provide logistics for a fortnight's military operations by an armed contingent of 12,000 men in any part of the region. The US 'rapid deployment force'

now numbers almost 300,000 men. The build-up of this interventionist corps mirrors the US ruling circles' urge to respond with armed intervention to any 'threat' to US interests in the world as fast as modern means of transit will allow. Following Lebanon and Grenada, a piratical attack was mounted against Libya.³

Military manoeuvres and exercises are to be an important element in the potential of force pressure and intimidation. The latest typical examples are provided by the provocative action of the US Sixth Fleet off the coast of Libya before the attack on it; the Terencia Sierra 86 manoeuvres to rehearse a possible invasion of Nicaragua by US-Honduran forces and the Team Spirit 86 exercises in South Korea with the participation of US-South Korean units and US air force and naval formations in what was effectively a rehearsal for aggressive war in Asia.

Apart from purely military means, the United States has used various special techniques to attain its 'neoglobalist' objectives, such as straightforward intelligence operations, covert subversive action, support for and funding of 'suitable' and removal of 'unsuitable' political leaders, psychological warfare, to which much importance is being attached, with propaganda and counter-propaganda, and overt and covert misinformation, the formulation and use of new legal rules and methods for the application of international sanctions, economic terrorism, the 'oil weapon', and many other techniques. This varied interventionist arsenal of the United States is held in constant readiness, and is being actively expanded and improved.

A special part is assigned to the US special purpose forces such as the 'Green Berets', Rangers ('Black Berets'), 'commandos' (Air Force), 'Seals' (Navy), and the supersecret 'Delta' task force set up expressly to 'combat terrorism'. Among their tasks are subversive operations, the conduct of small 'police' wars, like the military operations in Grenada, and fighting in the enemy rear in the early days of a major war. These special units are armed with the latest weapons, including the most barbarous ones, ranging from noiseless handguns to back-pack nuclear devices and portable facilities for intelligence and the poisoning of tracts of land, bodies of water and food.

The subversive activity by US special troops and services within the framework of the 'neoglobalism' doctrine has acquired such proportions and has become so ramified that the US administration recently deemed it necessary to set up a top agency, a secret inter-departmental committee, to control and plan covert operations, known as the committee 208. One of its latest and most important decisions was the endorsement of internal and external measures for destabilising the Qadhafi government in Libya.

Reliance on Allies

US ruling circles have tried to present their self-seeking interests and international dictatorial acts and use of force as a 'holy war against communism' in an effort to turn the 'neoglobalism' doctrine into a common foreign-policy strategy of world imperialism. The task has turned out to be a formidable one. Even the most reliable partners of the United States are wary of being associated with such barbarous acts of brigandage as the bombing of civilians in Lebanese cities, the piratical attack on Libya, the crushing of defenceless Grenada, or open support for the racist authorities in South Africa and Pinochet's blood-stained dictatorship in Chile. The allies of the United States have to reckon with public opinion at home, which has condemned the force policy, and the trampling of the generally accepted rules of civilised international relations and support of odious anti-people regimes.

The people's mounting resistance is making it clear that the United States will be unable, on its own, to implement its 'neoglobalism' policy, and so it has tried to introduce a peculiar division of labour with its allies, and to make fuller use of the treaty or bloc mechanism. In the Asian and Pacific zone, it is a stake on building up the military-political Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis; the plan to set up a 'Pacific Community' involving the United States, Canada, Japan, South Korea, the ASEAN

countries, Australia and New Zealand, with far-reaching economic and, especially, political and military objectives; the military collaboration with Thailand in its confrontation with the peoples of Indochina and aid to the Pol Pot bands. In the Middle East, it is the bolstering of the 'strategic alliance' with Israel, which is directed against the Arab peoples, and the fanning, with its aid, of the Middle East conflict; the use of the Iran-Iraq war to build up its positions in the region; the expanding military links with Pakistan in the undeclared aggression against the Afghan people. In Africa, it is reliance on the Pretoria regime in fighting the national liberation movement on the continent, and in Central and South America, on the reactionary dictatorships in conducting the anti-Cuba and anti-Nicaragua policy.

Consider two recent events which revolved the world: the US bandit attack on Libya, and South Africa's on Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana. The Pentagon carried out the former with the aid of its 'trustworthy' partners—Great Britain and Israel—and the latter would have hardly been possible without Pretoria's 'constructive engagement' with Washington. The South African government declared with brazen cynicism that in striking out at those three states, it had the same motivations as the Reagan administration in bombing Libya.

Whenever any US partner suddenly turns 'obdurate', let alone 'disobedient', as in the case of New Zealand, which has lately conducted an anti-nuclear, independent foreign policy, recourse is at once had to arms twisting. Indeed, the New Zealand government is being subjected to a dual pressure: from Washington and from Paris⁴—so as to make it abandon its anti-nuclear stand.

The parallel interventionist line of the United States and France with respect to the Republic of Chad, Lebanon and Libya, a line ever more often backed up with joint aggressive acts, is in no sense accidental. In 1982, Washington was not alone in its armed intervention in the Lebanese events: it was joined by France and other NATO allies. The French airlift of troops, weapons and equipment to the Chadean capital, N'Djamena, last February was followed by a US airlift, which, an official spokesman of the US administration declared, was designed to back up France's efforts in Chad. When the United States, for its part, attacked Libya, no condemnation issued from Paris . . .

A new phase in the involvement of the leading imperialist powers in the 'neoglobalism' strategy now appears to be in the offing, as will be seen from the outcome of last May's Tokyo summit of the Seven: the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, Canada and Japan. These annual meetings, designed for discussion and settlement of acute economic problems, are being increasingly politicised. In this context, the Tokyo summit is being advertised in the West as the most important in recent years. Although Washington was unable to attain all its objectives, it still got the others to accept the US interpretation of 'international terrorism', and that was reflected in a special statement. Besides, it put on its allies the commitment to fight against those whom the United States has arbitrarily accused or would like to accuse of 'promoting or supporting international terrorism'. In this way, the Seven have taken a step towards legalising the dangerous practice of state terrorism against countries and peoples resisting the imperialist diktat.

* * *

Progressive change is an inexorable process: no one and nothing can abolish the objective laws of world development.

The armed force on which the US ruling circles pin their hopes for social takeback, defence of the interests of monopoly capital and the military-industrial complex, and prevention of any further progressive transformations in the world can do nothing but complicate the international situation. That poses a threat to the whole of mankind.

The attempts to act in the old habitual way, the cavalier over-reliance of force mentality, faith in a messianic 'predestination for America', and religious hypocrisy are incompatible with the realities of the nuclear age. With the growing quantity and quality of weapons of mass destruction, any armed conflict contains within itself the seeds of a world disaster. The fact is that a global clash poses a threat to the survival of civilisation and the human race itself.

