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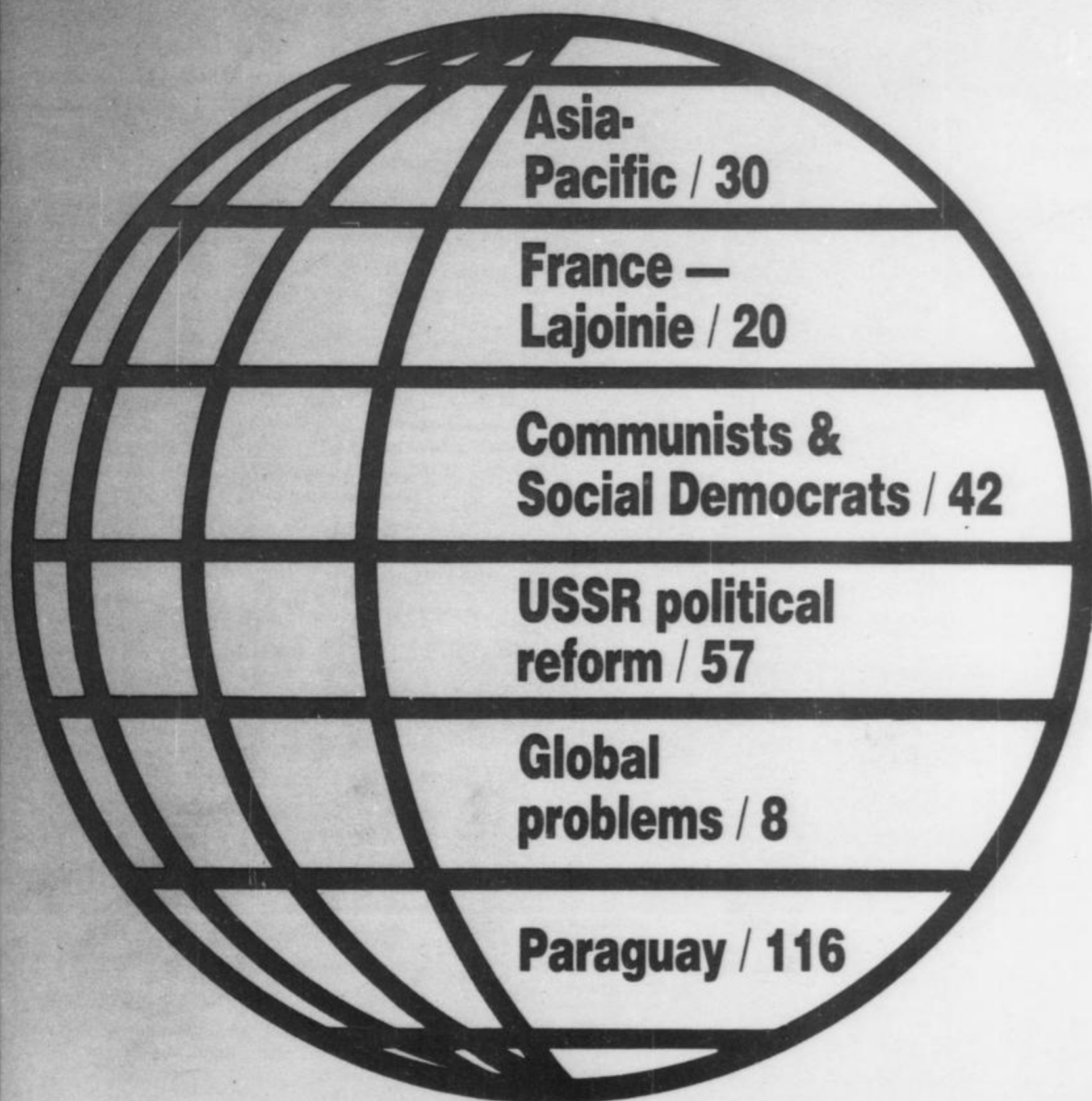
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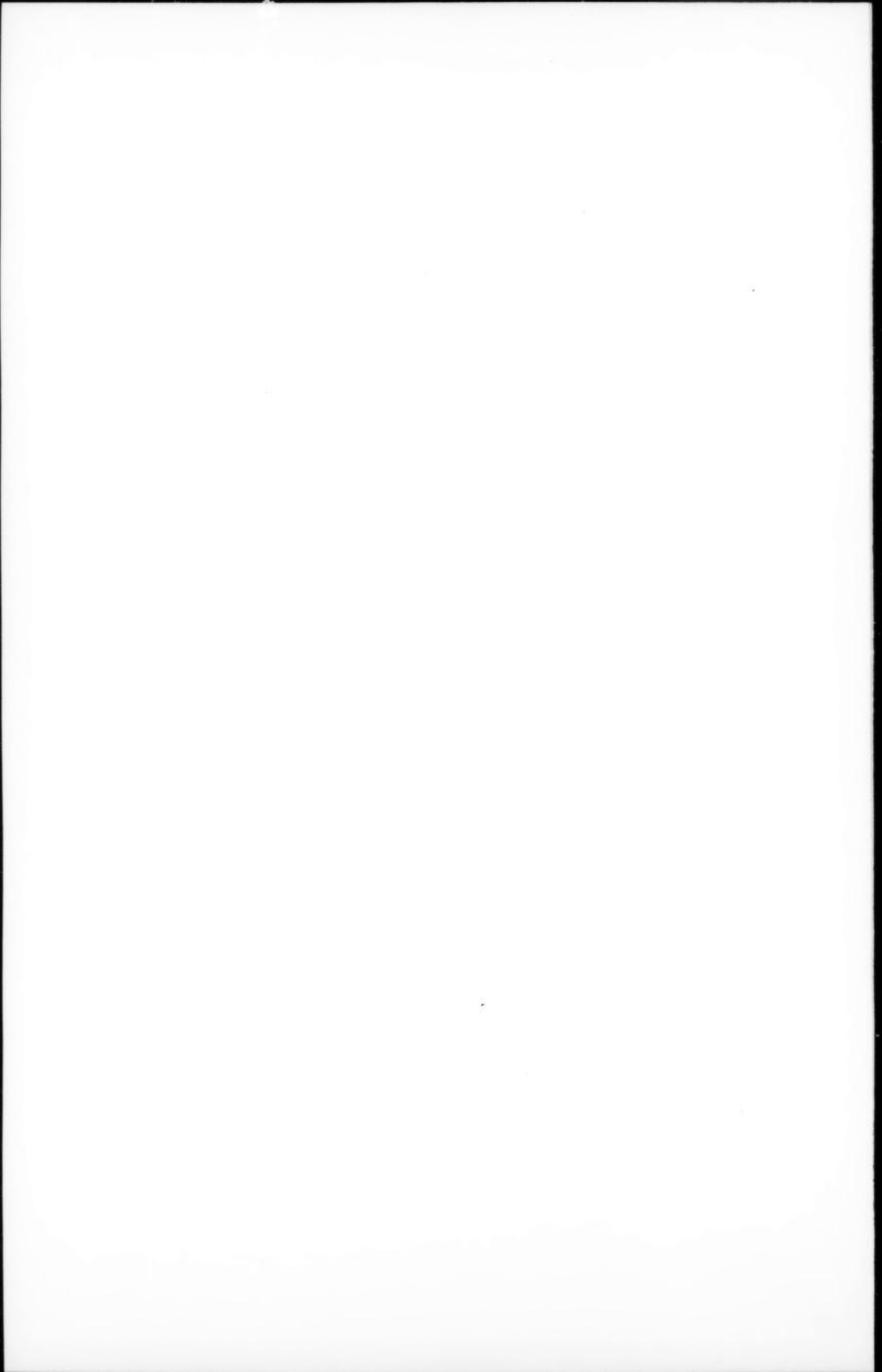
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TO THE READER

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW will mark its 30th anniversary this year. The world has changed dramatically in the past three decades; there have been great changes in the international communist movement, in the policies of individual fraternal parties and in the Communists' views and approaches. It is important to take stock of historical experience on the basis of a far-ranging analysis of these changes in order to give a new definition of the role and activities of *WMR* and to attune the journal to present-day circumstances and needs.

The international communist movement, just as the world process as such and its motive forces, has reached a watershed, it was noted at the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Moscow. The communist parties are searching for new answers to questions raised by far-reaching changes on the eve of the 21st century. And our international movement is renewing itself, too, its rallying point being trust, equality and genuine solidarity. Today it is a worldwide movement of like-minded but independent revolutionary parties. Relying on the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, these parties are carrying on their struggles in different circumstances and by different methods. The growing diversity and dynamics of social development face the Communists in various countries with fresh tasks and problems at both the national and the international level.

WMR has not been always abreast of these objective changes and of the endeavours of individual parties to take their measure theoretically and strategically, and has sometimes relied on the simplistic perception of the movement's unity as being synonymous with uniformity. The fact that the forms of interaction of the fraternal parties have begun to lag behind the diverse realities of today's world has been addressed by the journal belatedly.

All these factors make up the activities of *WMR* for the period under review, with all their achievements and shortcomings.

The number of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties contributing to *WMR* keeps growing: it had been founded by 20 parties; nowadays 69 parties are represented on it. Another 50 parties and

revolutionary-democratic and national liberation organisations are cooperating with it on a regular basis. Since the previous Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties on the *WMR* Work, representatives of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Communist Party of Lesotho, the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen Socialist Party have joined the Editorial Council. The journal was published in 19 languages in its founding year, whereas today it comes out in 40 languages and is circulated in 145 countries.

At the same time, although party representation on the journal has grown along with the number of national editions, the 'reach' of the journal, its authority, prestige and circulation have not risen accordingly but have even somewhat declined. The *WMR* press runs have slumped in many socialist and industrialised countries. Some of the national editions come out after long delays and in an abridged form.

The growing representation of parties on the journal, important as it is, should not obscure the fact that some of the influential parties which were active in our collective periodical before the 1960s have become less active, if at all, over the past few years. As a result *WMR*, which carries the subtitle 'Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties Throughout the World', has for years been short of new problems on theory and unable to inform its readers of the development of quite a few socialist countries, such as Albania, China, Romania and Yugoslavia, or to discuss in detail the problems and experiences of the communist parties of Italy, France, Japan and some other countries.

The turn towards new political thinking in the past few years has made it possible to take the first steps towards rectifying this situation.

It is the main distinction of *WMR* from other periodicals that it is a joint project of many parties, which is published on a collective basis. It may not lay down guidelines; the methods of its planning, managing and editing are in many ways different from those practised in national press organs. Our journal operates to the extent the fraternal parties contribute to it by supplying articles and other materials, by participating in collective projects, such as conferences, symposiums and round tables, by influencing the work of the staff directly through their representatives and by promoting the publication and circulation of the journal. It is open, we should stress, to all communist and workers' parties.

Every aspect of the journal's life, the publication plans, the content of the more important contributions and the style of work of the editorial staff and of the *WMR* major and auxiliary bodies are collectively discussed by the representatives of parties in the Editorial Council and the Editorial Board and appropriate decisions are taken. Every member of those bodies is free to voice his or her opinion on any question and no one has to fall into line with others. As for the contributions touching upon questions of the policies, strategies and tactics of specific parties, we are guided by the principle that the source party has the last say.

In view of the accumulated experience and the new tasks facing the communist and workers' parties, we as the journal aspire in the future:

— to focus our work on the paramount problem of world peace and

human survival as we explore world developments with their controversies and interdependences;

- to provide more diverse and comprehensive information on theoretical research, experiences and developments in all socialist countries regardless of their participation in the publication of the journal today;

- to improve the content of contributions and the style of work in concert with the principles of independence, equality, non-interference and voluntary interaction of the fraternal parties;

- to promote by our work a search for ways, forms and methods of exchanging views and experience that meet the specific interests of individual parties and promote mutual understanding and joint efforts for common goals;

- to facilitate the interaction of the communist and other left and democratic forces at the national and international level for the good of the cause of peace and social progress.

The journal will seek to promote trust, to fight bias, to add to mutual understanding and to publicise the increased degree of responsibility resting on every party and the growing opportunities for enhancing the parties' international solidarity and unity.

At present *WMR* is the only permanent base for multilateral cooperation among a large number of communist and workers' parties (regrettably, not all of them as yet) in the field of ideology, theory and information. It is not a guiding body or a centre studying and analysing new questions of theory but a journal published on a voluntary basis which aspires to serve as a link and a forum for exchanges of views and experience among the Communists and all other forces committed to peace and social progress.

We will promote the culture of dialogue to meet today's circumstances, and that dialogue should be productive; we will conduct polemics promoting mutual understanding, including objective Marxist criticism. Naturally, the polemics should in no case touch upon the policies and tactics of the fraternal parties.

We will endeavour, while not keeping silent about differences between positions and opinions, to stress the common points and also the questions, problems and tasks on which the parties' viewpoints coincide.

At the same time we will also endeavour to diversify *WMR* coverage by using various genres, especially those which are most attractive to readers: reports, dialogues, reviews of our mail, etc.

The demanding tasks of the journal, the changed conditions of the Communists' activities and the fraternal parties' new approach to their relationships make it possible and necessary further to improve the structure and working methods of the *WMR* apparatus and its organs.

OUR ANNIVERSARY CONGRATULATIONS TO *WMR* VETERANS AND AUTHORS FROM ALL COUNTRIES, TO ALL OUR FRIENDS!

A Look At The Global Problems

Franz Muhri — Chair, Communist Party of Austria (CPA)

THE existence of global problems which go beyond the framework of individual classes and systems, and on whose solution the future and even the very existence of mankind largely depends, is one of the most noteworthy features of the modern world, and the main one is the threat posed by nuclear weapons, and the production and development of new, more sophisticated and terrible means of mass destruction. The globe would go up in flames even if only a small part of these were used. The CPSU and Mikhail Gorbachov, its General Secretary, should be credited with working out, through a creative analysis of the situation, a more profound and realistic assessment of the ways to peace and universal security, and drawing the conclusions about the need for a new political thinking.

Mankind's survival has become a priority problem for the most diverse, different, and even opposite social forces operating in the world arena. Hence, the pressing need for their cooperation to save life on the Earth. *The greater the extent to which the new thinking is imbedded in the consciousness of the peoples, the more reliable will the cause of peace be.*

There are other global problems which are so important for all the peoples: the sharpening contradictions between the imperialist states and the countries of the so-called Third World, their exploitation by the capitalist monopolies, the persistent hunger, the huge external debt, and the population explosion in many of these. All these problems could produce social and political upheavals of unprecedented proportions.

The scale of the pollution and destruction of the environment, which have been running ahead of the rescue measures, are a source of growing anxiety, for unless there are radical changes in this field, there is a real danger that the natural foundations of human life will be totally disrupted within a few decades by the progressing contamination of the air, water and soil, and destruction of forests, with all the negative consequences that these entail for the plant and animal world. It has become perfectly obvious that these problems cannot be solved solely by national efforts to protect the environment.

The CPSU and its leader should also be credited with having significantly helped the world to gain a better and clearer comprehension of the acuteness of the global problems, and also with proposing *a progressive alternative for their solution* and mapping out a realistic political way and strategy for implementing it.

The first thing to consider is the large-scale and concrete disarmament

Franz Muhri was born in 1924 into a miner's family. Following Nazi Germany's *Anschluss* of Austria, he took part in action against the Nazis. He joined the CPA in 1945 and was several times elected district and provincial committee secretary. In 1954, he was CC alternate member, and since 1961 has been a member of the CC and the Political Bureau. From 1965 to 1968 and from 1970 to 1978, he was a member of the CC Secretariat. Since May 1965, he has been Chair of the CPA.

programme which was formulated in January 1986 and which set the aim of ridding the world of nuclear and chemical weapons in phased process by the year 2000. The 27th Congress of the CPSU already considered the creation of a comprehensive international security system encompassing military, political, economic, and humanitarian questions. Our party believes that the experience of the past few years has fully borne out this idea which was expressed at the Congress: "The character of present-day weaponry leaves no country with any hope of safeguarding itself solely with military and technical means, for example, by building up a defence, even the most powerful. To ensure security is increasingly seen as a political problem, and it can only be resolved by political means."¹ This implies *broad international cooperation between all the forces of reason*, cooperation which goes beyond the framework of systems and classes, and more intense efforts and creative initiatives by the Communists and other progressive circles.

The Soviet Union lays no claim at all to having a monopoly on the truth by putting forward its alternative. It has kept stressing that it is open to any ideas that could help solve the global problems. Indeed, many national, regional and international initiatives have come from other socialist countries, communist parties, non-aligned countries, the international working class and liberation movement, and sober-minded bourgeois circles. One need merely recall the activity of the Delhi Six, the Palme Commission, and the proposal by the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to create a zone in Europe free from chemical weapons.

The historic mission of the working class in the nuclear age now includes a new and crucial task: *to save life on the Earth from nuclear annihilation*, a task which fully meets its class interests. After all, measures to limit, to say nothing of ending the arms race, the consequent reduction in military expenditures, and the development of international cooperation go to create more favourable conditions for raising the living standards of workers and all the other working people. Bourgeois ideologists and right-wing Social-Democrats in Austria and elsewhere have tried very hard to prevent the working class from gaining a clearer comprehension of this objective historical mission and of its subjective role of vehicle. That is why the Communists and all the other left-wing and progressive forces are faced with the major ideological and political task of *explaining to the working people the interconnection between the struggle for social progress and for stronger peace*.

Take the bourgeois propaganda attempts to present arms production as a means of preserving jobs. These attempts should be rebuffed if only because the development of qualitatively new types of weapons of mass destruction jeopardises the existence of all the classes and peoples. Those who are incinerated in a nuclear conflagration will have no need of jobs. Besides, the whole of past experience shows that the arms race does not help to get out of the crisis, but, on the contrary, tends to aggravate it and eventually to increase mass unemployment. Civilian industries provide more jobs than the weapons-of-death industry, and that has been demonstrated by science.

Doubts are being similarly spread about the need to take radical measures to protect the environment, which, it is claimed, call for too much money that would ruin industry and lead to inevitable sackings of working people. In actual fact, the development and implementation of large-scale national and international (on an all-European scale) ecological programmes will provide employment for millions. *The working class has to become the most consistent and active force in the struggle for environmental protection.* This presents opportunities for broad alliances with the social movements, which have emerged in various fields, including the ecology.

The bourgeoisie has tried to prevent the working class of the capitalist countries from understanding its community of interests with the peoples of the Third World, and so prevent the growth of broad forces of anti-imperialist solidarity. The 'Disarmament for Development' idea has profoundly democratic, socially just and humanistic aims. It serves, first of all, what is most important: preserving peace and ensuring man's crucial right, the right to life. But it also meets the interests both of the peoples of the less developed countries and of the working class of the industrialised countries. After all, if disarmament helps to release sizeable resources for building modern enterprises and creating the highly necessary infrastructure in the less developed countries, jobs will be provided for millions of working people in the industrialised West European and other countries.

Among the essential prerequisites for solving many global problems are the formation of the widest possible alliance of all the strata of the working people and of all the forces of reason, and their utmost cooperation in various forms, such as cooperation between the Communists and the Social Democrats, despite the basic distinctions between their ideological and political views, between believers and atheists, between Communists and anti-communists. There could also be cooperation between the governments of the socialist and the capitalist countries, between the forces of socialism and a section of the bourgeoisie, and also of monopoly capital not belonging to the military-industrial complex.

The reality of wide international cooperation and dialogue between the forces of reason was demonstrated by the forum 'For a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World, for Mankind's Survival', held in Moscow in February 1987, and by the most representative meeting, also in Moscow, of various political parties and movements on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was also demonstrated by the international meeting on the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe, which was held in Berlin in June 1988 on the initiative of the GDR. There is a quite obvious need to keep putting forward new ideas and proposals to advance cooperation beyond the framework of systems and classes for the solution of global problems.

Tangible results have already been achieved in this way, among them, first of all, the INF Treaty between the USSR and the United States, in accordance with which an entire class of nuclear weapons is to be scrapped under effective international control. The four Soviet-US summits have markedly improved relations between the two great powers, so creating

more favourable conditions for advancing disarmament and settling regional conflicts, as the agreement on Afghanistan shows. We fully agree with Mikhail Gorbachov's conclusion, which he formulated in his report to the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU: "In answer to the question which is uppermost in the minds of Soviet people and on which they want to hear an assessment of the work accomplished in three years — whether the war danger has been pushed back — we can say: yes, definitely." This is an essential contribution to solving the main global problem, that of preventing mankind's annihilation.

One could also note some achievements in other fields of international cooperation. There is already such important experience in the *economy*. The June 1988 agreement on mutual recognition by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community opens up fresh prospects for concerted action on the continent in the co-production of goods, environmental protection, research, solution of transport problems, etc. Austria's permanent neutrality status has promoted for many years active economic, political and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. An important contribution to our relations of friendship and cooperation was made by last year's visit to our country by the head of the Soviet government, and the recent official visit by Austria's Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to the GDR and Czechoslovakia likewise signified further progress in diverse contacts between our countries and peoples, with concrete agreements on cooperation in protecting the environment.

In the *ecology*, there has been not only more vigorous national action in protecting Nature, but also a start on international cooperation over the past few years. The Vienna Convention on Protecting the Ozone Layer and the Montreal Protocol on Substances Damaging the Ozone Layer have been signed, and provide for the freezing and gradual phasing out of such substances. The Thirty Per Cent Club, of which many industrialised countries are members, is committed to reducing by 30 per cent by 1993 emissions into the atmosphere of sulphur dioxide which causes acid rain. An international treaty has been concluded under which ships are prohibited from polluting the World Oceans by dumping plastic waste.

The much more vigorous ecological movement in our country has scored some successes. A modern gas purifier has been installed at the large electric-power station at Dürnrohr in Lower Austria at the demand of the inhabitants of surrounding villages. Action by various citizen groups have forced abandonment of the building of a hydro-power plant on the Danube in the Hainburg area, which would have done much damage to one of Europe's most famous beauty spots. The authorities requested the Danube Hydro-Stations Society to find a more suitable site for the plant with an eye to preserving the environment. A wide campaign got under way against the building of a nuclear-waste processing works in the neighbouring West German land of Bavaria. It could have made possible the manufacture of filling for nuclear charges, and that at a time when the ultra-militaristic circles in the FRG are known to be eager to start their own production of atomic bombs.

Our party takes a positive view of international cooperation in the

struggle for peace and the solution of other global problems, but does not assume that it tends to make superfluous diverse forms of contact, exchanges of experience, discussions, solidarity and mutual support between Communists. On the contrary, *bilateral, multilateral, regional and international meetings of communist and workers' parties are now more necessary than ever before*, and these could be so arranged as not to hamper, but to promote — in the face of the global problems — international cooperation going well beyond the framework of the communist movement.

The Communist Party of Austria agrees with the idea expressed in Mikhail Gorbachov's report on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution that the nature and substance of imperialism and monopoly capital cannot be changed under the impact of external circumstances, but in the present conditions the peoples of the world are capable of exerting an influence on it and blocking its most dangerous forms of expression. Consequently, it is possible to curb the inherent imperialist tendency towards militarism and war, halt the arms race, and avert a world nuclear war. It is equally realistic to put constraints on the tendency of monopoly capital to destroy the environment in its drive for maximum profits, especially since a section of the bourgeoisie has already come to realise that manufacturing ecological means of protection could be a good business. Finally, while imperialism has not given up its oppression and exploitation of other peoples, steps could be taken to solve the problem of the less developed countries' debt and to set up a more just international economic order. We believe, in short, that *global problems can be solved even with the existence of imperialism and monopoly capitalism in a part of the world*.

International cooperation, which is dictated by the requirements of our epoch and which transcends systems and classes, does not imply the disappearance of antagonistic contradictions between the socialist and the capitalist social systems, let alone removing the basic contradiction between labour and capital, and the contradiction between the monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the people, something that is characteristic of state-monopoly capitalism in any non-socialist country, including Austria. Class antagonisms inevitably generate social conflicts and class battles.

But it is contrary to dialectics to see an antithesis between the proletariat's class interests and mankind's global problems: there is between them a reciprocal influence and connection. Ever wider sections of people of whatever class accept the ideals of peace and disarmament, protection of the environment and harmony with Nature, and social justice. This is also a reflection of an objective law-governed process in which *the daily and long-term interests of the working class are expanded*, generating fresh opportunities for alliances with other strata of the population.

For the Communists, this means the need to find areas and aims of activity organically blending the requirements of peace and social progress. Such, for instance, is the drive against the militarisation of the economy, and for the working people's social interests. Militarisation is a source not

only of the war danger, but also of worsening living conditions for the peoples. That is why the peace movement in our country wants to see military spending limited and reduced, with the funds so saved going into the creation of new jobs. It wants to see the arms industry converted to the manufacture of civilian goods. There is sympathy and support in Austria for this slogan: 'Jobs and Nature Protection instead of Missiles!' It welds together the struggle against militarisation and the struggle for the working people's economic and social interests, so clearly showing the interconnection between general human and class interests, which we seek to take into account in our policy.

The situation in our country is characterised by the sharpened general crisis of capitalism. The result has been a drive by capital on the people's living standards, the dismantling of the working people's social and political gains and democratic rights, the spread of long-term unemployment, the build-up of positions by foreign capital, and the undermining of Austria's national independence and permanent neutrality. The leadership of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) has joined the conservative Austrian People's Party in forming a grand coalition government, capital's executive body. The leadership of the Socialists is now dominated by state-monopoly technocrats and managers working hard for the profit system. They have given up some of the positive reforms achieved over past decades. We do not, of course, identify the Socialists with the Populists, but the difference between the policies of the two parties has been markedly narrowing with the adoption of conservative attitudes by the leadership of the Socialist Party.

The political watershed now no longer runs between these two parties, but between the policy of their leadership, which has entered the grand coalition — a policy of defending the interests of capital — and the interests of the working class and all the other working people. The result has been a growing differentiation within these parties, and this opens up favourable opportunities for alliances and united action by the working people in their joint resistance to the offensive by capital and to the government's policy, and for putting forward progressive economic and social proposals as an alternative.

Indeed, the important new element in the development of our political life is that *in the recent period it has been possible to arrange joint struggle, to attain united action and to set up alliances* on various problems, with an eye to the dialectical interconnection between class and general human interests. Thus, positive changes have taken place in the SPA leadership's stand on disarmament as a result of the activity of the broad coalition of peace forces. The SPA leadership is seen to be more prepared for international cooperation in tackling global problems. But this same leadership has shifted to the right and has conducted a neoconservative line on the main internal political issues.

Our own stand is determined by a concrete analysis of the situation: we support any constructive step by the SPA for disarmament and peace, but firmly oppose its leaders' neoconservative line at home in the service of big capital. The Communist Party simultaneously wants ever wider contacts with rank-and-file Socialists, who are our class comrades, and whose

interests are increasingly at odds with their leadership's policy.

In summing up, one could say: the struggle for peace is now paramount. If these and other global problems are to be solved, there must be *the broadest possible cooperation between all the forces concerned*. But it does not follow that, for the purposes of such cooperation, the class struggle, which springs from the internal contradictions of capitalist society or the ideological and political polemics with the bourgeois parties and right-wing social democratic leaders should be subordinated to the struggle for peace or relaxed. One should not contrast class interests and general human interests. We are opposed to an exaggeration of class interests that tends to minimise the importance of general human problems, but we are also opposed to an exaggeration of the latter, which could underestimate class interests.

From an Appeal by the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria (March 1987) to the Country's Public Opinion

The continued arms race increases the risk of mankind's annihilation, inflicts hunger and poverty on hundreds of millions of men and women, and exacerbates the economic and energy crises.

International relations need a new thinking, the comprehension that it is not this or that country, but all the countries that are in need of security. The Soviet proposals for a nuclear-free Europe, for a nuclear-weapon-free world by 2000, for a repudiation of the militarisation of space, and for radical reductions in armaments have been gaining ever wider recognition and support in the international arena.

We, Communists, support the efforts of the peace movement to effect a turn towards an improvement in international affairs, including the signature collection campaign in Austria under an appeal to halt nuclear tests, something that would be a significant step towards disarmament.

Ecological problems on the communal level should be given heightened attention.

We want to see this principle implemented: the costs of damage to the environment must be borne by those who make money on the damage. The existing federal and provincial environmental-protection funds should be increased through contributions by entrepreneurs and fines, and allocations from the budget. These must be used under democratic control and primarily for solving statewide nature-protection and habitat improvement problems.

¹ *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1986, p. 72.*

New Political Thinking and Development of Marxism

More Marxism, More Creative Effort

Narciso Isa Conde — General
Secretary, Dominican Communist Party

NOT very long ago, the communist press used to carry more reports on the successes of our movement, and fewer on our failures, so producing a picture that was not quite true, a mirage one got used to.

Against that invented radiant background, our failings and reverses appeared to be temporary and insignificant. There was no critical scrutiny of the failures of one party, the reformism of another, the sectarianism or the loss of influence by a third, of the dogmatism which led many to stagnation, the insufficient orientation towards the taking of power in some cases, and the abuse of it in others.

Struggle is, after all, struggle, with its logic of victory and defeat. Nowadays, by contrast, we have been writing much more about our difficulties, about everything that has hindered and continues to hinder our development, and constrains the process of the peoples' liberation. Our assessments of the positive and the negative have changed places.

Renovation Trend Gathers Momentum

Certainly, the need for renewing our thinking did not originate today; efforts to do so were made in the past as well, although they were not always correct.

Here are some of the most important questions which we were not prepared to answer. They are the structural crisis in the capitalist economy, the growth of the Third World countries' external debt, the maturing in many of these countries of the objective conditions for revolutionary change, and the lag of the subjective factor; they are the need for unity in forming the vanguard, abandonment of the long-established schemes and the emergence of such unusual revolutionary processes as those in Cuba and Nicaragua and of distinctions which tended to intensify in the course of our movement's own uneven development; they are the mounting crisis in the countries dependent on imperialism, the growing strength of the new social movements (women's, religious, ecological, indigenous, youth, etc.), the stagnation and reverses of our movement and parties, the decline in the growth rates in some socialist countries. And all that in an atmosphere of sharpening international tensions in the 1970s and early 1980s.

It is no exaggeration to say, of course, that the urge to be in the thick of events, to respond to what is new in due time, to doubt and to seek so as to be more equal to our revolutionary duty, has never left us at all. But the complexities of the internal political struggle and quite often the flood of

everyday business tended to push into the background our concern for the theoretical problems of the movement.

Now and again, solicitous about these problems, we took care not to wash our dirty linen in public in view of the unflagging ideological confrontation with the adversary. *The result was that political considerations gained the upper hand, while the significance of theory was minimised.*

But life has driven home to us that it is our duty to tell the public at large about our failings and shortcomings, instead of waiting for these to be presented by bourgeois propaganda in distorted form. Today we have, for all practical purposes, stopped practising self-censorship and have opened wide our ranks and periodicals to self-criticism. An intensive exchange of all-round international experience has got under way.

These changes should be both welcomed and deepened: *everything must be done to create an atmosphere of healthy polemics and bold quest, to avoid marking time in the future and deviations which add social-democratism, liberalism or some other sort of reformism to dogmatism.*

In this context, I believe that it is the right time to consider the problem of the actual state of affairs in the interaction between revolutionary theory and practice. It appears to me that the connection between them is effected mechanistically rather than dialectically. How is this manifested? First of all, in the great lag of in-depth assessments of the latest trends in world development, their interconnections, and their specific manifestations in various regions of the globe.

Let us ask ourselves this question: to what extent do the scope and intensity of our theoretical work accord with the present realities and the incipient historical perspectives? *The quest is, certainly, under way, and it is not an easy one:* we live in a rapidly changing world that is unusually saturated with old and new contradictions. The Marxist concept in all its complexity is still inadequate.

What is more, the mutual enrichment of the Marxist theory and practice is now potentially ensured by *the multiplicity* of our movement's national subjects acting in totally different conditions, facing specific and often highly differing requirements and, naturally, formulating different tasks which sometimes do not fit together.

This potential is weakened by one-sidedness and particularism, producing misunderstandings, unnecessary tension between the European communist movement and the revolutionary forces of the Third World, a harmful antithesis between the struggle for peace and revolutionary action, and sometimes tensions between parties in power and those fighting for it, contradictions between the socialist countries, tendencies dividing socialism and the Third World, and underestimation of the worldwide struggle as a whole.

There naturally arises the question of our capacity to coordinate our research, of the extent of comradely mutual information on the analysis of the various problems, and concern and cooperation in the theoretical field. In other words, does our advance in theory globally meet the modern imperatives of scientific development and the changes taking place outside our countries, in the centres of imperialism and throughout the world?

It obviously does not. Dogmatism is still strong. Reformism is also strong, whether in the old guise or unorthodox. There is a great uniformity of approaches to developed and backward countries. Although major efforts have been made by such inspired pioneers as Che Guevara, much remains to be done to produce conceptions formed by Marxism and in closer touch with the realities and revolutionary requirements of the less developed world.

Overcoming Dogmatism

While each party in the movement is absolutely independent, all of that puts on each a special responsibility. The point is to take care not to fall captive to new delusions while engaged in theoretical work and shedding the old dogmatic approaches and notions. After all, the need to solve this or that problem induces us to attach more significance to one or several propositions out of the entire complex of interrelated Marxist propositions. How is one, in that case, to avoid going beyond the line separating the creative process and dogmatism, within the framework of a truly revolutionary, concrete Marxist approach?

Let us look at this from another angle. Practice is known to be the touchstone of truth. But while we approach it, we never quite work it out. How then is one to act so as not to find oneself at the tail-end or in a state of stagnation in theoretical quest? It seems to me that now and again we lack the ability to see or to have the courage to admit where we fall short in our knowledge of dialectics, what there still is of dogmatism in our analysis and assessments, and to what extent political interests and requirements prevail out of all proportion. We often fail to understand why we suddenly find ourselves in the net of dogmatism, and what sort of new faces it tends to assume. The trouble is that in the communist movement we tend to speak about dogmatism mainly in general, non-concrete terms, without going to its social and epistemological roots. The heavy burden of Stalinism, I think, naturally led to a situation in which we were morally and psychologically unprepared for years to carry on a constant struggle against it. In contrast to the revisionist, the dogmatist is still seen as the lesser of the two evils, on the assumption that he, at least, is 'committed to the legacy'.

The situation is now changing, and considerable interest in seeking answers to these challenging questions is being stimulated by the CPSU's profoundly self-critical activity, and the atmosphere taking shape in the life of several other fraternal parties, among them the Communist Party of Argentina, which has sharply altered its course. The re-evaluation of the role of criticism and self-criticism is also being vividly manifested in correcting mistakes, in Cuba and in Vietnam in the course of its restructuring. The same is true of our party's efforts aimed at renewal, which began before, during and after the April 1965 revolution; they were reactivated two years ago in order to overcome new stagnation elements. The Communist Party of El Salvador began, in the late 1970s, an inspiring and timely turn towards theoretical quest and revolutionary action. All of that is an indication that the significance of the changes is being understood.

The communist movement is now well aware of a pressing and conscious need to overcome the elements of stagnation in theoretical work, to revive the creative spirit of Marxism, and to wed science to daily revolutionary practice. The main thing which, I believe, makes it possible to distinguish the present stage of the movement's development from the previous one is *the urge to bring about a radical change in the development of revolutionary theory and to see that our deeds match our words.*

We can hardly be satisfied today with the refusal to copy and mechanically transplant the experience of others, an approach which has long since become the generally accepted rule. It is no longer enough to state that the forms of transition to socialism are diverse and that they differ in substance not only from the hypotheses and concepts of the first stage of the new formation as outlined by Marx and Engels, but also from the routes that have been traversed. There should now be yet another step in the theoretical elaboration of the question of people's power and people's democracy to enrich Marxism by expounding the problem of transition to socialism, and socialism as transition to communism.