Life demands a clean and resolute break with the thinking and behaviour of the past, when the use of force in international affairs was regarded as acceptable and permissible. Today, universal security depends on each country. Only purposeful action by all the states—nuclear and non-nuclear, big and small, military aligned, neutral or non-aligned—can help to safeguard peace, and to prevent the trampling of the people's legitimate interests and their right to decide their own future.

That is what the Communists on every continent advocate because the removal of the oppression and exploitation system, and social emancipation are connected with the defence of peace and the preservation of our civilisation and life on the Earth.

¹ For details see 'At a Crucial Time of World Development', *WMR*, No. 7, 1986.—*Ed.*

² Both direct armed action and threats to use force.—*Ed.*

³ For details see Zenon Zorzovilis, Farid Mougahed 'Act of Criminal "Neoglobalism" Against Libya', *WMR*, No. 6, 1986.—*Ed.*

⁴ New Zealand has objected to French nuclear tests in the Pacific.—*Ed.*

The Truth About 'Silent Death'

ACCORDING to *US Army Field Manual 100-5*, when planning operations involving nuclear or conventional means of warfare, each commander must be ready to use chemical weapons. This instruction can be said to sum up the efforts of the US imperialist quarters to develop, test and manufacture these inhuman weapons of mass destruction.

'Armis bella non venenis geri'

'Weapons, not poison are used to wage war,' as they said in ancient Rome. Since time immemorial, poison was regarded as a dishonourable weapon and the poisoning of wells, as a crime incompatible with the rules of warfare.

The first international steps to prevent the use of chemicals in war were taken as early as the late nineteenth century. The Brussels Declaration of 1874 and The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 banned the use of toxic agents and poison-treated ammunition; a separate Declaration of The Hague Convention of 1899 condemned 'the use of all projectiles, the object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases'.

Nevertheless, chemical weapons were used widely in World War I, resulting in 1.3 million casualties; of these, more than 100,000 people died. Over 40 types of toxic agents weighing almost 125,000 tons were used in the field. (The German chemist Fritz Haber is regarded as the 'father' of these barbaric weapons. He once said cynically that it would be impossible to disregard toxic gases in future wars because 'they are the higher form of killing'.) The terrible fate of the thousands who died of chlorine, mustard gas, phosgene and other well-known toxic agents of the period shocked public opinion in many countries. A special international conference convened in Geneva in June 1925 culminated in the signing of a protocol banning the use in war of asphyxiating, toxic and other similar gases and bacteriological agents. This important legal instrument is in force to this day.¹

The interest of Western military experts in toxic agents did not diminish with the advent of the atomic bomb: the NATO countries continue to stockpile and perfect chemical weapons. The United States is the leader in this field. US researchers estimate that the Pentagon has stockpiled over 150,000 tons of nerve gas warheads (more than three million artillery shells, missiles, bombs and mines) and over 1,500 containers for spraying toxic agents in the atmosphere. Congressman Klement Zablocki notes that this stockpile is enough for 50 divisions to wage chemical warfare in Europe for 100 days, after which there would hardly be anyone left alive there.

Oversaturation of the chemical arsenal and the pressure exerted by the public which regarded large-scale use of herbicides and defoliants by the US army in Vietnam as a clear case of chemical warfare forced President Nixon to suspend the production of toxic agents in 1969. This, however, did not mean a halt in the development of chemical weapons, especially of their binary types.² Launched as far back as the first half of the 1950s, this work resulted in a patent taken out in 1965 for the Big Eye chemical aerial bomb armed with binary nerve gas components. Between 1969 and 1980 programmes to develop binary cluster bombs and various missiles were carried out.

By 1980 the United States was thus ready to open a new round in the chemical arms race. In February 1982 the Reagan administration announced its intention of launching a programme to manufacture binary chemical weapons and retrain its armed forces. Work to develop even deadlier toxic agents was to continue.

There was no unanimous support for this step among the US ruling quarters. A special report prepared by the congressional research service said unequivocally that this initiative 'undermines major US foreign policy, arms control, and budgetary considerations'.³ In the opinion of *Chemical & Engineering News*, a US periodical, 'renewed production of chemical arms' is completely unwarranted and 'will serve as a destabilising function and hinder arms control efforts'.⁴ The Pentagon attempts to justify the chemical weapons build-up by claiming that the available weapons are obsolete and no longer safe to handle, but this argument does not sound credible. *The New York Times* notes that the chemical artillery shells and bombs stockpiled in the United States are quite 'safe', leaking no more than 0.0006 per cent of the toxic agents.⁵

The House of Representatives did block new chemical warfare appropriations for some time, but in July 1985 pressure from the administration forced the Senate and House adjudicatory committee to vote in favour of resolutions that gave the go-ahead to the large-scale production of binary nerve gas weapons. As much as 155 million dollars have already been earmarked for this purpose in the current fiscal year. Over the next five years, the US chemical stockpile modernisation programme will cost more than ten billion dollars.

On the Threshold of a 'Binary Gas Chamber'

In its efforts to lend credibility to the chemical war preparations, Washington resorts to an old and familiar trick of imperialist propaganda: a hue and cry about a 'Soviet military threat' is accompanied by lamentations about the alleged US and NATO 'lag' in chemical weapons.

Statements to this effect are made readily by high-ranking officials of the Republican administration—by Kenneth L. Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Senator Charles H. Percy and others—and by spokesmen of conservative 'think tanks'. A recent publication by the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies is a case in point. The authors of a special section on chemical weapons arrive at conclusions that are clearly biased and fully consonant with the political instructions of the administration: 'Current efforts to modernise (chemical—*Ed.*) weapons and upgrade defensive capabilities must

continue. . .⁶

The arguments that are marshalled reveal Washington's traditional approach to the limitation of strategic and other armaments: first acquire a powerful military capability, and only then agree to discuss its reduction. For example, it is stated in the paper that the programme for the manufacture of binary chemical weapons is a logical derivative of national policy on chemical warfare, which is centred on the ultimate goal of achieving a complete and verifiable ban on the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. Furthermore, the build-up of the stockpile is presented as a 'bargaining chip that makes an agreement more likely'.⁷ One might recall at this point that it was Washington which, in 1980, unilaterally suspended the Soviet-US talks conducted to work out a joint approach to the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

Bourgeois propaganda usually cites 'reliable information from well-informed sources' in an effort to create the impression that the Soviet Union possesses an arsenal of chemical weapons far outweighing the US capability. What this 'information' is really worth can be glimpsed from the admission of a CIA chemical warfare expert quoted in the latest yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: 'We really don't know a thing—about how many weapons they have, what sort of delivery capability. Anyone who says otherwise is kidding himself.'⁸

Under the Pentagon's military doctrine, binary weapons are to be used in offensive operations, at the very beginning of a first strike. They are to be stationed primarily in the FRG, Great Britain, Italy and Turkey.

US legislators made their decision to launch, starting from October 1, 1986, the production of a new generation of 'silent killers'—binary nerve gas weapons—conditional on whether the European NATO countries agree to the deployment of these weapons on their soil. Now even this obstacle has been removed. At the session of the NATO Defence Planning Committee, held in Brussels on May 22, 1986, Washington emissaries managed to push through in spite of the objections raised by a number of allies, a decision giving the green light to the mass production of chemical weapons in the US to be deployed in Western Europe.

The decision to build up the US stockpile of chemical weapons is tied in with other Pentagon programmes—the frantic efforts to station US Pershing II and cruise missiles in several West European countries and the plans to deploy assault space weapons. Having turned its allies into hostages of its nuclear ventures, Washington intends to transform Europe into a potential theatre of chemical warfare, into a vast 'binary gas chamber'.

Appealing to Reason

The chemical arms race spurred on by US imperialism poses many grave problems, and the danger of proliferation is one of the gravest. Different Western experts estimate that 20 to 30 countries have now acquired chemical weapons. The report of the US congressional research service quoted above notes that the manufacturing technology of chemical weapons, including its binary version, is relatively simple. This may enhance the appeal of these weapons to some developing countries where toxic agents may become a sort of 'poor man's atom bomb'.

Today's chemical weapons are many times more toxic than those used in World War I. A single example will suffice. While it took more than 1,000 milligrams of mustard gas to kill a man, the lethal dose of the US VX nerve gas is 10,000 times smaller; the botulism toxin is 1,000 times more powerful than VX.

Herbicides and defoliants can also become a sort of delayed-action chemical bomb. According to official data, the US aggressors sprayed more than 72 million litres (91,000 tons) of liquids containing (by different estimates) 170 to 500 kilograms of

dioxin over Vietnam. One might recall here that the explosion at a chemical factory in Seveso, Italy in July 1976 produced an atmospheric leak of only some 1.5 kilograms of this highly toxic substance. The leak resulted in an environmental disaster, and its consequences have not been fully eliminated to this day.

Herbicides have genetically destructive mutagenic, carcinogenic and teratogenic properties (the latter term means inducing birth defects). Vietnamese scientists cite chilling cases of infants born without ears or eyes, with arms and legs hideously deformed or missing. Medical check-ups of the population in affected areas revealed a steep rise in the incidence of abnormal pregnancies. Medical experts state that in victims of chemical warfare, as in the case of Hiroshima survivors, the persistence of chromosomic alterations long after the event is a serious danger: the existence of abnormal cells is often the harbinger of cancer or leukemia.

'Ban chemical weapons' has been the demand of the world's progressive public opinion for many years.

In 1985 the World Federation of Scientific Workers prepared a study in which the authors stress that large-scale manufacture of binary chemical weapons is a link in the chain of steps taken in the United States to step up the chemical arms race and aimed at achieving military superiority over the socialist countries.

Chemical weapons are a means of mass destruction with a very low degree of selectivity. The ratio of civilian and military casualties is expected to be eight to one for tactical nuclear weapons and twenty or more to one for chemical weapons. This is the reason why scientists are warning that the strategic use of chemical weapons against civilians will have a devastating effect. The experts conclude that the development, manufacture and accumulation of chemical weapons must be prohibited and all their stockpiles destroyed. Given goodwill on all sides, this ban is possible and verifiable.

An international agreement on the limitation and prohibition of chemical weapons is a vital imperative. An understanding of this simple truth is gradually spreading among Western ruling quarters too. For example, Richard Luce, Minister of State in the British government, noted that 'if we fail to achieve such a ban, we will face new dangers, which will threaten international security and undermine the 1925 Geneva Protocol, the only current legal safeguard against the use of chemical weapons'.⁹

In June 1985 the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany advanced a joint initiative, later cosponsored by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, proposing the creation in Europe of a zone free from chemical weapons. At a meeting to discuss the matter held in Prague on May 13, 1986, they issued a statement taking stock of the work performed and stressing that the proposal on the elimination of chemical weapons in the very centre of Europe 'is particularly topical now that the United States may launch the manufacture of binary chemical weapons'.

The objective of completely eliminating chemical weapons before the current century is over is perfectly feasible. Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made this point in his statement of January 15, 1986: 'The Soviet Union stands for the earliest complete liquidation of these weapons and of the industrial facilities for their manufacture. We are prepared to ensure the announcement in due time of the location of enterprises for the production of chemical weapons, to ensure termination of their production, to start working out procedures for destroying the respective production facilities and also get down, soon after the entry of the convention into force, to the liquidation of chemical weapons stockpiles, with all of this being effected under stringent controls, including international on-site inspection.'

In an effort to make an early signing of a relevant convention possible, the Soviet Union submitted a number of new proposals on the prohibition of chemical weapons

to the Geneva Disarmament Conference on April 22, 1986. The proposals are designed to overcome the differences existing between the participants in the talks and to vigorously promote the drafting of a convention which would ensure the complete and universal elimination of chemical weapons by the end of the century. The future will show how the United States and its NATO allies will respond.

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¹ It took the United States 50 years to sign, with numerous reservations, the Geneva Protocol.—Ed.

² Unlike traditional self-contained chemical ammunition, binary weapons consist of two or more relatively harmless components which merge during the delivery of the bomb, missile or artillery shell to produce a highly toxic agent.

³ *Binary Weapons: Implications of the US Chemical Stockpile Modernisation Program for Chemical Weapons Proliferation*, Washington, DC., 1984, p. 111.

⁴ *Chemical & Engineering News*, January 14, 1985, p. 12.

⁵ *The New York Times*, September 25, 1985.

⁶ William Taylor, Jr., Steven Maaranen, Gerrit Gong (Eds), *Strategic Responses to Conflict in the 1980s*, Lexington, Mass.,/Toronto, 1984, p. 102.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁸ *SIPRI, World Armaments and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook, 1985*, London, 1985, p. 171.

⁹ *NATO Review*, June 1985, p. 8.

the book scene

The Saved Speak

Memoirs of the Wartime Anti-Fascist Struggle in Austria

Max Muchitsch, *Die Rote Stafette—vom Triglav zum Hochschwab* (Red Relay Race from Triglav to Hochschwab), Globus, Vienna, 1985, 499 pp.

Lisa Gavrić, *Die Strasse der Wirklichkeit—Bericht eines Lebens* (The Road of Reality: Report on a Life), Neues Leben, Berlin, 1984, 314 pp.

Mali Fritz, Hermine Jursa, *Es lebe das Leben—Tage nach Ravensbrück* (Long Live Life: Days After Ravensbrück), Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, Vienna, 1984, 122 pp.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Erinnerungen an den Widerstand. 1938 bis 1945* (Recollections of the Resistance of 1938-1945), Konkret Literatur, Hamburg, 1985, 200 pp.