The glasnost and perestroika in the USSR and the renewal processes in other socialist countries give an impetus for reflection on the practical possibility of overcoming the old approaches. But it is time to go on from debates about whether the rethinking of the practice of socialist construction amounts to 'a crisis of Marxism', to a new conceptual view of the new potentialities of transitional processes with greater involvement of the people in government and decision-making, and the creation of a truly humane society free from exploitation.

What are these possibilities today? How are we to understand and assess, say, the Sandinista revolution and democracy?

How are we to use the changes in the pattern of forces in the world arena, the positive and negative experience in putting forward revolutionary, anti-imperialist and profoundly democratic alternatives?

How are we to use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to increase the returns on the inputs into ensuring social justice, and make our advance more dynamic?

None of these questions are idle ones, for new ideas and new orientations could do much to help us in our work with the masses.

Revolutionary Content of Democratisation

There are many discourses, some of them interesting ones, on the obsolete forms of theoretical work of the communist and workers' parties in power and still looking to power. Others are bound to appear. But this is the time to eliminate everything that could impede and slow down the advance to the forward lines of social practice connected with ensuring peace, renewing socialism, developing revolutionary processes and advancing the world revolution.

First of all, I believe, we must give up, once and for all, the invented claims to the truth in the last instance, the monopoly on the only true view of social progress and justice. It is, in fact, that which Lenin attacked when criticising the proponents of the 'purity' of Marxism and the advocates of a line untarnished by reformism.¹

That is an approach which is a thousand times more relevant today. The course of history has put on the agenda *the Communists' heightened responsibility for the destinies of mankind and for a turn to socialism in an atmosphere of world peace*. Besides, there is a need to comprehend the new forms of social protest, new specific features of liberation processes springing from the much sharper contradictions between the centres and the periphery of capitalism, resistance to the imperialist plans for 'low-intensity' wars, and the burden of global problems.

What is also important is that research in the tradition of the Marxist doctrine, which helps to develop it, is being carried on by various forces that are the motor of new social movements. They have already become a component of the broad current for social and political change; in contrast to some trailing Marxist-Leninist organisations, a part of them do not regard the revolutionary doctrine as a dogmatic prayer-book. Moreover, now and again this urge to rethink Marxism involves a search for creative answers to the cardinal question of our day — helping mankind to survive through dynamic advance of revolutionary transformations and performance of the revolutionaries' main mission: to abolish every form of oppression and degradation of the human race.

We are once again faced with this question: how are we to restructure our attitude to theory? Drastically, is perhaps the only answer. Besides, it should be neither arbitrary, nor pragmatic. Theory is not a technical aid whose successful application helps to solve every problem at one stroke. Qualitatively new problems spring from the social process, whether it is evolutionary or — and especially — whether it is revolutionary. If these are to be solved skilfully and in due time, it is necessary *to increase the theoretical work of the party as the link between theory and practice*.

How can this be achieved? There seems to be evidence of the right line of action now: democratisation of inner-party life in a revolutionary spirit, repudiation of the primacy of instructions over the theoretical and political urge to discern in present-day social phenomena and trends the possibility of releasing the creative potential of Marxism. This implies a strengthening of ties with the people, with the masses. The creation of such conditions and their development could stimulate the growth of qualitatively new creative cadres, make more harmonious the cooperation between the leadership and the grassroots cells, the party and the masses, theory and practice, and duly set in motion the mechanism of their mutual enrichment.

That is the context in which I now see the party's role and responsibility for the future of the revolutionary doctrine, and of scientific socialism, and the possibility of mastering new political thinking in development as a complex. Otherwise the trend which is now gathering momentum could weaken and result merely in the adoption of new clichés, so ossifying in slogans the new conceptions of social development, which have yet to be fully established.

I believe that the aspirations which the second half of the 1980s has generated within the communist movement and among its sympathisers can be realised only through the capacity for new thinking, with an enrichment of its revolutionary substance. The main thing is that I regard

this as the way in which our movement, as a subject of world politics, can advance to new social frontiers in historical creativity.

The time for a monopoly on the truth has passed. Theory must be more democratic. Practice must have more Marxism. There must be more peace and renewal, and a greater revolutionary spirit!

WMR invites readers to voice their views on the matters raised in this article. What is now the danger of dogmatism? And what needs to be done to put an end to theoretical conformism? What are the dogmas that should be shed in the first place? How is one to ensure orientation towards effective scientific quest and help assert new political thinking? What kind of new forms could the theoretical cooperation of the fraternal parties assume? We look forward to your ideas.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 89.

A Popular Alliance Will Decide France's Future

André Lajoinie — Political Bureau
member, CC Secretary, French
Communist Party

THE double elections in France in 1988 — the presidential elections and the early parliamentary ones that followed on their heels — laid bare enough contradictions in political life to confuse a number of 'specialists' and to provoke quite a few questions from those who are not indifferent to the future of France in general and of the French Communist Party in particular. That is why I would like to share with *WMR* readers the lessons I learned from my experience of contesting the Presidency, our evaluation of the results of that double referendum and, finally, some ideas of the orientation of the PCF's policy in the period to come.

In June 1987 representatives of all the federations of the Party unanimously nominated me to stand for election to the Presidency and I actually launched my election campaign in September. The campaign lasted more than seven months, long enough to meet in all the parts of France without exception hundreds of thousands of people at their workplaces or at more than 90 meetings and rallies.

I was thus in a position to witness the Communist Party to begin regaining its influence. This fact was denied vehemently by many French political commentators and it was only the returns of the parliamentary elections that made them more modest and circumspect.

To begin with, the PCF was a success in its practical policy. Having joined far-ranging debates on social problems at enterprises and in urban and rural communities, most of our 600,000 members conducted an electoral

campaign which was unequalled by any of the other political forces and, moreover, had to my mind no precedent in our own history. Verifying the strategy of the 26th PCF Congress (1987) in practice, Communists went out to the people, combining the defence of their immediate rights with discussions of the origins of their numerous difficulties, responsibility for them and the alternative solutions proposed by the PCF.

The Communists armed themselves for the first time with a programme conceived not as an election platform but as a coherent complex of measures to be realised immediately or in the longer term, a programme which the party pledged to pursue both before and after the elections. That programme, based on three values — justice, liberty and peace — made it possible to impart a concrete content to our general slogan 'Let's unite to defend ourselves, let's unite for change!' We conducted a dialogue and cooperated with workers and engineers, with employees and farmers, with medicoes and educationalists, and attached special importance to youth. That experience, we think, is of immense value for the future.

The PCF grew numerically as well. Twice as many people joined the party in the run-up to the presidential elections as in the same period last year. There were especially many young people among them. That was another important factor of class battles to come.

I should add here (and will dwell on this point later) that through this experience the party also built up its influence. *The ideas and proposals which in the run-up to the elections were advocated only by the Communists now figure in numerous major political actions.*

The proposal for a minimum guaranteed wage of 6,000 francs is a graphic example of our effect on the social movement. That demand is a symbol of total and resolute opposition to the 'austerity policy' to which all the parties, except the PCF, have subscribed. It was rejected by all the other presidential candidates as 'unrealistic' and economically dangerous. Meanwhile, sociological polls show that most of the French support it as quite practicable. There are countless actions, demonstrations and even strikes all over the country in support of that minimum wage and of a policy that would be based on the promotion of man rather than on over-exploitation. This tendency today is a counterbalance to the efforts long made by the successive governments to convince the French that sacrifices are inevitable.

Other examples, too, illustrate that the ideas put forward by our party are catching on. What I mean is the demand for veritable jobs, stable and skilled, rather than insecure temporary jobs which offer neither training nor prospects but which are held up by some parties as a 'modern' remedy for unemployment, especially youth unemployment. There is also our demand that the dignity of the poorer strata of the population be respected. *Small wonder that more and more of those people, inspired by the Communists' ideas, refuse to take the dole pressed upon them but join the struggle to take hold of what is their due.*

But it is endorsement of the idea of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, that became the most impressive turn-around of French public opinion towards support for the Communists' proposals. There is no other point on which consensus between the other parties would be so

solid: all of them except the PCF voted for the shameful and ruinous law on the military programme, calling for the production of the neutron bomb and chemical weapons and for quadrupling the number of nuclear missiles, including those to replace Pershings in West Germany, by the year 2000. But under the PCF's proposal, now supported by more than half the French, military spending is to be cut by 25 per cent starting with this year, and the money thus saved should be used for renovation programmes at schools and universities; the proposal is tied to the prospect of the abolition of all nuclear weapons in the world in twelve years.

One can cite more ideas which were once upheld solely by the Communists but which are now getting majority support thanks to numerous mass actions and countless demands as regards freedoms and human rights. There come to mind, for instance, our proposals for broadening the rights of wage labour at enterprises, our demands for global sanctions against Pretoria and for severance of all of France's ties with the apartheid regime, etc.

The PCF alone voted in Parliament against the Single Europe Act and therefore against the establishment of a 'Single European Market' in 1992, which is the object of the persistent promotion campaign conducted by all the parties. As we go on with our efforts to clarify the content and class goals of that project, the consensus in support of that act is dwindling.

Without underestimating in any way the road we are to travel to secure the French working people's support for the Communists' analysis and their proposals for a different policy and a different society, I am convinced that *the presidential election campaign enabled the PCF to grow stronger and gain influence, in particular, on the electorate*. The numerous partial elections that preceded the recent parliamentary elections showed that our advance was almost systematic. Public opinion polls concerning political parties and their presidential candidates also confirmed that fact, which was verified, moreover, by our party followers and myself during campaigning on the terrain.

The question poses itself, however: why was that nascent comeback of the PCF, which everything seemed to confirm, not reflected in a greater number of votes for it in the presidential elections? At this point it is necessary to cite in general outline the Central Committee's appreciation of the election returns.

We are clearly not satisfied with our performance. Progress is imperative for us to exercise palpable influence on the country and to become a united force of the majority in favour of a different policy and a different society.

We knew in advance that the election returns would be no reflection of our real influence. For the PCF the presidential elections are always the most difficult ones for many reasons. The first of them is that those elections are profoundly undemocratic. That point has been made by all the French progressive forces since 1962. Among them was François Mitterrand, who at that time dealt with the new institutions of power in his book with the revealing title *The Permanent Coup d'Etat*. Those elections are meant to establish a quasi-autocratic power, whereas all the Communists' actions are directed at the opposite goal of helping people take the affairs of society in their own hands. Participation in the elections

inevitably causes quite understandable difficulties.

Another reason is that the election is meant to choose the head of state. Yet in the circumstances of France in 1988 we, nominating a candidate, never for a moment aspired to having him elected. That contradiction led to the temporary alienation of many voters who, though favourably disposed to our ideas, nevertheless had to choose their candidate from among those who had a real chance of becoming the President of the Republic.

Finally, according to the 1962 law, only the two candidates who top the list after the first round pass on to the second one. That stipulation limits the voters' choice even in the first round: instead of supporting the candidate of their preference, the French have to vote for that one of the two 'favourites' whom they fear less. In this way, fear of seeing Chirac and, together with him, Le Pen gain a strong position led a number of Communist voters to turn, though unenthusiastically, to François Mitterrand, all the more so since he was the outgoing President.

The forces of capital, which put their stakes on the Right, and all those who counted on the Socialist candidate, made full use of all the undemocratic springs of the presidential elections to our detriment. Their major goal was to reshape the French political scene in order to put an end to any risk of the anti-social and anti-national policy of those forces being seriously contested. The centrepiece of that reshaping was to be the neutralisation and, if possible, rout of the French Communist Party.

Every trick was brought into play to achieve that purpose. First came Operation Juquin,¹ orchestrated directly by the Elysée Palace and intended to cause trouble to the party and our electorate. It was even announced that that 'critical communist', expelled from the party, would reach the finishing line ahead of the PCF's 'official' candidate!

Second, the big mass media practised rigorous and continuous censorship of the Communists' election campaign and declined any substantive discussion of the meaning of the elections. Third, there was an outrageous publicity campaign of the extreme rightists' leader. Le Pen was actually used as a stalking-horse to make political combinations of the Socialists and rightists look more attractive and to pre-empt any change of policy.

Faced with those joint manoeuvres, more than two million French men and women nevertheless made their choice clear by voting communist, which is a far from negligible fact. All the same, that result could not be a reflection of the real influence of our party. We had been saying this since the night of the first round of the presidential election. The justice of our conclusion was fully borne out by subsequent developments.

In the second round the PCF and its candidate appealed to their voters to give support to François Mitterrand, the Socialists' first-round candidate, so that he should get re-elected thanks to communist votes. We made that appeal without concealing profound differences between his platform and ours and without relating in the least to his orientations or to his policy of alliance with rightist parties. We simply wanted to bar the way of the Right, flanked by the extreme Right, and to hold out a hand to those millions of voters who, casting their ballots for Mitterrand, nevertheless

approved some or all of our proposals. Developments did not take long to confirm the correctness of that position because the elections brought about a marked resurgence of the PCF's influence. The reasons for that resurgence include approval of our proposals, popularised in the course of the presidential elections campaign, our struggle against the Right and our refusal of any alliance with them and, finally, our course of an alliance of the left forces for a practical new policy of progress and peace.

In that context four figures help appreciate the political significance of the parliamentary and presidential elections: from one election to the other, the Socialist Party and its allies lost one million votes, the Right 1.2 million, the extreme Right two million. As for the Communist Party, although the voter turnout on June 5 was far below that on April 24, it alone of all the parties increased its vote by 700,000 throughout the national territory. With 2.7 million votes, or 11.3 per cent of the total, the PCF did better than in the 1988 presidential elections, the 1986 parliamentary elections or the 1984 elections to the European parliament. It was its best showing since 1981.

A fairer electoral system would have given the Communists 65 seats. But as a result of the caricatural recarving of constituencies carried out under the Chirac government and made use of by Mitterrand and Rocard, political commentators and pollsters predicted before the elections that the PCF would not send a single deputy to the new Assembly, while the Socialist Party and its allies would secure an overwhelming majority. The final result is common knowledge: 27 Communist deputies — almost all of our candidates who contested the election in the second round went through — and no majority either for the Socialists or for the Right. The extreme Right slumped and is now represented by a single deputy. In spite of the unfair electoral system, voters themselves put the Communists in the centre of political life.

Our following is larger than the recorded figures. In fact, everything possible was conceived by the President of the Republic to ensure that the parliamentary elections followed the logic of the presidential elections which, as I have noted, had been basically unfavourable to us. The avowed objective of our adversaries was to finish the Communist Party in political life in general and in the National Assembly in particular. Their awakening to reality was brutal and their disarray obvious. Plans for the future had to be revised.

All this puts to us the question: what now? On the night of the election day, Georges Marchais said: "We propose a new solution: a new union of popular forces, an alliance of the left forces to enable them to win the majority and to govern together in order to pursue a new policy", namely, a policy of justice, liberty and peace formulated in our programme. The Communists are prepared to participate in the implementation of this policy and in running the affairs of the country.

Regrettably, François Mitterrand and his government have taken a different course. Michel Rocard immediately called to his side former right-wing ministers and the former head of the Patronat. Numerous talks are under way at the highest level to prepare the ground for a lasting alliance between the Socialists and one of the rightist parties. A 'common

programme' of that nascent coalition includes projects related to 'Europe of 1992', which are extremely perilous to our people and our country.

It is naturally out of the question for the PCF to support that orientation. Loyal to our obligations, we will work for an alliance of the French against the ills of the 'austerity policy', unemployment, the abandonment of national interests and for the creation of conditions for a new perspective. In that vein the Communist deputies will support any measure, however modest, that would have common sense and fight anything that goes against it. They will make proposals inspired by our programme of justice, liberty and peace. And since we know that not everything is decided in the government palaces, we call for action and for a union of popular forces in support of these proposals.

Whatever comes to pass, it will be a popular alliance that will decide the future, and it can count on the French Communist Party.

¹ P. Juquin, a former member of the PCF leadership, challenged the party's political line and, helped by the Socialists, tried to contend the presidential elections. — *Ed.*

Nobody's Vassals

Armando Villanueva — Prime
Minister of the Republic of Peru

This is the first time Peru has had an administration led by the Peruvian APRA Party,¹ and it is now in its fourth year in office, a term perhaps long enough to sum up some of the results and outline plans for the future. In this context, *WMR* asked Armando Villanueva, a prominent APRA leader and incumbent Prime Minister, to describe the ruling party's domestic and foreign policy and state his views concerning the possibility of cooperation between the Aprists and the Communists. Below is a transcript of his replies.

SINCE Alan Garcia assumed the presidency in 1985, the main task of his government has been to raise the living standards of the Peruvians, while boosting the agrarian and industrial sectors in the shortest possible time, with development in the countryside meeting the interests of the community masses who inhabit the mountainous areas of Peru and who have traditionally been the most deprived part of the rural population. Only in the South of the country, in the area known as the 'Andean trapezium', there are over 2,000 Indian communities with several million peasant families who have managed to retain their collective forms of labour and to survive the Spanish conquest and the feudalism under the republic. They are the true historical basis in which Peruvian society has its roots, and they have been central to the efforts of the present government.

Its programme has not, of course, ignored the problem of public health,

Armando Villanueva, Peruvian political leader, statesman and Senator, was born in 1915. He joined APRA as a youth and founded its young people's organisation. Until August 1987 he was APRA general secretary, and was appointed prime minister in May of this year.

housing, and education, but I want to deal with the main aspects of the APRA administration's activity. In its first two years, it has succeeded in raising the working people's average wage by 200 per cent, while the cost of living is estimated to have gone up by roughly 87-90 per cent; with the rise in the people's purchasing power, there has been a growth of industrial production, and that has naturally helped to enliven trade.