Der Himmel ist blau. Kann sein. Frauen im Widerstand Österreich 1938-1945 (The

Sky Is Blue. Maybe. Women in the Austrian Resistance, 1938-1945), Promedia, Vienna, 1985, 272 pp.

THE 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, a date widely observed all over the world, was an impressive reminder of the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces to the freedom-loving peoples' victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. The world's first socialist state did more than any other country to save Europe from Nazi enslavement and to help its peoples regain their national sovereignty and independence.

The resistance to the invaders involved all the patriotic forces of the European countries overrun by the Nazis. Regrettably, the activity of the Austrian anti-fascists, with the Communists in the lead, has neither been studied in adequate measure nor found proper reflection in relevant publications and is still unknown to many. The appearance in recent years of books filling this gap is therefore all the more gratifying. It is noteworthy that for the first time these books, brought out independently of one another, show the role of women in the Austrian Resistance.

We might as well begin our survey of the five new books listed above with *Red Relay Race from Triglav to Hochschwab*. It is a collection nearly 500 pages in size compiled on the instructions of the History Commission under the CC CPA by Max Muchitsch, one of the leaders of the Leoben-Donawitz guerrilla group. In preparing it, he did his best to ensure that the events of those days were presented as their protagonists had actually lived through them. Their central figure is the working man who is aware of the mission of his class and strives fearlessly for its fulfilment. The book covers the main stages of the fight against Nazism in Carinthia and Upper Styria from 1933, when the Communist Party was outlawed by the clerical fascist government under Dollfuss, to the liberation of the Leoben-Donawitz area by anti-fascists and the arrival of the Soviet Army there.

The collection may be described as a modest tribute to the activity of the Leoben-Donawitz guerrilla group led by the Communists Sepp Filz, Sylvester Heider (who fell in battle) and Max Muchitsch himself. The group members, who were determined to put up armed resistance to the Nazi regime, could count in the main on their own boundless readiness for sacrifice, on the messengers enlisted among the local population and on the arms dumps set up by the group.

This chapter of the anti-fascist Resistance—a chapter which has yet to be given due credit—is the pivot of the narrative. There are episodes written in a most lively style. 'Hare, Fox and Guerrilla' has an unquestionable literary quality. Its author, Sepp Filz, writes how he was gravely injured in a shootout with fascists and got away from his persecutors with Max Muchitsch's aid. The one-time guerrilla's vivid description of events long bygone all but makes the reader an eyewitness of them. Muchitsch's recollections show a similar quality although what he considers important as compiler is not so much literary merit as an accurate and exhaustive depiction of the contribution of hundreds of anti-fascists to the liberation of their country, which in those years they came to cherish more than ever.

While most contributions were prepared by Muchitsch himself, they may be regarded as a collective work. The compiler persuaded many of the contributors to recall their experience of the Resistance and to relate it in detail. He treats the evidence most carefully, as historical records of how revolutionary-minded workers accomplished courageous deeds without ever seeking fame. They derived strength from proletarian internationalism, feeling certain that the Soviet Union would defeat Hitler Germany.

What would seem to have been forgotten comes occasionally to light in an unusual way. A case in point is Lisa Gavrić's *The Road of Reality: Report on a Life*. The book owes its appearance largely to Editor Ulle Plener, who has prepared the publication

and written an Afterword. She took interest in the fate of the Austrian Communist on reading a report about her in a Soviet youth magazine. Gavrić's daughter, who lives in the Soviet Union, offered the magazine fifteen letters after the mother's death. The letters tell the story of that remarkable woman, whom adverse circumstances compelled to place her only child in the Ivanovo international children's home.

Plener continued her search and established that Lisa Gavrić (1907-1974) was the sister of Trude Bechmann, an actress well known in the GDR. The latter turned out to have a manuscript written by Gavrić in the 1960s. That is how *The Road to Reality* was published. It is an engrossing account of the life of a woman who devoted herself to the revolutionary working class movement and never recanted her convictions, not even under torture at the Gestapo.

Lisa's destiny was not foreordained by her origin. She was born into a bourgeois family although it is true that after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the family lived in poverty. Lisa had to earn a living from early youth. She came into contact with progressive exiles most of whom looked to the Communists for guidance. Moving to Paris, Lisa became friendly with Yugoslav Communists. One of them, Milan Gavrić, married her. The young couple went to Yugoslavia where they joined in underground political work. After the group of Communists led by Milan had been seized, Lisa managed to flee to Paris.

When the Spanish fascist rebellion broke out and the Francoists started hostilities with military aid from Hitler Germany and Mussolini Italy, Lisa decided to go to Spain as a nurse. She parted with her daughter, who was about to attend school.

The book is not written in chronological order. It is a kaleidoscope of events which the author gradually recalled as a Gestapo prisoner. Her recollections helped her stay firm during the interrogations and were also something of a confession to her daughter. Certain chapters of her book add up to an epic. Even so, this unsophisticated account makes the reader take the young nurse's selflessness for granted. Just as artlessly, Lisa tells the story of her participation in the French Resistance, of how she and other young women gathered among Wehrmacht troops information that was subsequently used in anti-fascist newspapers and how she circulated propaganda material.

The party sent Lisa Gavrić back to Austria to help step up the fight against Nazism. She posed as a Frenchwoman in search of a livelihood. Denounced by a traitor, she was arrested by the Gestapo and transported to the Ravensbrück concentration camp along with other persons doomed to die.

It was there that Lisa became keenly aware of the great power of Communist international solidarity and selflessness, a power capable of 'moving the mountains'. This power saved the life of a woman who had dedicated her life to the revolutionary struggle. As the result of a rescue operation, Lisa and another two inmates whom the fascists planned to kill were first hidden in a safe place and then smuggled out of the camp.

Anyone who stops to think of this today, four decades on, is bound to marvel at Lisa's devotion to her ideals and the heroism she showed. Directly or indirectly, the book makes clear that the example of the Soviet Union, which working people saw as an embodiment of their hopes and aspirations, had tremendous appeal.

Long Live Life: Days After Ravensbrück begins where Lisa Gavrić left off, that is, after she regained freedom. Its authors, Communists Mali Fritz and Hermine Jursa, were likewise active in the Resistance (the former chiefly in France and the latter, in Austria) and went through the inferno of Nazi prisons and detention camps. They escaped during the evacuation of Ravensbrück camp and made their way, mostly on foot, through the tangle of fleeing fascist troops and civilians. Their long and arduous path from Ravensbrück to Vienna led through Eberswalde, Frankfurt on the Oder, Cottbus, Dresden, Nuremberg and Passau. They came across inveterate Nazis still

confident of fascism's 'solidarity' even though it was collapsing, and across Soviet soldiers who readily lent the two courageous women a helping hand.

The authors' recollections of that unique period of their lives are understandably accompanied by reflections. There is a passage reading: 'I can still hear the 'Volksdeutscher' . . . who asked me bitterly why he should smart for all that—the crimes committed by those "higher up".' This is the question which, if put by very many Germans and in time, would have helped stave off the disaster through the resistance of all concerned.

"Hermi, you did the right thing back in 1939. Would you now, after all that happened, do just the same or prefer to keep out?" "By all means, it was the right thing to do at the time, very many people in Austria did it. What would have become of us but for that struggle? . . . I would do exactly the same today" (pp. 94-95).

This must be the reason why the Nazi regime proved unable to achieve its goal—destroying all anti-fascists—in spite of the most refined methods of control and suppression used by it. Indeed, the Resistance gained ground as time wore on. Faced with a choice between keeping and losing their human dignity, Communists and many others who treasured their honour and freedom explicitly chose the former.

In *Recollections of the Resistance of 1938-1945*, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky writes that fighting against fascism was the natural thing to do at the time even though she did not yet belong to the Communist Party. Before settling in Turkey, where they established contact with CPA messengers and joined the Communist Party, the Schütte couple worked in the Soviet Union for seven years, that is, saw socialist construction with their own eyes and, what is more, took part in it. People like them were badly needed by the CPA when Erwin Buschmann (assumed name, Gerber) succeeded in forming a third central leadership of the party in Vienna and in contacting numerous Resistance groups.

In 1941, Margarete went from Turkey to Vienna to deliver to Gerber information from the CPA Leadership Abroad and to get information about the Austrian Resistance. She made the trip on the pretext of seeing her sister. For 25 days Margarete carried on underground work which even her relatives had no inkling of. But the Gestapo arrested her shortly before her departure, during her last meeting with Gerber: an agent provocateur had wormed himself into the organisation. There began a new phase of the Resistance. It was no less exacting than the earlier one, and Margarete withstood with flying colours all the trials that fell to her lot.

We would like to finish this survey with *The Sky Is Blue. Maybe. Women in the Austrian Resistance, 1938-1945*. Its authors are Karin Berger, Elisabeth Holzinger, Lotte Podgornik and Lisbeth N. Trallori, members of the postwar generation.

The book is a vast study comprising interviews with more than a hundred women anti-fascists of different political orientations. It offers a panorama of the Resistance, drawing on a good deal of oral evidence for the first time. In the light of the facts given in the book, it would be only fair to reappraise the contribution of women to the fight against the enemy, for they were not at all on the sidelines, whatever the earlier impression. Women played a key role in many spheres both because they had to take the place of men and by virtue of the peculiarities of the female character.

Twenty members of the Resistance reminisce on the pages of the book, many of them for the first time. The compilers show great delicacy in preserving the speakers' style. Most of the interviewees saw the struggle against fascism as their natural duty. Agnes Primocic, a Communist, writes that she promised her husband, called up for service in the Wehrmacht, to take care of their children and to stay for their sake out of all political work. But she adds that when she was asked to get some clothing and arms for 17 camp inmates preparing to escape, she set about doing it.

The reader will be fascinated by the fact that the women recount their activities, which may be classed among the great exploits recorded by the history of mankind.

unassumingly, without the slightest hint of self-admiration. It is people as staunch as they that are the salt of the earth. And it is on them that hopes of sparing the planet a nuclear war are pinned.

The five books not only show the Communists' organising and leading role in the anti-fascist struggle of the peoples of Europe for their liberation but make clear that the important thing in the political and social struggles of today is to know what to lean on for support and what traditions to carry forward.

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Lessons of History

Noreen Branson, *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1927-1941*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1985, 350 pp.

WHEN the first volume of the history of the Communist Party of Great Britain, dealing with its formation, was published in 1968, its author, James Klugmann, a much revered figure in both the CPCB and the international communist movement, wrote that his intention was to present the history of the party not as something isolated, separate, in itself, but as part of, within the context of, the general labour movement. The party's internal development could not be understood in isolation, from the movement outside, any more than the impact of the party on the general movement could be understood except in relation to its own internal development. This approach was carried forward in the second volume (published in 1969), also written by Klugmann, dealing with the turbulent events of the General Strike of 1926.

Noreen Branson, authoress of this third volume, has, while impressing her own distinctive imprint, succeeded in sustaining this approach, recognising the dialectical relationship between events and processes both inside and outside the party.

The story opens with the aftermath of the General Strike, which made a lasting impression on the British working class. It closes with the experiences of the year Hitler launched his onslaught on the USSR. In all these experiences and in the major developments of this period in Britain the Communist Party played an important role.

The struggle against unemployment and poverty; the organisation of the legendary Hunger Marches (there were five of them between 1929 and 1936); the rank-and-file mass movements for higher wages and better working conditions; the actions to safeguard peace, develop opposition to the cancer of fascism, and prevent war; the founding and sustaining of *The Daily Worker*—there was virtually no area of British social and political life to which the Communist Party did not make a distinctive contribution.

It might be argued by some that small communist parties, working in capitalist countries, could not have a history which would merit serious examination, from which significant lessons could be learned, both by the party whose history is being written and by others. This absorbing and well-researched story gives the lie to such a presumption. A product of meticulous research, it does unfortunately on occasions bear the scars of such labour, when sometimes the detail tends to obscure the generalised trend it is seeking to illustrate. Compared, however, to so many allegedly scholarly works, which seek to blind the reader with the science of generalisation at the expense of detailed example, that is a good problem to have.

This is the stirring story of heroic endeavour—and of debilitating frustration; of major victories—and of bitter defeats; of heavens stormed—and of depths plumbed.

From the heady days when 'The Communist Party of Great Britain was proud to designate itself the British Section of the Communist International' (pp. 1-2) to the eve of the dissolution of that International (actually briefly dealt with, and taking us beyond 1941), the party was all the time active, passionately committed and, although making mistakes, developing new ideas, and always exercising an influence far beyond that suggested by the size of its membership.

Amidst the detailed information here assembled, there are three themes which emerge as of particular interest—themselves inextricably interwoven. They are: attitudes to, and by, the Labour Party and other sections of the labour movement; relations with other communist parties, especially through the Communist International; and the nature of democratic centralism.

While these themes all have relevance today, one of the virtues of Noreen Branson's treatment is that she does not call on what has been described as the science of hindsight to justify a judgement on the views and decisions of those earlier Communists whose actions she describes. She records the facts and, as a Marxist historian, explains the background to those facts in a way which helps us to understand why mistakes, which some today might consider to be outrageous or elementary, were made.