But in our efforts to industrialise and develop the initiative of the ordinary people, the working people, the creators, we have had to face the obstacle of high interest rates. Whenever a worker, an engineer or a technician was in need of a credit, he would have to repay up to 200 per cent of the amount, which did not make much economic sense. Meanwhile, those who had made money could put it into a bank as a fixed-maturity deposit, collecting an interest of up to 140 per cent and living off it, doing next to nothing.

That is why, along with its other measures, the government drastically reduced interest rates down to 8-18 per cent, and abolished them altogether in agriculture, in the economically most depressed areas. For similar reasons, interest-free credits were also made available to the most backward sectors.

These credits in the countryside have yielded truly extraordinary results: within only two years, the productivity of the rural working people in the communities increased to a greater extent than it had in the 200 years since independence. But despite our efforts to provide credits to working people with initiative, the private banks continued to look to the old types of activity and speculation on the stock-market. Steps had to be taken to guarantee the democratisation of credit, and that was precisely the purpose of reducing interest rates: the government issued a project for a gradual and progressive nationalisation of the banks. I say 'progressive' because it does not affect the whole of banking capital, but only 70 per cent of it, leaving 30 per cent to the petty shareholders, i.e., the people.

This process caused overt, even if not very strong, resistance from the conservative pro-imperialist circles, which in Peru control the radio, television and the press. Since we have complete freedom of speech, which often verges on sheer licence, their propaganda campaign achieved some of its objectives: Peruvians were made to believe that they were about to be deprived of their property and their savings, that bank deposits were no longer to be immune, etc. This caused confusion and, of course, damaged the government's public image, which had up to then been strong and credible.

These processes were paralleled by an improvement of housing conditions for the population. Never before have so many individual homes for low-income persons been built in Peru on very advantageous terms: people were given a structure with foundation, walls and roof, while they themselves did the interior decoration with the aid of the Building Materials Bank.

Everything I have described in general terms, like the successes in public education, food supply and the drive against speculation, would have been impossible if the country had gone on repaying its debt: we simply would

not have had enough money to fund such extensive measures. What was APRA's approach?

First, we recognised the debt. Second, we reaffirmed our intention to repay it, but declared simultaneously that we were not prepared to do so at the price of life itself: the people's life is more important for us than the obligation to repay the debt at exorbitant interest. After all, 'the dead don't pay'.

Accordingly, President Garcia announced our decision *to make repayments at no more than 10 per cent of our export earnings*. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were quick to declare Peru 'insolvent', and 'not eligible for loans'. Some even pretended that the government had no respect for private property, something that was totally false. What we do not accept is that private property should be used as an instrument to exploit the working classes. Indeed, we have striven to develop cooperation, self-management, to give more powers to the municipalities and other local organs of power, and to decentralise the economic power of capital.

When I speak of decentralisation, that could be misinterpreted in the socialist countries, where it is a term usually contrasted to central planning. We in Peru use it to designate a process aimed against the centralism of the oligarchy, which has all its political and economic power concentrated in Lima. Decentralisation in Peru is a redistribution of the national wealth and labour resources among all the provinces of the country for the benefit of the most deprived strata.

The general strategic line of APRA and President Alan Garcia, who is simultaneously chairman of the party, implies a corresponding international policy based on supremely clear-cut principles: whereas Aprism in domestic policy signifies a type of socialism (although the meaning of Aprism is just as confusing for Europeans as the meaning of socialism is for Peruvians) there is no such ambiguity in our foreign policy: *we stand for a revolutionary alliance of the Latin American peoples and take a firm stand for peace, and against nuclear weapons*. Peru is a signatory of the Tlatelolco Treaty,² and is against nuclear tests not only on the surface of the earth but also in the atmosphere and underground, which have highly worried the Peruvians in view of France's tests on Mururoa Atoll. Concerning arms reduction, let us recall that when our president took office on June 28, 1985, he came forward with the initiative for gradual regional disarmament and the use of the funds so released for the development of the Latin American countries. We have already had meetings on this score with the representatives of the armed forces of Chile and Ecuador. This idea is still very much in the air, although no concrete results are yet on hand.

Our policy of disarmament and against the use of nuclear energy for military purposes testifies to our firm support of the international line generated by the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachov and Ronald Reagan. We have profound respect for Soviet policy and we believe that the United States is perfectly aware that *it is a policy in favour of the whole world, and not of some single social class or socio-economic system*. We are happy to see the advances and wish every success to the peace efforts. They

have given the world fresh hope for peace and efforts now have to be made to guarantee it. Here, the government of Peru has sought to act most concretely.

One other question appears to be equally clear and definite: no country can stand up to imperialism on its own, and APRA has always subscribed to the old idea expressed by Haya de la Torre³ about the need for *Latin America's anti-imperialist integration*. He took this idea from Simon Bolivar, and from such fighters for independence as Francisco de Miranda, Jose de San Martin, and later from Jose Marti. The founder of APRA put together and summed up their precepts and, in our own day, was a resolute fighter for integration, though not, of course, any sort of integration.

Let me explain what is meant by anti-imperialist integration. After all, the Latin Americans were 'integrated' under Spanish rule, living on the same territory with a common language, religion, administration and jurisdiction. In the colonial period, our society was integrated, but for the benefit of the Spanish Crown and it was dependent on it. That is why APRA has proposed as the basis for a future socialist society in Latin America not some abstract, but an anti-imperialist integration. The first thing that needs to be done is to get imperialism out of the way, while laying the foundations of a new social organisation. We do not want to be the vassals of any conqueror whatsoever; we want to be builders of a new world founded on the 'Bread and Liberty' principle. Since our policy is such both on a world and on a regional scale, it necessarily has for its central principle the free determination of the peoples.

That is why we have, from the outset, voiced full solidarity with Nicaragua and have given it support in the belief that any attempt by any power to shackle the will of another people in making its own choice is immoral, to say the least. Peru's assistance to the Sandinista government is not confined to words. We have taken joint action on the international scene, we have supplied it with oil, and have given it a very long-term loan.

Our approach to a Central American settlement is also quite clear. We have not merely welcomed the emergence of the Contadora Group, but in fact initiated the idea of setting up the Support Group.

Our principled stand on the internationalisation of the Panama Canal is similar. In accordance with the motto on Panama's coat of arms — *Pro mundi beneficio*⁴ — the Canal must be an asset for all the peoples of America and the world. Let us recall that one of the agreements within the Torrijos-Carter Treaties,⁵ which other states can adhere to, provides for the neutrality of the Canal Zone and guarantees its peaceful and demilitarised status. So, nearly six decades later, the idea expressed by Haya de la Torre about the need to internationalise the Canal is, at long last, being fulfilled.

Our policy with respect to Nicaragua naturally applies to all the other republics of Central America and Latin America. Here is only one example. When Argentina was faced with a threat over the problem of the Malvinas, the Peruvian president went to Buenos Aires to voice support for the Argentinian nation, a visit which, among other things, helped to spike the schemes of the putschists.

We voice solidarity with the Chilean people, who regard APRA as an

ally prepared to support its urge for freedom and to help Chile become, once again, 'an asylum from oppression', as its national anthem says.

Peru has broken off contacts with South Africa because of its stubbornness in maintaining the apartheid regime. One of APRA's basic principles, formulated by Haya de la Torre in 1924, says: "Solidarity with all the oppressed peoples, races and classes of the world", an axiomatic principle for which we reject South Africa's policy of racial discrimination.

The Aprists and the Communists do, of course, take different approaches to some historical aspects of the revolution. We do not support a single party of the proletariat, because we believe that imperialism must be fought on a united front, and any possible deviations from its common line will come later. In the past, such an approach put a great distance between us and the Communists, and at first our meetings did not go beyond discussions of our differences. But we have found in the international communist movement a sincere desire for peace, which is the principal task of our own policy. In consequence, we no longer sit down with the Communists merely for the purposes of controversy, but for points of contact, above all to ensure peace and justice on the globe. We have the closest relations with social democracy, and we see that both the Communists and the Social Democrats take the similar view that Latin America must solve its social problems in accordance with the realities in each country.

We have always said, with Haya de la Torre, that books should not be adapted to the reality, but that the reality must be present in books. I do not believe that we should take for our guidelines the European experience of last century, but the lessons of the current struggle, which Marxism can help us better to understand. Decisions taken on such a basis will naturally differ from European ones. Aprism's unambiguous stand on this issue has met with understanding, and we, Latin Americans, are very happy that it is being displayed by both major trends of the left-wing forces in Europe.

I believe that in the third millennium peace and justice will triumph throughout the world. Following mankind's long centuries of struggle for a brighter future, the twenty-first century will, I am certain, be a time in which the boldest hopes are realised. The generations who have suffered for the cause of the revolution, who have sacrificed their lives for it and who had to live on the bare necessities, were not trying to 'plough up the sea'. These generations will never be forgotten because their sufferings over the past centuries are the price paid by mankind for attaining true redemption — without crucifixion — through socialism, which we in Peru call Aprism.

I should like through the courtesy of your journal to convey, on behalf of the Peruvian Aprista Party, our fraternal greetings to the Communists. We in Peru voice solidarity with all the peoples of the globe fighting for justice, freedom and peace.

¹ PAP, a party taking the social-democratic orientation. It was founded on the basis of the American Peoples' Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) in 1924. — *Ed.*

² A treaty banning nuclear weapons in Latin America signed on February 14, 1967. — *Ed.*

³ Victor Raul Haya de la Torre (1895-1979), a Peruvian political leader and founder of APRA. — *Ed.*

⁴ For the benefit of the world. — *Ed.*

⁵ Signed in 1977 by the then presidents of Panama and the United States, they provide for the gradual transfer (by December 31, 1999) to Panama of all the functions in running the Canal. — *Ed.*

for human survival

Diverse and Indigenous Experience

Communists and the Problems of the Asia-Pacific Region

How is the new political thinking projected on the Asia-Pacific region? What are the prospects of peace and security in this area? By what methods are the forces of war and reactions to be fought? What is primary: defending peace or struggling for the economic and social interests of the working people? Why does the Communists' prestige in some of the region's countries not match their historical mission or their selflessness in upholding the ideals of peace and progress? These and other questions were examined at the *WMR* round-table discussion 'The Struggle for Peace, Security, Democracy, and Social Progress in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Communists'. Representatives of 15 communist and workers' parties took part in it.

We offer excerpts from the speeches of a number of participants in the discussion.

For An Atmosphere Of Confidence

Chang Hou — head of the research planning sector,
Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CP Vietnam

TODAY the concepts of Peace, Revolution and Internationalism are dialectically interlinked. Just as elsewhere in the world, so in our region the struggle for security, democracy and social progress is a single process which combines national interests with those of all humanity. However there are specific considerations here.

The states of our area — socialist and capitalist, large and small, with a varying degree of economic and social development — create a

kaleidoscope politically, economically and socially. That is why we consider that a clear *understanding of the general and the particular is a must for the formation of a new political thinking of the Communists, the vanguard of the movement for peace, security, democracy and social renewal in the region.*

Characteristically, the last few decades have seen a continuous struggle of the peoples against colonialism, for political and economic sovereignty. After independence most of the states of the Asia-Pacific region were left with poverty and backwardness. The striving for economic progress is a powerful motive force capable of turning our zone into an area of dynamic growth.

Vietnamese Communists, favouring a non-nuclear status for the region and opposing the policy of an arms race and the US-Japan-South Korea military axis, are taking real action to build up confidence among the nations. To expedite a political solution of the Kampuchean question, in particular, Vietnam has already withdrawn a part of its forces from Kampuchea and put forward new initiatives for stabilisation in this area.

We respect the centuries-old traditions of friendship with the Chinese people and are willing to normalise relations with our neighbour. And we are confident that the temporary differences can be resolved through negotiation.

The struggle for a shift from regional tension to peace, security and social progress will be long. We Communists need to master its dialectics, to define the tactics of our revolutionary strategy correctly and to ably combine defending peace with fighting the national liberation.

What Are The Main Difficulties?

Ivan Kovalenko — Deputy Head, International Movement, CC CPSU

IN our opinion, the topic of the discussion, as formulated, is an accurate enough rendering of the basic problem that we address each day in our activity: to see correctly at each particular moment the dialectical connection and relation between defence of the working people's political and economic rights, and the struggle for peace and against the nuclear threat.

What are the main difficulties facing our parties here? The answer in short could be the following: they derive from the specific character of the social and political conditions of the region and from the social psychology of the popular masses of these countries. Therefore there can be no mechanical use of the methods that have proved effective in the West, in Europe, to promote anti-war and anti-nuclear slogans in the developing countries of Asia and the Pacific. Here, the issue of social survival is felt more urgently than that of nuclear survival.

To convince the broad masses of the working people, or, for a start, at least their politically active part, that prevention of nuclear disaster is absolutely essential for achieving any class or social aims, their consciousness must be directed to the source of the nuclear danger, that is, enlightened in an anti-imperialist spirit. *As applied to the tactics of*

liberation movements, its substance hinges on the indissoluble dialectical links between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress.

Let us examine some of the concrete problems. First of all, the slogan, 'Disarmament for Development'.

Many countries in Asia and the Pacific, for example, welcome the progress made by the great powers towards disarmament. But their attitude changes abruptly where their own participation in the arms reduction process is concerned. Here they fall back on a whole set of arguments — their low defence potential, its insignificance in the face of nuclear weapons, and their military lag behind their neighbours. In fact, however, all this results in a regional rivalry of militarism that is hard to bridle and may, as the Persian Gulf conflict has shown, lead to an uncontrollable situation. The difficulty is that an arms build-up by their own government is not always seen by the masses as a negative thing: all too often modernisation of the armed forces, and acquisition or development of the latest types of weapons, is an object of pride and prestige.

It would be fruitful to persistently and graphically compare the rising military expenditures of the developing countries with their specific social needs. Pakistan, for example, allocated 38.5 per cent of its 1985 budget for military purposes and only 1.1 per cent for public health, although average life expectancy in the country is below 51 years. That is a tangible example of the interdependence between social survival and disarmament.

The problem of foreign military presence is often associated with employment for a certain number of the local work force. This is an argument used by those who want to keep the foreign bases, as, for example, in the case of the Philippines. History has refuted this argument. The same thing occurred in Singapore in 1971, when the British forces withdrew from their bases in that country, and when something like 40,000 jobs were thus scrapped. But the resulting difficulties were overcome without dramatic consequences.

Examining the problems of social and nuclear survival together is a good way of starting a *mutually useful dialogue with the broad sections of the public*, including the politically-active segments of the intelligentsia. This is important everywhere, but especially in those countries where no broad-based mass movement exists and where Communists are forced, first of all, to seek a basis for dialogue with political figures, physicians, scientists, cultural workers and clergymen.

We are convinced that the *struggle for social liberation has to be waged within the framework of peaceful coexistence between states* so as not to let imperialism interfere in this struggle and turn it into a military conflict that can provoke global disaster.

This is not to deny a situation where imperialist interference and right-wing violence may provoke retaliatory — and fully justified actions, including armed ones — by revolutionary forces. How is such a conflict to be confined to national boundaries and prevented from developing into a new hotbed of international tension? These problems call for a thorough exchange of opinions and a due consideration of the entire experience.

Many fraternal parties have theoretically interesting and practically

useful investigations on the question of social climate and the working masses' social psychology. The exchange of opinions, materials and the results of these studies will help to define correctly the relationship between the general and particular tasks of the anti-war movement in the specific context of each country.

Look The Truth In The Face

Tserendashiyn Namsray — Political Bureau member, CC Secretary,
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

IN analysing the situation in the region, we also examine the question of the present state of the communist movement. There are now about 40 communist and workers' parties operating in the countries of our region. Their numerical growth was and is mainly in the socialist countries of Asia. Communists in the rest of our zone number just slightly over 1.5 million, and the overwhelming majority of them are concentrated in India and Japan.

There is another fact worthy of note. It is a question of the degree of popularity of the communist parties in elections. Only nine of them are represented in parliaments. The number of parliamentary seats held by Communists is unstable, in many cases a tendency towards decline can be observed.

The problems and difficulties in the region's communist movement stem from the fast-changing social, economic, and political conditions, and are also due to external factors. These include, in particular, not only the stagnant phenomena that took place in the socialist countries, but also the situation that developed in the international communist movement in the 1960s. The negative consequences of this are being felt to this day.

We think that for the aims of the struggle of our parties to be correctly defined a thorough and comprehensive joint scientific study of the present socio-economic situation in the Asia-Pacific region, of its growth trends, of the influence of the scientific and technological revolution on the area's countries and an elaboration of the specific questions of activity of the fraternal parties in a changing environment will be required.

Our struggle, as I have already said, is developing on two dialectically interlinked planes, that is, class and universal. The latter is distinguished by a particularly mass character and wide scope. *The right choice of allies in the struggle for peace, security and social progress is becoming fundamentally important.*

One should bear in mind that there are enormous masses of believers in Asia. The religious movement has a latent anti-war charge of great power. Such an important rallying point for different forces as the ecological movement also merits special attention.

The consultative meeting of representatives of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the Asia-Pacific region's countries in Ulan Bator in 1987 made possible a collective analysis of the general questions of the struggle for peace and social progress of the area, the link

between national and regional problems and the place of our zone in the system of international relations.

We attached and are attaching high importance to the mobilisation of public opinion for a struggle for regional peace, security and cooperation. This was what prompted our suggestion to hold an *Asian public forum* and our initiative concerning a *meeting of parliamentarians* of the Asian countries. Mongolia is planning to organise a series of national undertakings on Asia-Pacific peace and security, to be attended by the appropriate organisations of other states.

Today, in our view, the *struggle for establishing nuclear-free zones in different parts of the region and for the withdrawal of foreign military bases could become a top-priority area of activity of the fraternal parties.*

Dialogue Is Imperative

Aurora Evangelista — CC Political Bureau member, Philippine Communist Party

WE in the Philippines know how it is to be a hostage to nuclear madness because we have the two largest US bases outside of American soil.

With the ongoing review of the agreement on these bases, Filipino anti-bases and anti-nuclear forces are stepping up the campaign for their removal by 1991 and the conversion of the base communities into agro-industrial centres.