How a small but influential party incurred the hostile wrath not only of the direct representatives of monopoly capital but of those described as their protagonists in the right wing of the labour movement is one such theme, a threat which weaves its way continuously through the fabric of the party's history. They concentrated on expelling the Communists from the Labour Party. The TUC General Council was set on smashing the Minority Movement, in which Communists played a decisive role, and on preventing their election to office in the trade unions. Thus, the lesson of the 1926 General Strike for the Labour Party leaders was to set their face against any kind of direct action, to emphasise their view that change must be brought about through parliament, at the same time urging a 'toning down' of their election programme in the hope of making it more acceptable to the middle-class voter.

Published in 1985, in the wake of the longest and most significant class battle since the end of the Second World War, the miners' twelve-month-long dispute, in which the Communists played an important role, this history contains lessons of enormous theoretical and practical concern, especially for British Communists.

After the General Strike of 1926 'the Conservative government introduced draconian measures to weaken the trade unions' (p. 2). It is interesting that this same description of 'draconian measures' has been widely used to characterise the attacks on the trade unions by the present Tory government, led by Margaret Thatcher.

While the right-wing leaderships of the trade unions and the Labour Party were more concerned to attack the Communists than they were—and doubtless still are—to attack the class enemy, Noreen Branson shows how the Communists themselves made their own contribution to their isolation from the working masses of Britain. She notes that the new line adopted by the Communist International at the close of the 1920s against the Social Democrats led to sectarian shifts in the relations between the British Communists and the Labour Party and to the undermining of the CPGB's position in the trade union movement.

It is unfortunate that this widely accepted historical assessment of a particular line at a particular period is now being used by some, including those who would describe themselves as being on the left of the British political spectrum, to question the legitimacy of class analysis in general.

One of the lessons which emerges with great clarity from the entire treatment of this period, without diminishing in any way the concept of international solidarity, is the need for every party to make its own analysis of the situation in its own country and, taking into account the balance of class forces and the historical experience of

the struggle on a world scale, to project its own road to socialism. This concept has now been widely accepted in the Communist movement.

Another area of profound controversy, one on which it has been very difficult for succeeding generations of British Communists to express an informed view, was the shift in the party's assessment of the nature of the Second World War. One of the most well-argued passages in the book is indeed the chapter dealing with the first weeks of the war.

There were vacillations in the assessments offered in the party. Noreen Branson explains the main factors influencing both the Central Committee and the membership. She effectively rebuts the allegations frequently levelled against Communists as being unthinking robots, who blindly accept and follow the whims and decisions of their leadership; and shows that decisions taken, including wrong ones that would subsequently be changed, were the product of wide-ranging collective discussion, in which there was large-scale participation by persons she describes as 'natural rebels', who, far from being servile followers, automatically questioned the orthodox attitude they found in the world around them.

To those who are anguished by current problems and divisions in the CPGB this book shows that there have been problems and divisions before; and that the party has survived.

Gerry Cohen

Memories That Disturb Conscience

The Impact of the A-Bomb. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1945-85; The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1985, xx + 218 pp. (published simultaneously in Japanese).

Early in the morning of August 6, 1945, a reconnaissance plane of the US Air Force circled over Hiroshima. 'Visits' such as that generally presaged the appearance of bombers, and so the air-raid alert was sounded at 7.09 am. But this time there was no raid, the alert was called off at 7.31, and people calmly got down to their work. At 8.15 a US B-29 bomber from the Tinian base in the Marianas dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima.

Three days later, another B-29 carrying an atom bomb took off from the same base. At 9.50 it was over Kokura, a town whose people were spared a terrible fate by a clouded sky: visibility over Kokura was poor, and the B-29 set course for a second target, Nagasaki. The blast came at 11.02 over the north-western part of the city, where Peace Park now lies.

The Impact of the A-Bomb begins with a description of those tragic days. The book has been brought out on the initiative of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki municipalities and is neither strictly academic nor historical even though it abounds in scientific information and is concerned mainly with events which occurred more than forty years ago. It is at once a reminder and an appeal to the generations of today and tomorrow. 'The two cities' citizens,' write the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Takeshi Araki and Hitoshi Motoshima, 'went through experiences never known before, and thus they understood, unmistakably, that such tragedies must never be repeated on this planet. To that end they have, from that day to this, consistently appealed for the total abolition of nuclear arms and for the realisation of true and permanent world peace' (p. xi).

The power of 'Little Boy' and 'Fat Man', the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is set at 12.5 and 22 kilotons of TNT respectively. Let us try with the aid of the evidence contained in the book to imagine the power of the atomic blasts that instantly wiped out whole cities. The B-29, one of the world's biggest bombers at the time, could carry five tons of ordinary air-craft bombs. Well, the explosion over Hiroshima was tantamount to that of the bomb load of over 2,500 planes of the B-29 type.

'With a violent flash that ripped the sky apart and a thunderous sound that shook the earth to its foundation,' says an eyewitness account, 'Hiroshima was pounded to the ground in an instant. Then, from where a whole city once was, a huge column of fire bounded straight up toward heaven. A dense cloud of smoke rose and spread out, covering and darkening the whole sky. . . The dead and wounded lay fallen, piled up, everywhere; the carnage was like a scene in hell. . . As a fierce whirlwind blew, half-naked and stark naked bodies, darkly soiled and covered with blood, began moving; in clustered groups resembling departed spirits, they staggered away in bewildered flight from the inferno. One after another fell down and died' (pp. 28-29).

The text is supplied with numerous photographs. Most of them show things so horrible that you feel like shutting your eyes or looking away. Tables and graphs complete the picture of the death-throes of the two stricken cities, the unprecedented devastation, those burned alive and the maimed, who were doomed to die a slow death later on.

There are two photographs on the frontispiece, made by US air reconnaissance shortly before and after the raid on Nagasaki. From high up, the area of the explosion is like a gigantic burn or a bleeding wound on the body of the planet.

If you superimpose a map of Hiroshima drawn up before the atomic raid on a map of it made afterwards, the concentric circles marked 'totally demolished and burned' will cover virtually the whole inhabited part of the city. Indeed, 91.9 per cent of houses were burned, wiped out or reduced to ruins and the rest, or 8.1 per cent, 'partially damaged' (see p. 15).

The Hiroshima memorial displays a list of the names of those killed by the atomic blast. The list is nowhere near complete because the exact number of the victims is still unknown. 'The total number of deaths during the early stage following exposure to the atomic bomb in Hiroshima was estimated to be about 90,000-120,000, and in Nagasaki, about 60,000-70,000' (p. 91).

The impossibility of collecting accurate data (which is due primarily to the nature of the disaster) is also mentioned by other authors. *Faces of Hiroshima*,¹ for one, points out that, from what diverse sources say, the number of victims in that city alone ranged between 70,000 (meaning those who perished instantly, according to the most conservative estimates) and 300,000, including servicemen and others who found themselves temporarily in the stricken area and those who died from their wounds or from blast-induced diseases afterwards. The most widely known figures are those given by the Hiroshima municipality in a report for the UN: 140,000 people died between the moment the bomb exploded and late 1945, and another 50,000 had died by late 1950.²

The two blasts set off a chain reaction of diseases and suffering that still persists. 'The fate of all survivors is to live with the stigma that the atomic bomb stamped permanent marks on their minds and bodies. Certainly history's most massive act of destruction imposed on them an abhorrent lifelong burden to live with. . .' (p. 151).

A vast number of people sustained heavy burns. 'I hated for people to stare at me,' writes Shiro Nakayama, a victim. ' . . . I secluded myself at home and spent hours before the mirror looking at my own face. What I saw was ugly hunks of flesh, like lava oozing from a crater wall, covering the left half of my face, with the eyebrow burned off and my eye and lips pulled out of shape' (p. 152).

Official data quoted by Anne Chisholm state that there are about 370,000 people in Japan who were exposed to the effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. They are known as *hibakusha*. Of the 3,690 *hibakusha* polled in 1984, 62 per cent expressed deep concern at the state of their health, at their future and the genetic heredity passed on to posterity.³

Those early atomic explosions may seem weak in comparison with the present-day power of nuclear weapons. Today the United States alone has over 30,000 pieces of nuclear ammunition whose aggregate power is close to one million bombs of the type dropped on the two Japanese cities in 1945.⁴

Dr Soichi Jijima, compiler of *The Impact of the A-Bomb*, rightly stresses in his Preface that the tragic fate of the two cities provides a real basis for assessing 'what really happens to people and societies subjected to nuclear attack. The Hiroshima-Nagasaki experience therefore is the starting point for projecting—and from this we see the absolute necessity for preventing—the irreversible devastation that would result from use of current nuclear weapons' (pp. xvi-xvii).

The closing chapters depict the contribution which the Hiroshima and Nagasaki municipalities are making to the fight for peace and the abolition of all means of mass destruction. It is largely a result of their devoted effort that international opinion has come to know the frightful effects of atomic explosions. During the occupation of the Japanese islands, the US authorities did their utmost to conceal the truth. Most of the written eyewitness accounts were barred from publication through a rigid censorship imposed by the occupation authorities. The book under review is the result of a years-long culling of scientific evidence, new documents and facts.

The memory of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims is a permanent catalyst of the anti-war movement which is gaining ground all over the world and has prompted the Japanese people to strive to free their country from nuclear weapons. Nine hundred Japanese urban and rural communities, which account for more than half the population of the country, have declared themselves nuclear-free.

Japan and other countries of the Asian and Pacific region hailed the vast Soviet-proposed programme for the prevention of nuclear war and the abolition of weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century. This is understandable, since the problem of peace and security in Asia is as acute as in Europe and elsewhere. It is Asian peoples that the imperialists have used as guinea pigs and their territories, as testing grounds for new arms of mass destruction.

Japanese peace fighters think highly of the fact that the Soviet Union unilaterally froze all nuclear explosions on August 6, the fortieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. Subsequently the moratorium was prolonged to August 6, 1986. Nor was it accidental that, in confirming his proposal to President Reagan to meet without delay and come to terms on banning nuclear tests, Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, named Hiroshima as an acceptable meeting-place. The Mayor of Hiroshima, Takeshi Araki, who has gone through the horrors of atomic bombing, readily subscribed to the idea.

Dozens of countries on all continents have called on the United States to follow the Soviet example. Over two-thirds of US citizens have declared in support of a freeze on tests. The demand for an end to nuclear testing is reflected in the relevant resolution of the UN General Assembly, which has won the approval of 120 member-states.

If this problem were solved it would be the finest tribute to the memory of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims and a necessary step towards a future in which there would be no more room for arms or war.

Nicholas Barton

¹ Anne Chisholm, *Faces of Hiroshima*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1985.

² Ibid., p. 180.

³ Ibid., pp. 180-181.

⁴ The Pentagon plans to have another 17,000 new nuclear warheads in its armoury by the early 1990s.—*Ed.*

Revealing Facts

Roger Omond, *The Apartheid Handbook*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1985, 231. pp.

ROGER Omond was born and educated in South Africa, where he also became a journalist. This gives him an advantage over most other students of that country. His book, written in the form of an interview, deals with virtually every South African reality of today.

Potential critics displeased at the political spearhead of the book would find it hard to accuse the author of bias, for the information offered by him is statistically accurate, being based on reliable sources and an excellent knowledge of South Africa. Peeling layer after layer off the propagandistic facade of apartheid, Omond reveals the man-hating nature of the racist system, its barbarity, insanity and absurdity.

Here are a few examples. To classify race, 'fingernails have been examined. Combs have been pulled through people's hair: if the comb is halted by tight curls, the person is more likely to be classified Coloured than white' (pp. 22-23). 'In 1981 a Johannesburg magistrate convicted a woman previously thought white for living in a "white" area. The magistrate said she was Coloured because she had "a flat nose, wavy hair, a pale skin, and high cheekbones"' (p. 22). In 1984 'a white man . . . shot dead a black for apparently stealing the equivalent of 40p left out for the milkman. The white was acquitted and Rand Supreme Court Judge Irving Steyn said that the accused "deserved a medal for what he did" and "performed a public service" . . .' (p. 147).

South Africa is in the stranglehold of violence. Over 1,500 people have been killed there since September 1984. Reports about new victims come in every day; in the first four months of this year, the racists killed 531 people, over half of whom they shot in the back. The age of the killed averaged 25 years. Police fire even on children: over 12 per cent of their victims were below 15. The shooting of peaceful demonstrators, police raids on African settlements and an endless series of funerals are common occurrences in South Africa.

Nevertheless, many people in the West have but a dim notion of the real dimensions of the South African tragedy and a poor knowledge of the alignment of political forces in that country, and still entertain illusions about the possibility of a 'peaceful transformation' of the apartheid regime. Nor is this surprising. Lately Pretoria has stepped up its efforts to talk the population of the capitalist world into believing that unrest in South Africa is 'inspired by international communism', said to be intent on establishing control over that strategic area rich in mineral resources. This falsehood is taken up by bourgeois, mostly US propaganda agencies.

Now as in the past, apartheid is made out to be the only development model for South Africa. Whereas formerly ideologists of racism talked about 'white leadership' and 'parallel', 'separate' or 'multinational' development, today they hold forth about 'apartheid with a new face', 'cooperative coexistence' of diverse racial groups, and even the possibility of 'universal justice' under white minority rule.

All these disguises are invariably intended, as readers of Omond's book will see, to

conceal legalised racism imposed by particularly brutal, inhuman ways and means. Barbarous laws determine who shall be regarded as a full-fledged member of society or treated as a slave by birth. They assign diverse racial groups¹ places of residence and decide on the quality and extent of education and medical service to be made available to them as well as on punitive measures for breaches of the law, with due regard to colour of skin.