As early as December 1987, the Central Committee of the Philippine Communist Party issued an appeal for unity against the US bases which said in part:

"The nuclear-weapons-free provision in the 1987 Constitution overwhelmingly approved by our people gives us the moral mandate to contribute to the global struggle to build a secure future for all humanity."

The statement cited the Soviet-US Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) as a "qualitative step towards denuclearisation and a measure of hope and relief to all peoples longing for a nuclear-weapons-free future."

However, the PKP also mentioned some disturbing results of the ASEAN summit held in Manila last December which tend to regionalise the justification for the continued presence of the US bases in the Philippines. The PKP declared that no amount of rent, aid, employment or other 'benefits' can compensate for the usurpation of national sovereignty.

Various organisations which have taken an anti-bases posture are now gearing up for a sustained campaign. Among them are the Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council (PPSC), the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC), the Anti-Bases Coalition (ABC) and the Campaign for a Sovereign Philippines (CSP).

In the face of the growing opposition to the bases, the US is leaving no stone unturned in the effort to retain these nuclear outposts through means fair or foul. In an aide memoire addressed directly to President Aquino, US Ambassador Platt made it abundantly clear that the Americans wanted a speedy review with proper coordination and 'media guidance'. Members of the US Congress have dangled a \$10-billion carrot in the form of a 'mini-

Marshall Plan' in exchange for the bases. There is much discussion about increasing the compensation for the use of the base lands to an irresistible level.

But there are even more sinister designs. The first is to engineer the conduct of a national referendum on the bases question, which clearly contradicts the Constitution. Given the prevailing state of ignorance and disinformation on the issue, the Americans are banking on the victory of the pro-bases forces. Another ploy is to open the Constitution to amendment on some pretext, but with the real aim of removing the anti-bases and anti-nuclear-weapons provisions.

The latest plot is the sensational escape of the right-wing coup leader Gringo Honasan from his detention ship, allegedly with American assistance. This is part of the larger destabilisation campaign to weaken the Aquino government, make it vulnerable to American demands, particularly on the bases, and make it shift further to the right at the expense of people's rights.

The policy towards national-democratic unity was adopted by other left parties and groupings, resulting in *dialogue and cooperation* among them.

Having rallied under the banner of civil liberties, they are likewise coming together in other issue-based coalitions against the bases, against the foreign debt, for agrarian reform, and workers' rights. The PKP has always believed that Communists must be able to *openly participate in the political life of the country* as part of the broader struggle for the democratisation of society.

The PKP has always stood for a firm internationalist position, knowing that the outcome of the struggle for the above aims is in many ways influenced by the strength and support of the socialist countries and other components of the global revolutionary movement. The future of humanity, including those who inhabit the populous region of Asia and the Pacific, depends on our collective resolve to fight and build, to build and fight, from wherever we are.

The Path of National Reconciliation

Najmuddin Kawiani — Political Bureau member and CC Secretary,
People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)

THE experience of the long, sanguinary and fratricidal war in Afghanistan has taught us that the questions of development cannot be solved without peace. Responsibility for the fate of the millions of Afghans dictates an effective *policy of national reconciliation*. This policy embodies the principle of renouncing war as a means for solving political issues, and sets the main PDPA aims as regards resolving our problem on the basis of the philosophy of new thinking.

To carry out this line, our party has abandoned its monopoly of power and formed a coalition with opposition forces. The course for national reconciliation has been worked out with due regard for the character of Afghan society and the multifirmity of our economy. It is based on the idea of *parliamentary democracy, a multi-party system and a coalition*

government. The flexibility in domestic and foreign policy of the republic's leadership promoted the success of the Geneva talks and the signing of the documents on a settlement around Afghanistan. A withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent from the country began on May 15, 1988.

However, one has to state with regret that even after the signing of the Geneva documents the USA still repeats that it has no intention of discontinuing military aid to the extremists entrenched in Pakistan. Yet Washington is to be one of the guarantors of the implementation of the Geneva accords.

It is to be recalled that Afghanistan was among the founders of the non-aligned movement. It is now and will continue to be an independent and non-aligned country.

Based on the traditional relations of Afghan-Soviet friendship, whose history spans over 70 years, the Soviet Union has expressed readiness to lend assistance in the economic rehabilitation and social development of our republic. The people of our country highly appreciate its fraternal help and will never forget the Soviet internationalist soldiers who gave their lives for Afghanistan's freedom. We express gratitude for fraternal international solidarity to all the peoples and progressive forces who support our just struggle.

Don't Harbour Illusions

Tomas Sinuraya — CC Secretary, Communist Party of Indonesia

THE peoples of our region face the same common issue: the nuclear arms race. Not only is the Pentagon building it up in the Asia-Pacific region, it is also fanning the winds of cold war here. Such a policy contradicts the substance of the INF Treaty and the new tendencies in the world. We see that Washington has not abandoned its policy of neoglobalism.

It is only natural that we Communists must be continuously cautious and watchful towards the main source of nuclear danger and never harbour the slightest illusion regarding US imperialism. On the contrary, it is necessary for us to concentrate all energy to thwart the US military schemes, to get reductions and elimination of nuclear weapons, an end to the arms race on Earth as well as in outer space, and to defend peace and security all over the world. Coordination of related action by the Communists therefore acquires particular importance. However, reality shows that, to our regret, extensive mass actions with such demands cannot yet be organised in all countries in our region. In Indonesia, for example, all the forms of mass action (demonstrations, rallies, festivals, and so on) employed by the peace movement are outlawed by the military regime, although this very government declares a foreign policy backing peace.

Working underground, our small and weak party still lacks its previous ability to organise the popular masses for open and huge mass actions. What is more, the popular masses in general see the most tangible threat they are facing and feeling daily its burden generated from the socio-economic oppression as well as from the lack of democratic freedoms.

Poverty and repression are mainly felt continuously by the absolute majority of the people in our country. This is where they primarily see the evil.

Another factor is that the mass media in Indonesia are mostly controlled by the military regime and pro-imperialist circles. There is a severe censorship. This hampers the formation of a public opinion genuinely backing the necessity of mass actions for peace.

That is why the Communist Party of Indonesia believes that *to be able to attract the masses for the cause of defending peace, we must, first of all, defend the most vital, urgent and sensitive interests and demands of the popular masses, and show the interrelation between the cause of peace and the cause of improving social life and establishing democracy.*

The CPI is convinced that bilateral and multilateral contacts, talks and joint actions with the fraternal parties are absolutely indispensable. The success of the struggle depends not only on the actions of our parties in each country, but also on their interaction throughout the region.

A Non-Sectarian Approach

Unni Krishnan — National Council member, Communist Party of India

PEACE and security are the key issues of India's foreign policy. Aimed against imperialism and the arms race, it rests almost on a national consensus. This did not come about overnight but evolved gradually, with the Indian Communists' significant contribution, alongside other anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces. The CPI regards the defence of this foreign-policy line as one of the main aspects of the national anti-war struggle.

There are circles opposing this line, of course. They are the West-oriented sections of the higher echelons of bureaucracy and the reactionary political forces. India's peace movement has carried on a sustained and effective struggle against the efforts of these forces to dilute the anti-imperialist and anti-war essence of the foreign policy. Today this movement involves significant sections of the ruling party as well as the anti-imperialist opposition parties. The trade unions also have become active in it recently. It is the two communist parties, the CPI and CPI(M) that have contributed to this process. *They have demonstrated a new, non-sectarian approach helping towards uniting all peace forces.*

The national question in the country has become more acute of late. The unequal economic development of India's various states and regions has bred widespread discontent. Utilising this situation, imperialist forces seek to undermine the unity and integrity of our country, to destabilise the very Indian state. Punjab is an extreme case in point. Combating this menace is a priority task facing the peace and anti-imperialist forces in the country.

Pakistan's militarisation has exacerbated the issue of security on the subcontinent. There are indications that it may acquire nuclear weapons. It is important to raise world opinion to prevent this from happening. *But India in any case should not become a nuclear weapon state.* Such is the firm stand of CPI. An Indian nuclear bomb won't help our defences, it will only

provoke a wrong response among our neighbours. We strive to expand cooperation with Pakistani democratic forces who are struggling against the Zia dictatorship.

The militarisation of the Indian Ocean is another problem. It affects the destinies of the region's 19 littoral states. We have campaigned for the convening of the UN-sponsored conference to make this ocean a zone of peace free from nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, US imperialists have again managed to get it postponed. However, the 1987 India-Sri Lanka agreement, to help in solving the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, can be regarded as an important step in this direction. It stipulates among other things, that the government of Sri Lanka will not provide its territory for foreign military bases. This excludes the danger of establishment of a US naval base at Trincomalee which was very real.

A few words on *communist unity*. We were the country's main opposition party in the early 1960s, but the split that followed and a border conflict with the PRC all threw us back. CPI relations with the parallel party were long stagnant. Now we are learning to work together. On domestic and international issues, our positions are very close. We have coordinating committees of the two parties to ensure united work, and we are striving to tackle current issues jointly. Our perspective is the restoration of Communist unity in our country.

Only In The Conditions of Peace

Ali Khavari — First Secretary of the Central Committee, People's Party of India

THE logic of an integral, mutually dependent world calls for a solution of the twin tasks of ensuring the security of all states and overcoming the economic backwardness of the developing countries. It is necessary to free millions of people from starvation, disease, illiteracy and unemployment. These and other such issues can be solved only in conditions of peace and cooperation of all peoples, of bringing the arms race to an end. Any step in this direction will help eliminate backwardness.

The people of Iran know from their own bitter experience what a great sorrow war is. Millions killed, wounded and refugees, three million without shelter, hundreds of destroyed cities, towns and villages, over \$300 billion worth of physical damage — this is what the Iran-Iraq war has already brought us. Imperialism has played the main role in its instigation. It is also interested, together with Israel, in a continuation of the slaughter, as it diverts the two peoples from the anti-imperialist struggle. The war has badly damaged the unity of the Arab states which they so need to resist US-Israeli aggression in the Middle East, directed first of all against the peoples of Palestine and Lebanon.

The rulers of Iran by their demagogic 'neither West, nor East' policy are confusing people's minds as well as the democratic movement. By equating the imperialists and the forces opposing them, by carrying on military operations and by attempting an 'export of the Islamic revolution', the Khomeini regime plays into the hands of US imperialism.

Our party is for *the implementation without delay of UN Security Council Resolution 598 on terminating the Iran-Iraq conflict and for an early convocation of an international Middle East conference*, to be attended by the permanent Security Council members and all the sides concerned, including the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people. We cordially welcome the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. This is a good example of the display of goodwill to settle local conflicts.

Asia gave the world the concept of Panchsheel and the spirit of Bandung. In our days Mikhail Gorbachov's Vladivostok initiative and the Delhi declaration have resounded here; the peace proposals of Mongolia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Vietnam have been put forward, and the Treaty of Rarotonga on a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific has been concluded. This powerful offensive of the forces of peace and progress instils hope for a stable peaceful future for the peoples of our region and the world.

In The Common Stream

Kim Gwang-Chun — Vice-Chair, CC, National Democratic Front of South Korea

US imperialism has for over 40 years been occupying South Korea. In fact, the latter is now its 'first strategic front' and the Far East's largest depot of nuclear weapons.

The triple military alliance of the USA, Japan and the military-fascist Seoul dictatorship serves as one of the main factors of tension in the Asia-Pacific region. Washington is building up its armed forces in South Korea, ostensibly to 'counter the threat from the North', and is holding endless manoeuvres there. This aggravates the situation in the Korean Peninsula to a breaking point. We have been hearing of this 'menace' talk for decades. In reality that is no more than a propaganda trick. It aims to preserve Seoul's dictatorial regime and to blunt the intensity of anti-US protests in South Korea. The Olympics is also being used for this purpose.

The South Korean people have given wholehearted support to the initiative of the Workers' Party of Korea and the government of the DPRK for setting up a nuclear-free zone on the South Korean Peninsula, for tripartite talks between the DPRK, the USA and South Korea and the proposal for establishing a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. Thus the 'threat' fables are debunked by the peace initiatives of the DPRK, which last year unilaterally reduced its armed forces by 100,000 men.

The National Democratic Front of South Korea focuses primarily on getting US imperialism out of our country and *ensuring peace and security on the peninsula. We are mobilising the people for a struggle against US imperialism, for independence, a peaceful reunification of the motherland and for peace.* Dramatic mass actions are taking place under these slogans.

Our efforts merge into the common stream of the movement of the peoples for peace, security and social progress in Asia and throughout the world.

A Platform For Unity

David Arthur — CC Alternate Member, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand

OUR party considers that the nuclear-free concept in New Zealand is extremely important and perceives it as a springboard for further action.

A conference recently held in Wellington, New Zealand, with the main theme being 'disarming the Pacific', paid much attention to creating the atmosphere of reducing tension in the Pacific region. At it a lot centred around the Soviet Union's Vladivostok proposals and the positive role they have played, which has shown a changed attitude towards the Soviet Union's role in the Pacific. This was strengthened by the Soviet Union's actions in endorsing the Rarotonga Treaty. The concern of the conference was that with the positive step of the signing of the INF agreement the focus of the build-up of nuclear arms was shifting from Europe to the northern Pacific region. In this connection the conference in Wellington welcomed the idea of the United Nations sponsoring a disarmament conference for our region.

The peace forces in New Zealand are also concerned over certain statements the Labour Government's Foreign Affairs Minister has been making about nuclear deterrence being a necessary thing for peace.

We believe that *more intensive approaches in uniting the peace forces must now be made* by our party. A major mechanism in doing this is to utilise our party's influence in the trade union movement in order to bring the labour movement more actively into the peace drive. This raises another question, which is that a labour movement developing strategies against the activities of transnationals cannot be divorced from peace.

I must raise another concern in relation to this: with all the talk about uniting the progressive movements, *we should be concerned about the communist movement and its unity*. A number of splits have taken place in the movement, this we cannot afford. Rather than various groups that split within parties over some ideological questions or even reasons of personal ties, the major tasks confronting humanity should be seen as a basis for all communist forces to unite even if there are differences.

An Anti-Bases Coalition

Peter Symon — General Secretary, Socialist Party of Australia

A BURNING issue for a number of countries of our region is the presence of US bases on their territory. One of the most stubborn and courageous struggles against US military bases is going on on the tiny Pacific territory of Belau. Despite their small size and isolation they have so far prevented the mighty US imperialism from getting its way. In the course of the struggle their Prime Minister was assassinated. There is also the recent military coup in Fiji (resulting in the overthrow of a coalition government which had actively promoted an anti-nuclear policy in the Pacific) — the first such event in Oceania.

We think the situation calls for solidarity with these fighting peoples. It is necessary to exchange delegations and perhaps to hold a regional

conference to focus on ways to counter Washington's militaristic efforts in our region.

A mention was made of the Rarotonga Treaty in the discussion. It, however, does not ban US warships and cannot, in fact, ban them from the neutral waters of the Pacific Ocean where they sail freely with nuclear weapons aboard. If the countries of the region refused US nuclear-armed warships into their ports, this would be of enormous importance. New Zealand, Vanuatu, and the Solomon Islands refuse entry, but Australia and most other states have not imposed any such ban. The Rarotonga Treaty needs considerable strengthening before we can truly say that the *South Pacific has become nuclear-weapon free*.

The campaign against US bases has become probably the most important single issue in the eyes of Australian peace activists. A new organisation, the Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition, has over 150 affiliations or peace organisations, trade unions, political parties, religious organisations and others. But the removal of bases is seen by many workers as a threat to their jobs. The thought that jobs will be lost by removal is possibly a reason why workers and their trade unions do not yet play any great role in the peace movement. That is why we consider it so important to explain to workers employment prospects in the event of base removal.

The Start of a Process

Nilambar Acharya — CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Nepal

THE Communist Party of Nepal attaches high importance to the exchange of opinions on the questions of the Asia-Pacific region. We regard last year's consultative meeting in Ulan Bator as the *start of a process of the unification of efforts in the struggle of the Communists and revolutionary parties of the region for peace, security and cooperation*. It helped to strengthen the unity of our movement. Positive shifts have occurred in international relations during the past year, thanks to the constant efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the peace-loving states.

A good example of the solution of regional conflicts has been shown by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which is pursuing a policy of reconciliation. We support the agreement between India and Sri Lanka and endorse the reconciliatory course that the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea has embarked upon. We are for the proposals of the Workers' Party of Korea, the initiative of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and other moves aimed at improving the political climate in the region.

The Communists of Nepal associate the issues of eliminating the nuclear threat and working for peace with social and economic problems. Imperialist circles' policy in our region and the arms race are facts which lead to an aggravation of the difficult economic situation of the countries of the subcontinent.

What is now happening on the subcontinent makes us very cautious. Imperialist and reactionary circles are all out to spread suspicion in relations between countries, in particular, between India and its neighbours, and to impose the arms race. The movement against imperialist machinations and against military escalation requires unity. We positively view the creation of a broad alliance of struggle on this platform.

Is Ideological Debate 'Dangerous'?

Views from Communists and Social Democrats

The document 'Ideological Debate and Mutual Security', written jointly by the Academy of Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee and the SPD Commission on Basic Values and released simultaneously in Berlin and Bonn' in August 1987, evoked keen interest in the world. Far-ranging reactions to that political act show that it is a phenomenon of paramount importance, one capable of exerting a lasting effect (going far beyond the boundaries of the two countries) on relations between the major political trends that represent the interests of the working people, that is, between the Communists, on the one hand, and the Social Democrats, on the other.

In July 1988 a new initiative of the two parties sprang from the awareness that international security can be only common in the nuclear age. Relying on the process started by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in view of the Soviet-US INF Treaty, they drew the conclusion that the historic chance that was offering itself should be used to achieve an international order under which the security of all the states without exception would be guaranteed. The joint proposals of the SED and the SPD for a zone of trust and security in Central Europe are to contribute towards that goal: the point is to work out and introduce measures that would reassure each side that the other has no intention of launching a surprise attack. The new document is a logical and practical extension of the previous one.

Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee and a CC SED member, and Erhard Eppler, chair of the SPD Commission of Basic Values and an SPD board member, answer below *WMR* questions about the document 'Ideological Debate and Mutual Security' and possibilities for reaching the goals written into it.

What do you think is the importance of the SED-SPD document to the development of dialogue between democratic political forces?

Erhard Eppler. It is the first joint document of principle to have been produced by Communists and Social Democrats in the past seventy years.

The two sides listed the irreconcilable contradictions between them and at the same time made it clear that there were more important things than those contradictions, and that peace was paramount among them.

The principled dialogue started in this way will be impossible to break off just like that. It will be continued and, I hope, will involve more participants from both East and West in addition to our two parties.

Otto Reinhold. German Communists and German Social Democrats jointly drafted and approved the first such document in 70 years, which unquestionably is an event of historic significance.

The SED views it as both a result and an aspect of its policy of dialogue with a view to forging a coalition of reason and realism in the struggle for détente and lasting peace. Erich Honecker stressed specifically at the Karl Marx International Conference in Berlin in spring 1983 that today it takes the interaction of all forces regardless of their political, philosophical and religious views or class interests to safeguard peace.

Relations between our two parties have since that time been developing dynamically and in diverse forms. The basis for this process was provided by the fact that the SPD's positions and the peace programme of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, including the SED's peace policy, were in many ways identical. Both parties proceed from the assumption that we will fail to secure peace if we attack each other, that peace can be secured only by joint efforts, and that both German states have a special responsibility in Central Europe. A series of joint initiatives was launched on the basis of identical interests: there were proposals for the establishment of zones free from chemical weapons and a nuclear-free corridor. A joint team is now working on disarmament proposals to cover conventional weapons and military doctrine specifically for Europe.

In this context we have initiated a discussion on other issues of mutual interest, its focal point being a regular examination of social, international and ideological questions by the SPD Commission on Basic Values and the Academy of Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee. The document in question arose from such discussions.

The joint document says, inter alia, that "mutual security cannot be attained if the ideological contest is carried on in forms which tend to undermine or poison state-to-state relations . . ." What forms of contradictions do you consider permissible? How can the culture of political debate be promoted?

O.R. We are aware that there is a serious contradiction to be settled. On the one hand, cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats for disarmament and a relaxation of tensions is undoubtedly a must: it is only through this cooperation between the two trends of the working-class movement that the entire potential of the working class can be mobilised for peace efforts.

On the other hand, the matter involves two basically different parties with different or opposite political and ideological stands. Joint efforts for peace cannot obliterate those differences or put an end to debates over them. Both parties hold that such an outcome would not suit either of them

and would make relations of trust impossible. Cooperation is fruitful only if each of the parties to it acts in accordance with its own positions without waiting for the other to become exactly like its partner. Each should know who it is doing business with.

Hence a number of important conclusions for or requirements on the character and forms of ideological debate.

The first thing to understand is that joint struggle is more important than the confrontation of ideologies. It should not endanger joint efforts for peace. In our view, ideological differences should not be projected onto state-to-state relations.

If we are working together for the implementation of the principle of mutual security, we should act together, too, against ideologies which are used to rationalise runaway arms build-ups and armed confrontation. Furthermore, we should jointly resist anti-communism, which serves that purpose.

Lastly, our debates should be conducted in a civilised manner and we should always bear in mind that we are partners in the struggle for peace and want that partnership to continue. That is why we tried to formulate a number of basic principles with respect to the culture of ideological debate.

Our dialogue is already helping to do away with some of our stereotype perceptions of each other. 'Enemy images' created in the past, especially during the Cold War, are disappearing. All this calls for respect for the other side, for substantive discussions rather than mutual recriminations. One must not demand from the partner what one is not prepared to do oneself. We think that we have made good progress on that way in spite of some snags.

E.E. The document deals not just with forms of settling ideological contradictions but also with those contradictions themselves. So long as each of the sides considers the other to be essentially aggressive and therefore not peaceable, there can be no mutual security. No peace policy can be pursued or sustained with regard to a system which is itself incapable of pursuing such a policy. So long as neither system recognises the ability of the other to do business peaceably, which has so far been reality, state-to-state relations are in constant jeopardy, even if there is an understanding not to project ideological issues onto them. Whether we want it or not, those ideologies in the categories of which politicians think influence their political actions and therefore international relations. If each side believes that it alone wants peace and the other does not, both are convinced that they can never get enough weapons. That conviction has always been one of the 'engines' of the arms race.

It is only when each side honestly recognises that the other can do business peaceably, recognises the other's right to exist and ability for evolution and therefore for reform that 'enemy images', which make mutual security a dream of ivory tower idealists, can be destroyed. The culture of political debate will become reality only with the disappearance of the belief that your weapons alone can compel your adversary to embrace peace against his very nature. It is therefore crucially important that the joint document put on record each side's recognition of the other's ability for peace.

We have been living in a Europe without war since 1945 not just because deterrence has been working but because both systems have a genuine interest in peace that overrides all their other interests. To put it in even simpler words, we have had peace because neither side has wanted to attack the other, although both have been living in fear of an attack.

So long as both sides, motivated by their perceptions of each other, deny each other the right to exist and believe that the other system, at least in historical perspective, has no moral right to continue, competition between them is conducted as rivalry geared to annihilation and the arms race remains a sort of economic tool of that rivalry. But when competition between the systems is no longer viewed as a life-and-death struggle, there will be reason to discuss what rules it should follow. That is why all the sections of the document are interlinked: they explain and complement one another but become meaningless if taken out of context.

Rules will be necessary and meaningful if competition between the systems enhances their ability for reform, if it serves people on both sides of the divide, and if eventually it will be citizens in the West and in the East who will referee that competition. But now we seem to be at a point when we are to get a clear idea of the frame and goals of that competition. If we succeed in doing so, rules can be formulated; some of them have been mentioned already.

The document includes a detailed characteristic of the culture of political debate and its norms, which should govern dialogue and "actions of states with different social systems, and also of various social and political forces". It says, inter alia, that the decisive role is played by a realistic analysis and characteristic of the other side instead of the creation of 'enemy images' and the sensation of a looming threat. What effect could such norms have on the international climate and on relations among countries?

E.E. 'Enemy images' are always static and divorced from historical processes. But as soon as we put others in historical perspective and begin to view them as people who, like ourselves, have to find answers to ever new problems, to learn, and to revise their ways, the 'enemy image' starts to pale. It becomes easier to put oneself in the other side's place, to try to think as the other thinks and realistically to analyse the other's thoughts. Criticisms will become fewer but more accurate and serious. What I want is that when I criticise processes in the GDR, for example, I am not brushed aside as a man who does not know what he is talking about and applies his own yardstick to a different society. I would like to understand first and judge later. I have the impression that the SED shares this desire. Perhaps we will advance so far as to take criticism from the other side seriously and give honest thought to it. Such a result of the culture of political debate would have a good effect on state-to-state relations.

O.R. The document was drafted by a party from the FRG and a party from the GDR, i.e., by political organisations from both German states. It is no chance, of course: we both would like to learn the lesson of history so that only peace should come from German soil but never war. The

concentrations of troops and weapons on both sides of the two countries' common border are the world's largest. That is why they bear great responsibility for continued peace in Central Europe. What they do is clearly important to overall East-West relations as well, so there are quite a few reasons for our activity.

The premises and conclusions of our document obviously have international implications. Its text has already been published in some countries and plays an important role at various international forums. In February 1988 a special conference devoted to the document was held at the Johns Hopkins University in Washington. Many commentaries stress that although the document was drawn up by two German parties, it goes far beyond their problems and formulates questions and answers which are relevant to international relations as a whole and to the world's present and future.

Some of the conclusions drawn in the document 'Ideological Debate and Mutual Security' figure prominently in various discussions, among them the postulate that peace today can be guaranteed only by working together and never by working against each other; that peace and security can be guaranteed only by the quality of policy and never by the quality of weapons; and that real success can be achieved not by methods of strength but through respect for the legitimate security interests of both sides. This approach, as everyone knows, is fully shared by the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries. The Warsaw Treaty countries' policies based on this premise and their peace programme enjoy far-ranging international support.

There is every reason to draw the overall conclusion that the postulated unquestionable need to achieve security jointly is winning more and more supporters, primarily in Europe, and the contribution of the SED-SPD document to that process is beyond doubt. It is at the same time clear that the practical implementation of this principle will yet require serious efforts because opposition to it still is considerable. Recently the US Ambassador to Bonn argued that it was unacceptable to the US government. Discussions on our joint document on the other side of the ocean show that the task of jointly securing peace does not yet have such a decisive effect on thinking and policy-making in the United States as it has in Europe. The reasons are historical and geographical, of course, but also the nationalism and anti-communism that are being nurtured assiduously and running deep.

There is one contradiction, however. On the one hand, the outright rejection of a sound concept the way the US Ambassador does naturally meets the interests of all those who put their stakes on armed confrontation. On the other, Washington has to respect the principle of mutual security in practice by concluding the INF Treaty with the Soviet Union or by settling regional problems, such as Afghanistan.

The conclusions and postulates of the two parties' document with regard to relations — competition and dispute — between the socialist and the capitalist systems have an increasing role to play in a large number of discussions.

Clearly, there arise more and more problems which the two systems can

resolve only by joint efforts and which are crucial to human survival. Along with the need to safeguard peace, there are the problems of maintaining the ecological balance, overcoming underdevelopment, and promoting cooperation in science and technology, in settling regional crises and conflicts, etc. It is likewise clear that contradictions between the two systems persist and that they have to be resolved. However, changes in one system in accordance with the perceptions of the other cannot be made a precondition for removing such contradictions. Cooperation and debate should proceed in accordance with realities and with further development, which depends primarily on internal conditions and needs. The right to criticise each other's social phenomena is not denied, of course. We Marxist-Leninists will never make friends with the capitalist system and will continue to criticise its adverse effects on the situation of the working people and on international relations, its contradictions and ills. We think it only natural, too, that the opponents of socialism, who have no liking for it, criticise our society.

All this makes a deep imprint, of course, on discussions about what our common European home should look like and how this idea can be translated into reality. Two different social systems, socialism and capitalism, live side by side in Europe. That is why it is important, first and foremost, to work out and define within a European framework ways of developing relations between states belonging to those systems. It is the question of forms of cooperation that should be identified and built in practice, and of ways of settling objective contradictions and rivalry so that cooperation in many fields should not be disrupted.

The document says that "both social systems should recognise each other's ability for development and reform" and that competition between the systems can further speed up such change. What do you think of the main goals of reforms at the current stage of social development?

O.R. Our paramount guiding principles were as follows.

First, neither socialism nor capitalism is a static, immutable social system. A dynamic process of development is under way in both systems in accordance with their intrinsic laws, and it is especially evident at the end of the century. The scientific and technological revolution and far-reaching changes in technology are not confined to production but influence, in one way or another, every aspect of social life. Of course, the antagonism of the two systems makes itself felt here as well. Socialism alone has so far proved its ability to convert scientific and technological into social progress for the good of all the working people. Consistent and dynamic improvement is for socialism a guarantee of success. That is why a major conclusion in the SED's programme is that the building of developed socialist society is a process of profound political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural change.

Second, we, naturally, proceeded from the existing close interdependence of domestic and international developments. The interests of safeguarding peace and averting a nuclear catastrophe demand that the dispute between the two systems proceed exclusively in peaceful

forms. Economic, scientific, cultural and other relations need to be expanded in order to strengthen peace. These relations are doubtless very important to the building of our common European home, but they exert a substantial influence also on internal developments.

Socialism's priority today is to introduce or carry on the process of reform aimed at providing conditions for the better and more efficient use of the advantages, possibilities and potentialities of the new system so as to add to its appeal. This applies primarily to the economy but also to every other aspect of social life, from socialist democracy to intellectual and cultural aspects to the living standards.

As for the capitalist system, we think that its priorities should be to restrict the diktat of the military-industrial complex in the US and some other countries; to ensure that the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are within the reach of the working people; to overcome underdevelopment and to resolve many other problems.

E.E. It is the primary factor of decisive importance that competition between the two systems is aimed not at destroying each other but at developing each other's ability for reform. Each side should, of course, itself realise what reforms are needed at home. The Social Democratic Party of Germany is a party of reform. It has achieved the consolidation of a social state and will continue to safeguard and develop it, seeking primarily what we call the ecological renewal of our industrial society. Our goal is to transform industrial and agricultural production so that it should preserve or restore the natural foundations of life. That goal calls for a reform of the power and transportation systems and the agrarian policy of the Federal Republic. We will fight unemployment through cutting working hours and renewing the economy ecologically, which also is an aspect of restructuring. Some of the Warsaw Treaty countries' concerns are similar to ours, such as the degradation of the environment, while others are totally different. It is, most likely, important to them as well to sort out what democratisation, which the communist parties want to pursue, should be in practice, how people can be involved in mutually exacting cooperation and how criticism should be treated.

We Social Democrats are also far from our goals of democratisation. The mode of production cannot be restructured or the range of goods produced changed in the course of ecological renewal unless a strong impetus is provided by democratisation. Competition in that field could benefit both countries, although their tasks would be rather different.

The SED and the SPD noted: "Both Social Democrats and Communists declare their commitment to Europe's humanistic heritage, and both believe that it is their duty to develop this heritage, to stand up for the interests of the working people and to assert democracy and human rights." Is cooperation in pursuit of those common goals possible? What promotes and what hampers it today?

E.E. We should not close our eyes to the fact that it is in this sphere that the two sides mean different thing by the same words. Social Democrats and Communists must be interpreting very differently the concept of

Europe's humanistic heritage. Marx and Lenin, of course, drew on that heritage among other things for their ideas. Marx, as we know him, would have been impossible without German idealism. Marx's dialectics of history seems very much like Hegel's to people who have not embraced the European tradition. But now, a century after Marx's death, many Europeans no longer believe that history can be interpreted so as to reduce it to the same denominator and even to predict its course, as Marx and Hegel did, each in his own way.

The Marxist-Leninists' perception of Europe's heritage is mediated predominantly through Marx. In our view, this narrows their approach to that heritage or blocks it altogether in some respects, such as the attitude to the mission of Christianity, which has made its imprint on European history.

As for the interests of the working people, the Communists are convinced that the socialisation of the means of production is the decisive condition for meeting them. Social Democrats have to represent those interests in societies dominated by the private economy. Being responsible for the state-controlled economy, Communists act also as entrepreneurs. Hence very different approaches to the tasks related to the interests of the working people.

It is likewise clear that our views of democracy differ. But we should clarify what similar or even identical elements we mean by democracy; this would be inevitable if it came to competition in democratisation. Finally, there are both points of contact and differences on human rights. We are unanimous that the right to live is being violated with regard to millions of people who suffer from hunger. Social Democrats and Communists are earnest about the social rights to work, education and social security. But they argue over the place of the rights of the individual, which are the legacy of the French and American revolutions. We would think it wrong if people who upbraid Social Democrats were forbidden to do so. We think that all those who want to move residence or emigrate to Canada, Israel, the GDR or any other country ought to have a possibility to do so.

We agree that some of man's social rights are respected in the communist countries better than, say, in the FRG, but we would by no means attach priority to the social rights at the expense of the rights of the individual. In our view, the boundaries of freedom can be extended only under the conditions of freedom and thanks to it. We do not believe in dialectics according to which restriction adds to freedom.

What then can cooperation be like in an area where the same concepts are used in different ways? Perhaps it makes sense to work together in those areas where we are unanimous, for instance, in fighting hunger, torture and racial discrimination. But when we differ, let us remember our shortcomings, especially where practice falls short of theory. It is perhaps easier to reach agreement on theory than on practice. Theory everywhere looks nicer than practice.

O.R. The Communists in the GDR have always been serious about the legacy of humanism and regarded our socialist system as a result of all preceding German history, especially the progressive traditions as a whole. A good deal is being done to preserve that humanistic legacy, to

understand it in its historical context and to use it in practice, first and foremost in the spiritual life of the country.

The humanistic behests of the German working-class movement are, of course, especially close to us and in the past ten years emphasis has been laid primarily on studies of those questions: suffice it to mention papers on Prussian and Saxonian history and on Bismarck. Never has Martin Luther been honoured on such a scale as in the GDR in 1983.

Human rights are clearly becoming more and more important today. Another discussion on the subject will be held by social scientists from the GDR and the SPD Commission on Basic Values this year. The practice of the comprehensive exercise of human rights is in the focus of our attention: the essence of socialism is the good of man. Our party proceeds from the assumption that man's diverse rights are an entity, with social rights being its core.

We have to deal, understandably, both with universal rights which do not depend on the social system and with rights which are conditioned in no small measure by class interests and the character of the social system. Special importance is attached today to everything related to efforts for peace, environmental protection, and to other global problems.

Undoubtedly, the question of human rights is being thrust to the forefront by the conservative forces in capitalist countries primarily because they hope in this way to secure an opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist countries and to lay down their own conditions for the development of state-to-state relations. Those forces have an interest in confrontation with socialism rather than in the broad implementation of human rights in their own countries. It is a major negative factor. We for our part believe that comprehensive forms of cooperation should be developed for the implementation of human rights, especially those going beyond the boundaries of any one system.

Do you see any parallels between the contents of the SED-SPD document and the ideas put forward at the meeting of representatives of political parties and movements in Moscow in November 1987?

O.R. The meeting showed that willingness to take a new approach to safeguarding peace and building international relations is growing among forces with very diverse political and philosophical outlooks all over the world. Peace is not yet everything, of course, but there will be nothing if we do not have peace. The meeting clearly demonstrated the need for a policy of dialogue to achieve cooperation among various political forces, especially Communists and Social Democrats.

I am very glad that the spirit and goals of the Moscow meeting coincide with the spirit and goals of the document on 'Ideological Debate and Mutual Security': this gives us hope that the document will contribute to the dialogue which has begun and therefore to efforts for lasting peace.