The number of prisoners in South Africa is the world's largest if measured against the total population: it was 585.5 per 100,000 in 1981-1982. As for ethnic groups, there are 105 prisoners per 100,000 whites and 1,066, or ten times as many, per 100,000 blacks (see p. 150). White delinquents in South Africa are generally punished much more mildly or acquitted altogether, which is not surprising since 99 per cent of the magistrates are whites.

Extreme injustice makes itself felt in every walk of South African life. The creation of 'independent' Bantustans, or reservations for the indigenous population, as a means of finalising the white's ownership of the greater part of the land is the strategic goal of the Nationalist Party. The regime is pursuing a genocidal policy towards Africans under the slogan of 'separate development'. The Bantustans, which only take up 13 per cent of the country's territory, are overpopulated; their soil has been completely exhausted, with hunger and poverty reigning supreme practically everywhere. An average 27.5 per cent, and in some places as many as 35 per cent or even a greater proportion of their economically active population are jobless.

The facts given in the book refute Pretoria's allegation that the Africans' condition is improving. In 1984 it was announced in parliament that the proportion of those living below the poverty line had dropped from 99 per cent in 1960 to 81 per cent in 1980. But Omond invites the reader to look at population growth indices. The populations of the Bantustans more than doubled, going up from five to 11 million in the same period. It follows that in 1960 it was 99 per cent, or 4.1 million out of a total of five million non-white South Africans, who were poor while in 1980 poverty was the lot of 81 per cent of Africans, or as many as 8.9 million out of a total of 11 million (see p. 100). An improvement, indeed!

Many people even among white South Africans are awakening to the senselessness and immorality of preserving apartheid and to the absurdity of the Botha government's manoeuvring. One hears more and more frequently bitter admissions of the fact that apartheid hits not only black and coloured South Africans but the whites themselves, since it leads to moral erosion, dehumanisation, poisoning with an ever-present fear of inevitable vengeance, loss of purpose in a society in which violence and bloodshed are the law.

Myths protesting that South Africa is 'becoming a better country' as it champions the 'ideals of the free world' are given the lie by more and more new shootings of defenceless demonstrators in Port Elizabeth, Durban, Cape Town or Johannesburg, attacks on Angolan and Mozambican peasants by racist cutthroats, recurrent provocations and acts of aggression against neighbours by the South African military. South Africa's terroristic raids on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe hardened, according to *Morning Star*, 'anti-apartheid resistance and international condemnation'.²

Roger Omond's book is a valuable source of information for those who want to know the truth about South Africa. This makes it a weapon against racist propaganda.

Boris Asoyan

¹ Over 80 per cent of the territory of South Africa, whose population exceeds 33 million, is held by 4.5 million whites.

² *Morning Star*, May 24, 1986.

New Books

Ratniki mira (Peace Warriors), Mysl Publishers, Moscow, 1986, 240 pp.

THE Soviet Peace Fund, a unique civic organisation, to which almost 100 million citizens of the USSR, in other words, practically every Soviet family, contribute, was founded a quarter of a century ago on the initiative of Soviet men and women of letters, art, and science. Voluntary contributions remitted to the Fund's headquarters at 10 Kropotkinskaya Street, Moscow, comes not only from all over the Soviet Union but also from foreign countries. This money is used to pay for research into problems of peace and disarmament, subsidise the Soviet peace movement, and extend aid to the population of countries subjected to aggression or hit by natural calamities. Food for Ethiopia, medicines and toys for Afghan children, and treatment at Black Sea health resorts for Libyan children wounded by American shellings and bombings—these are only a few of the long list of illustrations of the Fund's humanitarian, internationalist activity, which is described in this volume published in Moscow. Its authors, noted Soviet writers and journalists, draw upon remarkable and eloquent facts for profiles of the Fund's activists and their exposition of its history and the forms of its work.

A pártdemokrácia kerdéseiről (Party Democracy), Kossuth, Budapest, 1986, 59 pp.

At the close of 1985, jointly with the Higher Party School, the department for political education as well as departments for party and mass organisations at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party sponsored a national theoretical conference on 'The Tasks of Promoting Inner-Party Democracy'. This publication, which contains excerpts from the most interesting papers presented at this scientific conference, reviews the history of inner-party democracy, considers the experience of fraternal parties, and notes that the development of inner-party democracy is a key condition for upgrading socialist democracy as a whole and directly influences the work of state political institutions.

Interference Against Revolutionary Afghanistan, Kabul, 1986, 118 pp.

Terrorist operations coupled with ideological subversion and political and economic blackmail are methods favoured by imperialism, above all by US imperialism, and by the ruling circles of Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Using testimony given by enemy agents captured on Afghan territory, intercepted instructions to counter-revolutionary gangs, and other documented material this book compellingly shows who is conducting subversive activities against the young republic and the methods used for this subversion. Moreover, it contains photographs exposing the atrocities being perpetrated against Afghan civilians by international reaction's hired killers.

Giancarlo Pajetta, *Il Ragazzo rosso va alla guerra* (A Young Red Goes to War), Mondadori, Milan, 1986, 158 pp.

This autobiographical narrative by a leading figure of the Italian Communist Party encompasses the period from 1942 to 1945, resurrecting glorious episodes of the Italian people's struggle against fascism. The author, a veteran of the Resistance, recalls bitter experience of those years, defeats and victories, his meetings with Palmiro Togliatti and Luigi Longo in partisan camps, and his war-time friendship with future prominent personalities of Italian culture. He writes of the courage and heroism of the Italian Communists, who fought to liberate their country from fascism.

The Status of Women and the Ways of Emancipating Them in Saudi Arabia. Dar al-Kadykhin Publishers, 1986. 30 pp. (in Arabic).

The rapid growth of Saudi Arabia's economy over the past few decades brought no visible changes in the status of women in that country. The statistics in this brochure, prepared by the local Democratic Women's League, are evidence of continued sex discrimination, especially as regards social and economic rights. Religion that has for centuries sanctified the oppression of women is largely responsible for the persistent patriarchal customs and traditions. However, as this brochure tells us, despite the deep-rooted prejudices and other difficulties the women of Saudi Arabia are joining with growing vigour in the struggle to win deliverance from the fetters of inequality.

Eduardo Paredas, A. *La oligarquía y la crisis* (The Oligarchy and the Crisis). Centro de estudios y difusión social, Quito, 1985. 115 pp.

Through the prism of facts drawn from living reality, the author considers the causes of the severe economic crisis in Ecuador, its impact on the situation in that country, and its consequences for various strata of the population. He traces the link of the transnational corporations operating in Latin America with the local industrial, financial, and landowning oligarchy and brings into the open its reactionary role as the accomplice of neocolonialism. The aim of this work issued in the series 'The Ecuadoran Economy in the Past Few Years', as the author notes, to bring the condition of the masses into focus and make them aware of who is responsible for their hardships.



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