E.E. I am not familiar with all the statements made at the Moscow meeting — but as I know, there are parallels between what was said there and the two parties' document.

Small wonder: both the SED and the SPD agree that their joint

document absorbed and reworked impetuses from the Soviet leadership, primarily from General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov. His speech at the 27th CPSU Congress gave us the courage to sit down together and write such a document so as to rethink and reformulate the ideas of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet leader's positive attitude to the concept of the Palme Commission encouraged us to discuss possible changes in relations between the two systems and their ideologies so as to make mutual security a reality.

Why was it no one else but German Communists and Social Democrats that got down to that task? Really, Soviet or Czechoslovak Communists, French or Danish Socialists could have taken it upon themselves to write such a document.

There was one very simple practical reason for Germans from the two states to attempt it: those who take upon themselves such a difficult task, moreover, for the first time, should be happy that it is not made even more daunting by the need to work through interpreters. The going was easier for us because we speak the same language. But there is one more reason: it is because East-West ideological contradictions are connected with European and especially German spiritual history that Germans are called upon to help understand those contradictions in a form that would not militate against peace; since Germans caused the division of Europe by launching a criminal war of aggression, it falls upon them to help in one way or another to overcome it.

But it was not the intention of any of the authors of the document to confine the discussion on the ideological preconditions for mutual security to a German-German dialogue. That is why I am very happy that the discussion will now proceed where it should, at international forums. The world's powers naturally have a special responsibility for making mutual security a reality rather than a fine dream. When all is said and done, we will be able to build a system of universal security only when both world powers consider each other capable of peace.

¹ See *WMR*, No. 11, 1987. — *Ed.*

The Humanists' Responsibility

Bogdan Suchodolski — Chair of the National Council of Culture, Sejm deputy, PPR

THE participation of intellectuals in the struggle to preserve peace and to raise the universal value of science and culture has become a long-established and fine tradition. It is all the more important to recall it since

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millions have now joined the struggle initiated by those outstanding intellectuals.

In 1922 the League of Nations set up the International Intellectual Cooperation Commission as a consultative body. It was headed by Henri Bergson and comprised twelve scientists of world renown, among them Marie Sklodowska-Curie and Albert Einstein.

During the Second World War intellectuals from different countries who at that time were in Great Britain came up with an idea to found an international organisation to tackle humanitarian problems. The UNESCO founding act was signed in London in November 1945. The document opens with the following statement: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defence of peace must be constructed."

UNESCO came into being at a special historical moment. Right after the most ruthless of wars ever to be fought in history and the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the desire to preserve and strengthen peace was exceptionally strong. As never before, men of science and culture held themselves profoundly responsible and expressed firm conviction that peace could be inculcated in the people's minds and thus strengthened. It was stressed already then that peace was not a period between wars when people sought to get on with each other nor the absence of any armed conflict but a way of coexistence which excluded war in general.¹

New links of the movement of intellectuals for peace emerged in the atmosphere of hopes and expectations. A significant and memorable event was the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals held in 1948 on the joint initiative of the Poles and French. It was a meeting of the anti-fascists and the European left representing first and foremost literature and the arts. The Congress voiced powerful protest against attempts to split the peoples of the world and to turn it into the scene of a 'cold war'. It set forth the idea of the universality of human culture and the indivisability of peace and formulated the need for active peaceful coexistence and cooperation of nations irrespective of their social system. The Wroclaw forum was attended by outstanding personalities from 43 countries, among them Pablo Picasso, Irene Joliot-Curie, Anna Seghers, Aime Cesaire, Paul Eluard, Jorge Amado, Martin Anderson-Nexo, Ilya Erenburg, Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz and Antoni Slonimski. Julian Huxley, one of UNESCO's founders and its first director-general, was also present.

The organisers of the meeting offered its participants three questions, namely, whether a new war could be averted, whether nations could cooperate if their countries had different economic and social systems and whether it was enough for that to respect each other's sovereignty and differences between national cultures. As we see, these questions are quite topical and answers to them are still being sought.

At that time the world did not yet face, unlike today, the great threat that it might perish, the threat that emerged as a result of the development of electronics, nuclear weapons stockpiling and ecological catastrophes. Slogans, intentions, appeals and symbols were perhaps more important then. The Warsaw Congress of Intellectuals (1986) took place already at a time when the anti-war movement had become a large-scale social

phenomenon, when protest demonstrations and research into the problems of a peaceful future were organised throughout the globe and when people relied on concrete data concerning the menace and on expertise rather than on emotions and imagination.

As a man of culture from a socialist country, though not a Communist, I can be asked what is so special about the intellectuals in the anti-war struggle. What sort of new and important elements do they instil in social consciousness, or bring into mass actions in defence of peace and into diplomatic efforts? Anyone asking this question is aware, I think, that the motivation and sympathies of such people differ and that artists, scientists and educationalists cannot, especially today, place themselves outside or above society: they have the choice of either going over to be reactionary forces and even becoming their banner or taking the side of realism, conscience and progress.

My tentative answer to these questions lies in the conviction that peace cannot be guaranteed by treaties alone. It is necessary to study and eliminate the causes of tensions and conflicts in the economic, social, and political fields and to expunge the dangerous ideas justifying the domination of some nations by others from the minds of the people.

More than forty years ago the UNESCO Rules by rights declared that "a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." To create such a basis is precisely *the special realm* of the efforts of the intellectuals and their long-term actions in the socio-political fields. While diplomatic efforts aim at attaining concrete agreements and accords, the mission of the intellectuals is *to delve deep into socio-economic and political reality, ascending from the knowledge of facts to the understanding of the processes and tendencies in which we are involved.*

This task is inseparably linked to another problem, that of *evolving a programme of transforming the world and of human rebirth.* With social development and human actions often guided by pragmatic precepts, men of science and culture orient us to everlasting values, in other words, formulate and spread the programme of humanism as a programme of reshaping material and social relations, transforming human ties and the way and quality of life of every human being. Such humanism expresses the will of the entire family of nations and inherits the values which were and are being created in the course of a dialogue between different cultures.

Two processes are going on perilously hand in hand in the world today. One is the controversial process of the formation of a global civilisation, which faces many perils; the other is the worldwide arms race, which threatens to spread to outer space. The world is spending on the arms race enormous funds, which are badly needed for other purposes. Poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy are fraught with incessant local conflicts. The money squandered for militaristic purposes must be used for a programme to improve the world, including its economy, health care, education and culture. That is why another important humanistic goal is *to free science*

from the shackles of militarism so as to restore to it the joy of selfless research. Science will acquire in the minds of the people the same value that it has until now had among the élite, and the people will shed both the paralysing fear in the face of new discoveries and thoughtless euphoria in the face of their prospects. Perhaps we will be able then to wed not only science and benefit but also science and wisdom.

The humanistic task also concerns the defence of the *arts* which is called upon to promote mutual understanding among the people, exciting their senses and imagination. Meanwhile the arts are threatened by fanaticism which turns them into a vehicle of intolerance and human progress is hindered by the shallows of commercialised mass culture. Therefore the arts, too, need to be liberated today from all sorts of chains, isolation and enmity.

When man restores his ability to create things, it will signify the appearance of a new quality of life in peace because education in the spirit of peace has two major goals — the preservation of peace and the preparation of the people for a life without wars and violence.

In my view, both goals presuppose also the exposure of the ideology which divides nations into those of masters and slaves, exposure of neocolonialist plans and of the strategy of force. This condemnation should be always supplemented with a dialogue between nations and cultures which would result in the emergence of a sort of a family of earthlings and in the recognition of the similarity of people as expressed in diverse artistic and philosophical forms. Acting in this way, we would develop man's intellect and imagination, eliminating his aggressiveness and encouraging processes leading to intrinsic harmony. *After all, world peace weakens fear and affects our inner world, bringing peace to our minds, which in its turn makes it possible to quell and eliminate armed conflicts on earth.*

Marx treated all these humanistic problems, counterposing the real and the ideal in man, and the society of violence to that of community. These are also our tasks, whose solution, however, depends on the preservation of peace. In other words, men of science and culture, the intellectuals as a whole have the lofty moral duty to make their contribution to overcoming the state of paramount danger to civilisation and to lay the foundations of trust, and that includes a criticism of everything which makes it deficient and results in a lack of confidence. In the world still divided on many issues it is therefore of prime importance to hear the intellectuals raise their voice against prejudice and hatred, all forms of racism, chauvinism and against political decisions which prevent the people from understanding each other and reaching a compromise through negotiations.

Drawing on their knowledge, abilities and moral authority, the representatives of the more enlightened circles of different countries demand that governments pursue a policy based on the awareness that the only alternative to coexistence today is mutual destruction and consequently that international security can in no way be guaranteed by force, by military means. Hence *the imperative to resolve moot problems by political methods the world over* and the need for détente, growing confidence and cooperation.

A year and a half ago we came together at the Moscow Forum for a

Nuclear-Free World in order to diagnose the international situation in a responsible manner and to work out a programme of actions in defence of civilisation and life itself on earth. To my mind, we now have to delve even deeper into the problems of waging a struggle for peace than we did before. It is common knowledge, for example, that military spending is a heavy burden on the world economy but the nature of this phenomenon is not merely economic. The arms race not only threatens us with a future catastrophe but is destroying humankind already today, wasting its resources and becoming a factor of universal demoralisation.

Under the spell of the future of missiles, we are becoming insensitive to the fate of the people. All things novel and most valuable in scientific achievements now serve military purposes. Thousands of scientists betray their vocation, allowing their research to lead to violence instead of wisdom. Millions of workers engaged in the armaments industry do not want war nor do they wish to live by it and would rather produce household appliances, medical equipment or power shovels; but today their labour serves the cause of annihilating people instead of promoting their well-being. The arms race thus undermines the sense of belonging to the family of humankind. Apart from that, military spending means responsibility for the lot of the poor and the hungry. The missiles that have not yet been launched are already to blame for the poverty and death of millions, for modern genocide when weapons kill indirectly, denying people the possibility to buy bread or medicine.

And finally, the arms race destroys man's unity with his home — Nature. Humanism has traditionally viewed man in unity with his environment. But today invaluable and rare types of raw materials closely related to the production of military material (which is constantly being developed) are being wastefully squandered. The entire planet and accessible outer space are regarded as a testing ground and a field of future battles on earth and of Star Wars, which wrecks diverse humanistic ties between the human being, on the one hand, and Nature and the universe, on the other. Nuclear and chemical military experiments are accompanied by the poisoning of the land, the water and the atmosphere and the destruction of natural environment. The utilisation of the achievements of biology in such criminal tests has become a sad hallmark of our time. The ecological movement, which is gathering momentum throughout the world, tries hard to stop the pollution of the globe and to undo the damage already done. This movement increasingly expresses the needs and aspirations of our contemporaries whose everyday life is in jeopardy and who are being locked in the ever narrowing cage of civilisation indifferent to human values.

The need to overcome the ideology of force and domination in relations between the people and Nature is becoming the ideological imperative of our day. That is why *the demand to limit armaments emerges as a prerequisite for the reawakening of conscience that shows concern for the family of mankind, as a prerequisite for the restoration of the important traditions of world humanism.*

Considering peace efforts in these dimensions, we reveal new major prospects. It is a matter of making a step forward towards preparing the

people for a peaceful life. *Peace is a boon of special importance. We are working towards it in order to arrive at a creative life worthy of man.*

It is impossible to deny, however, that peaceful conditions tempt people — not directly but, say, in a developed society which is affluent and open to the influence of other factors, too — to lead an easy life of sheer consumerism, regarding profit to be superior to value and possession to creativity. Under the influence of the reality of the industrially developed nations the consumerist model of existence is spreading. But consumerist culture undermines the greatness and variety of national cultures, divorcing people from traditions and preventing them from realising the meaning and values of life. The latter can degrade to existence unworthy of man even in peaceful conditions, which can then breed the dangerous illusions that war alone will put an end to dull and fruitless existence by virtue of being a 'man's game', a game of war which glorifies the valour of heroes. In short, preparing people for a life of peace, it is important to create conditions for the comprehensive development of their creative potentialities.

As we see, civilisation which we have created for our own benefit is turning against ourselves, while creativity — the only source of man's greatness — is serving, voluntarily or involuntarily, the cause of destruction. Destructive forces are getting hold of science and technology from which we have benefited so much and are expecting even more. The humanists working in science and culture are faced with complicated problems of whether we will be able to free creative activity from its shackles. Almost a century ago Ernest Renan² wrote: "To organise mankind scientifically is the last word of social sciences, a daring and justified task." Its implementation would terminate the history of mankind's irrational existence. What forces, if not science, will lead us onto the worthy and safe road? If we don't believe science when building a family of mankind, what else should we believe in then? After all, so far we are alone in the universe.

Men of science and arts have special responsibilities — to safeguard creativity, which is mankind's biggest treasure, from serving slavishly the cause of destruction. We should carry the words of truth and the feelings of excitement to all the inhabitants of the earth, for science and the arts lay the foundations of a great dialogue in the name of universal mutual understanding.

Close and concrete communication between the people and their understanding of each other will eventually provide the answer about the future of our civilisation.

¹ It is all the more sad to see UNESCO go through serious difficulties after forty years of its existence, as a result of the withdrawal from it of the US and Great Britain, two of its founder-states and sponsors.

² Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-1892), a French philosopher, writer, historian and Orientalist.

the socialist way

The 19th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow from June 28 to July 1, 1988, became a landmark political event.

The delegates discussed the report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 'On Progress in Implementing the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Promoting Perestroika' and the main results of the first half of the 12th five-year plan period (1986-1990).

The Conference approved the following resolutions: 'On certain urgent measures for the practical implementation of the reform of the country's political system'; 'On progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the tasks of promoting Perestroika'; 'On democratising Soviet society and reforming the political system'; 'On combating bureaucracy'; 'On relations between nationalities'; 'On glasnost' and 'On legal reform'.

The Conference attracted the attention of political and public circles and press organisations in different countries. The forum was covered by over a thousand correspondents and reporters, among the *WMR* Editorial Council members were **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese Communist Party) and **Gombozhavyn Orchibat** (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party). They talked to Academician **Vladimir Kudryavtsev**, Director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, about the Conference's decision on a drastic reform in the Soviet political system.

THE THRUST OF POLITICAL REFORM IN THE USSR

Academician Vladimir Kudryavtsev interviewed by Rafic Samhoun and Gombozhavyn Orchibat.

G. Orchibat. What are the main reasons behind the far-reaching reform of the Soviet political system that is being introduced under the CPSU's direction?

V. Kudryavtsev. The basic reason is that we have to renovate our socialist society. That goal has been set by the party and the reconstruction of the political system is a major element of the overall process. The reform of the political system is also a prerequisite of and essential precondition for accomplishing our urgent economic, social and ideological tasks.

Our practice over the past three years has made it clear that all those areas are very closely interlinked. The programme of perestroika as it was

formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress laid emphasis predominantly on the economic aspects. But shortly it became obvious that the economic machinery could not be modernised without renovating social relations and political life.

To do so, it is necessary to give a new meaning to social activity, that is, to show more concern for what we call the 'human factor'. More thought should be given to man, his living conditions, the structure of society, and ways of improving goods supply and meeting cultural and spiritual needs.

When that question was raised at the 27th CPSU Congress, at CC Plenary Meetings and in the press, it became obvious that the whole people, as well as the Party, the Soviets, the government, the higher echelons of the state apparatus and ministries and departments had to be involved in advancing perestroika and to accelerating socio-economic development. In order to involve the whole people in these processes, however, it is necessary broadly to democratise social life, which naturally means a reform of the political system. In other words, *the restructuring of the political system is not an isolated task but a part of a totality of processes and factors*. It is both a goal and the key to the solution of other problems.

One more circumstance should not be overlooked. The political system that we have inherited from the stagnation period has proved incapable of accomplishing our tasks; its machinery is inefficient.

R. Samhoun. What was wrong with it?

V.K. To begin with, party committees have in fact replaced government agencies and economic management organisations and taken over functions which are not their domain. The governmental system, the Soviets, meanwhile, do not have adequate powers. More than that, we have a cumbersome government machinery, twisted by bureaucracy and unable to perform its functions.

But what is most important, people were not adequately involved in political life, in control over the state machinery, and in the administration of economic and other affairs. The old political mechanism thus failed to avert the pre-crisis situation.

All these circumstances are closely interrelated, and we have to shed threadbare dogmas and stereotype solutions if we want renewal.

R.S. What then is the goal of reorganisation?

V.K. It is to make the Soviet political system more efficient, which is possible only through democratising society and involving every strata of the population in efforts to resolve problems in state and social life.

R.S. Will you outline the functioning of the legislative, executive, judiciary and supervisory authorities up to recently? And how do you think their functions should be separated in future?

V.K. I will have to delve into our history because those systems functioned differently at various times. When Lenin was the head of state, they began to function normally. The foundations of Soviet legislation were laid and legality was being strengthened. The legislative, executive and judiciary bodies worked in normal, democratic forms. The Civil War and the struggle against foreign intervention created an emergency situation, which made it impossible to translate into reality all the democratic transformations planned by the party. Soviet law and order was

shaped, in fact, in the early 1920s, in Lenin's day and with his participation. Distortions which your readers of course know about began after his death and especially in the 1930s, at the time of Stalin's personality cult. The political system could not function normally either.

In the 1950s, when society had done away with the extreme manifestations of the personality cult, a series of democratic legislative measures were introduced, victims of repression and arbitrariness were rehabilitated and Stalin's unlawful decrees were scrapped. But other unwelcome tendencies (which had been in existence before as well) started to grow: the executive machinery was prevailing more and more over the representative bodies of power.

This practice has been combated resolutely ever since the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and good progress has already been made. There is more respect for law and order now.

You probably remember that participants in the Conference got keen on an article in the popular weekly *Ogonyok*, which claimed that four of the delegates were bribe-takers. The matter was turned over to the Credentials Commission, which later reported that, according to the Procurator's Office, no member of the delegations to the Conference had been charged with any criminal offence. The delegates, however, were not satisfied: there may be no criminal charges, they said, but enough evidence for an indictment.

Ogonyok's editor Vitaly Korotich took the floor and confirmed that there was evidence to indict four delegates. When the audience demanded to know their names, the editor demurred on the grounds of presumption of innocence. I think he was absolutely right because he could not have acted for a court of law. The matter will be examined thoroughly after the Conference.

R.S. How does the party define its role and place in society under the new conditions?

V.K. That was a central issue at the Conference. Perestroika demands that the party and the Soviets demarcate their powers. The party is to formulate a general development strategy, plans and prospects and to carry out ideological work among the people. In addition to that, as the Conference confirmed, the placement of cadres should remain the prerogative of the party as the leading force of society. The ruling party in any country picks up ministers and the head of government.

The Soviets for their part should govern, promulgate laws, take other key decisions, and direct executive bodies. It was that meaning that the Conference imparted to Lenin's slogan 'All power to the Soviets!'

G.O. What would you say in reply to the warning that the party might lose its role of the leading force of society?

V.K. It all depends on how the party copes with its tasks. Under perestroika the CPSU has pioneered changes, both those already under way and those which are yet to come. That is why, far from losing its role of political leader, it is at the head of the entire process. The Conference rightly pointed out that without party leadership perestroika would not have taken off.

I must make one point: no other ruling party in history has practised

such severe self-criticism or suggested that the existing political system be remoulded. I might be mistaken but I cannot think of an analogy.

It is thus the CPSU's initiative and ability to lead the people that guarantee its continued guidance of society.

As for the mechanism to exercise this role, there are two factors which we should bear in mind. First, the strategy will be drawn up by the party. The Constitution reads that the party determines a general prospect for the development of society, lays down guidelines for domestic and foreign policies, directs the people's creative efforts and imparts a scientific and planned character to their struggle for the triumph of communism. Second, the party pursues its policy through Communists who work in government agencies and in every other area. This is not to say that non-party people cannot or must not hold posts at any level, but positions of leadership are to be controlled by Communists and the party's vanguard role will not be folded up.

G.O. How will the reform of the Soviet political system modify the concept of human rights and its practical implementation?

V.K. According to our concept, man should be in the focus of attention of society and the state; this principle is the basis of the very process of democratisation because it provides for the effective involvement of all citizens in state and social affairs.

Citizen's rights and freedoms are listed and stipulated in our Constitution and legislation, for instance, in the new Law on Appeals to the Courts Against Wrongful Acts of Persons in Office Infringing the Rights of Citizens or in the Law on Compensation for Damage Caused to Citizens by Persons in Office. However, practical legal mechanisms to protect citizens' rights have not yet been adequately developed in every area and government agencies, regrettably, have sometimes failed to respect those stipulations in practice. If we take political rights and freedoms, for instance, it is only recently that we embarked on legislation to regulate demonstrations, rallies and meetings and to provide legal outlets for public opinion. The restructuring of the political system involves the development of various concrete mechanisms, or forms, if you wish, through which citizens can exercise their rights. It is already clear that we need laws on the press, on glasnost and on information. There is still work to do as regards the rights of the individual and everything related to the legal protection of man, that is, the courts, the procurator's office and prosecution. A forthcoming reform of the legal system is intended, in particular, to increase the lawyer's role in preliminary investigation and to make judges and prosecutors independent of local influence.

To sum it up, the task is to provide guarantees for the freedom and inviolability of the individual in full and in every respect, and it calls for practical measures and, naturally, for an infusion of fresh blood.

It is likewise important to an understanding of and respect for the law in the population and among officials; this will take time and effort and little progress has been made so far.

R.S. You have mentioned the present-day view of the separation of powers in socialist society but could you say in more detail what old concepts had to be scrapped in substantiating the reform of the Soviet

political system? You have taken part in that work, as far as we know, haven't you?

V.K. The main concept that we have not yet dropped but are going to is the étatist presumption that the state is above the people.

This approach is habitual for many practical workers and even theoreticians. It is rooted in the 1930s, when not just the state but some of the statesmen put themselves above the people and when man was looked down upon as a 'cog'. You know who used to say so, don't you?

G.O. Do you mean Stalin?

V.K. I do. Such views are out of currency today, of course, but the fallacy that the state is above society, civil society, and above the people are tenacious. It is often said even today, 'The state has given us that and that', or 'The state hasn't given us that and that'. Hence quite a few negative phenomena, such as sponging, which was felt even at the Conference. You must have heard some of the delegates say that someone should do this or that or provide something. You see the point: they want something to be given to them instead of doing it themselves. That approach belittled the role of the citizen, the role of the people because the general belief was that decisions were taken 'on high' whereas people should do what they were told and, if lucky, reap the fruit.

It is that legacy that we have to throw overboard. Theoreticians, too, are to blame for that misconception because they helped make the state into a fetish.

Naturally, there were difficulties in the way of proposals countering étatism; there was a time when such proposals were inconceivable but now the situation has changed entirely.

The concept of the separation of powers, I should add, was for a long time ignored by our theory.

G.O. How do you explain this fact?

V.K. Drawing on the experience of the Paris Commune, the classics of Marxism-Leninism considered it essential to integrate the executive and legislative power in representative bodies. But today's large state is not the Paris Commune, which was in fact a form of urban self-governance.

It is inadvisable and impossible to concentrate too much power in one body, especially in the executive arm. That is why quite a few delegates to the Conference objected to executives being elected deputy to Soviets. Ministers should not be deputies either, because they are accountable to the Soviets. We must have separation here.

R.S. Do you mean separation of powers?

V.K. The current wording is 'the separation of functions' as 'power' stands for something general, all-embracing. Under socialism power belongs to the people and in that sense cannot be separated.

R.S. Was the international democratic experience of state building, especially the experience of other socialist countries, used in drafting proposals for the reform?

V.K. Broad use was made of it but there was no blind copying. Take, for instance, appeals to the courts against wrongful actions of officials. They are practised in all the European socialist countries and we looked into the matter in Bulgaria and Poland.

We have found out that appeal against wrongful actions of officials is a very effective form of combating bureaucracy that educates both citizens and officials.

Out of habit our people are wary of the courts as of something fearsome and bad. Courts are associated with punishment rather than with the restoration of man to his rights. This attitude, I think, is both national and historical, rooted in the realities of tsarist Russia and, to some extent, in the arbitrariness of the personality cult period. There is probably nothing of the kind in other countries, so conditions there may be totally different.

R.S. And what specifically has been borrowed from Western experience?

V.K. Some points related to the formation and work of judicial institutions. Our judge is elected for a short term, new elections are not far off and he realises that his re-election will depend to a large extent precisely on the local authorities.

Elections of people's judges only seem to be a very democratic procedure but they are in fact impractical. Voters lack competence and do not know candidates well. Moreover, it is the local authorities who propose candidates for nomination.

In the West justices of law are elected for long terms or even for life, as is the case in Britain. Judges in some of the socialist countries also serve for long terms. The proposal has now been made to elect judges for ten years, and through a higher-up body.

Another example is a well-known British law passed a few centuries ago. Under it a person on remand has the right to demand that a court of law review his case and decide if his detention is lawful. What's wrong with that? It is a very sensible practice and I am all in favour of the court having the last say in the arrest of suspects.

G.O. Western Sovietologists claim that the political forms that are now mooted in the USSR mean a convergence of the socialist state and bourgeois democracy. Could you comment on basic differences between the content and functions of the state under socialism and under capitalism?

V.K. The forms used by one state or another, to my mind, do not yet bespeak the nature of power. At one time we held the leftist notions that if the bourgeois state had an institution of, say, ministers or ambassadors, the Soviet state should do without it. But we have long realised that the point is not the forms or names but the essence. There are commonly accepted concepts in the world. The court, for instance, can be a bourgeois or a feudal institution, one belonging to a slave-owning society or a socialist one. It is an established form of settling conflicts in society.

What I want to say is that political institutions, such as the courts, perform opposite class functions in different conditions. Institutions of bourgeois society protect the socio-political system of that society. We all know its foundations, such as private property, exploitation and prevalence of those groups which control the state machine over the majority. In socialist society the power apparatus, the political system, should be entirely the vehicle of the will of the working people, of the population as a whole.

Those elements of élitism, putting some individuals or groups above others, that appeared in our society in the 1970s and 1980s have now come under scathing criticism. The Conference, as you know, heard many objections to the privileges enjoyed by party and government officials. Delegates stressed that the only source of remuneration should be the wage and that social justice should be one for all.

R.S. How will self-governance be reconciled with the subordination of the lower to the higher echelons under conditions of democratisation and what is the relationship between centralism and decentralisation?

V.K. The situation in the economic sphere is clear enough. The goal is the decentralisation of functions and greater economic leeway for enterprises. Ministries will have restricted authority and should not interfere with day-to-day business either in industry or in agriculture. Some of the delegates said outright that the Agroprom*, just like the newly-established State Committee for Public Education, has no useful function.

Of course, we must have centralised management. First, there is planning. Second, there are financing and the banking system. Third, control agencies must be in place to prevent anyone from emaciating the interests of the state as a whole. Some of the economic sectors, such as transport, the defence industry and communications, cannot be decentralised.

Regional affairs are a harder nut to crack in this respect and problems here are still waiting for solutions, I would say. There are demands, for instance, that industry should come under the local Soviets. But this is hardly possible at present because industry is highly concentrated and often crosses boundaries of regions. Some of the enterprises can be turned over to the Soviets while others should not. Serious thought is to be given to every detail and there is no integral concept on that score as yet.

G.O. What is your perception of the principle 'everything not prohibited is permitted', which has now become practice in your country?

V.K. I think it quite correct. It debunks the old view that there should be all sorts of prohibitions with just some minor things permitted. But this does not apply to all the subjects of state life. It is meant for citizens and economic organisations. If that principle were practised by administrative agencies, the results would be unwelcome. Just imagine an official being told that he can do anything that is not prohibited: he would have his will everywhere and in everything. An official should operate strictly within his terms of reference.

G.O. Western specialists claim that full-blown democracy is unattainable within the one-party system. Weren't such doubts voiced at the Conference?

V.K. No, there were no such doubts. Conversely, the need was stressed thoroughly to think over ways of building democratic structures under the one-party system. No one doubted that democracy is possible under the one-party system.

G.O. What do you think are the essential conditions to achieve this?

V.K. They were formulated comprehensively by the Conference and include glasnost, the freedom of opinion, in the party too, discussions on

* The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. — *Tr.*

major problems of social life, and no suppression of dissent. As for the affairs of the state, the Soviets must function efficiently and there should be self-government, democratisation and a range of institutions to study public opinion (we have at long last established several such centres). The press, radio and television should play a greater role. Finally, there should be various systems of elections to state, party and public posts.

A range of structures are needed to make it possible to air, take account of, reconcile and translate into practical measures diverse interests and opinions, that is, to have socialist pluralism.

R.S. Will the Supreme Court of the USSR have the right (if it does not have it yet) to try high-ranking state officials for abuses of power?

V.K. It does have such a right. Under the Law on the Supreme Court, it is its right and duty to try high-ranking officials for offences committed by them.

R.S. How is this right exercised?

V.K. The Supreme Court is shortly to consider the case of a former deputy minister of internal affairs, Churbanov, and also crimes committed in Uzbekistan and other republics by ministers and even by the chair of republican governments. Several such trials have already ended.

G.O. What will the reform of the political system mean to public organisations?

V.K. Their role will rise considerably. Moreover, public organisations have been mushrooming: informal associations alone, those which have no statute or legal standing but just act as a group of people pursuing specific interests, number between 30,000 and 40,000. Both well-established organisations, such as the trade unions and the Young Communist League, and new ones are growing more active. It is a healthy process. There are among that large number of organisations those which I as a Communist disapprove of, such as the nationalistic Pamyat (Memory). But we must respect legal principles and norms in the rule-of-law state. An organisation, just like an individual, has the right to function freely so long as it does not breach the law. I repeat, no one can violate the laws.

R.S. What specific laws do you mean?

V.K. Well, the Soviet Constitution and the Civil and Criminal Codes. Propaganda of war, terrorism and pornography are banned in our country. Actions to the prejudice of the interests of specific nationalities and national dignity are prohibited as well.

G.O. How does perestroika alter the work of trade unions?

V.K. Trade unions are trying drastically to improve their work, to make it more concrete and to abandon dogmatic, bureaucratic and command methods. But it will be a complex process taking much time and effort because trade unions were failing in their democratic functions for a long time. The situation cannot be reversed overnight.

Working independently, on their own, I think, trade unions will be able to take some functions over from state bodies, advance self-government and effectively protect the working people's rights.

As regards the role of public organisations as a whole, I would like to add that they are growing in importance as major elements of the political system. The trade unions, the Young Communist League, cooperatives,

women's and veterans' associations and intellectuals' unions are likely to be represented directly in the new highest organ of state power, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, which is being established on the CPSU's initiative as the development of Lenin's idea. Getting rid of stale formalism, public organisations will rethink their place in society and contribute energetically to the efforts of the whole people to renew socialism. We urgently need structures to reconcile all the lawful interests in society sensibly, dynamically and on the basis of law in order to tap and bring into play every reserve.

R.S. Doesn't the idea of establishing an organisation like a Popular Front suggest itself in this context?

V.K. There might be something here but it is hard to say if it will be tried in practice. Perhaps there is no need for such an organisation. There are different views: some think that a Popular Front would play a useful role by uniting all the public forces, while others argue that it would be superfluous because the existing public organisations represent the entire spectrum of real interests.

In this sense the Congress of People's Deputies as a state institution seems to meet every need since it will include representatives of public organisations.

R.S. Do you think that the various faiths professed in the USSR might be represented in the Congress?

V.K. But the church is not a part of the Soviet political system. Moreover, there are neither church public organisations nor public associations united on religious grounds in our country. The church is separated from the state and it would be wrong to incorporate it into the structure of state power and administration.

G.O. But you have millions of believers . . .

V.K. They exercise their right, don't they? Any believer can elect or be elected a people's deputy — but as a citizen, not as a clergyman or believer. Incidentally, we have quite a few public organisations which do not want any role in politics or in the administration of state affairs, such as motorists' and animal fanciers' societies.

G.O. Will you by way of conclusion summarise the goals of the CPSU in reforming the political system?

V.K. The resolution of the 19th CPSU Conference 'On Democratising Soviet Society and Reforming the Political System' has done that in detail. The task is drastically to raise the efficiency of our political institutions as a whole, fully to bring into play the potential of socialist government by the people, resolutely to renounce command methods inherited from Stalin's day, to overcome man's alienation from government, clearly to demarcate the role of the CPSU as the political vanguard of society and the functions of the Soviet state as the organisation and tool of government by the people in accordance with Lenin's doctrine.

We consider socialism to be a society of genuine and real humanism, a society in which man will be the measure of everything.

The Basic Question Of The Revolution

Kye Eung Tae — Political bureau member, CC Secretary, Workers' Party of Korea (WPK)

IT is forty years since the Korean people first founded a truly independent state, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and started to build a socialist society and a new life.

Citizens of People's Korea, marking this fine anniversary, take a justified pride in their homeland, and their victories and achievements under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The people pin their hopes on the country's further prosperity and the preservation and further gains of the revolution, the most important of which is the successful solution of the question of power by the Korean Communists.

The question of power is the basic one in the revolution, and it is up to the working class party to find the right solution. It alone can make the popular masses the true masters of the state and society, and carry out the great endeavour of building socialism and communism with reliance on their inexhaustible forces. The Korean Communists have always attached the greatest importance to this problem. Guided by the doctrine of Marx and Lenin, and also by the *Juche* idea, they have striven to find the right direction. The main thing here is *a correct definition of the forms of power to express the will and requirements of the popular masses and to truly serve their interests.*

Our search started from the historical conditions and concrete realities of our country. An analysis of both suggested that the tasks in transforming the old social system facing the party could be fulfilled in the course of several phases, beginning with a national-liberation revolution and ending with the building of socialism and communism. In striving to attain their goals, the Communists must rely on various strata of the broad popular masses, including the peasants, the working intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie, which have taken an active part, under the leadership of the working class, in the anti-imperialist and national-liberation struggle.

The situation was scientifically analysed by WPK CC General Secretary Kim Il Sung at the initial period of struggle for the country's liberation from the yoke of colonial domination by Japanese imperialism, and he proposed an original line of establishing people's power in Korea, a new form of power. Kim Il Sung said: "In accordance with the law of revolutionary development and on the basis of a scientific analysis of national and class contradictions and socio-economic conditions in our

Kye Eung Tae was born into a working class family in 1925. He graduated from the WPK CC Party School, and worked as instructor, sector head and deputy head of a WPK CC department. He was foreign trade minister, deputy premier of the country's Administrative Council, and chief secretary of the WPK committee in Southern Pyongan Province. Since 1967, he has been a deputy of the Supreme People's Assembly; since 1970, a member of the WPK CC; since 1981, an alternate member of the WPK CC Political Bureau; since 1985, a secretary of the WPK CC; and since 1988, a member of the WPK CC Political Bureau.

country, the Korean Communists put forward the line that the form of government to be established in the future should be a people's revolutionary government based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and relying on the united front of the broad anti-Japanese forces."¹

That the chosen way was right was also borne out at the time, during our people's anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in the guerrilla areas. The people's revolutionary government set up at the time on the liberated territories of the Tuman-gang river basin acted in the light of the existing conditions and eventually became the prototype of the state power established in Korea after its liberation.

Once independence had been won, the WPK got down to the establishment of *the people's power on a national scale*, being guided by the policy of forming a people's revolutionary government and the valuable experience gained during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. It was the party's intention that the new government should direct the building of a new, democratic homeland, representing and defending the interests of the whole people, relying on it, meeting its urge for independent development, having the widest social and political foundation, and assuring the working class of its leading role.

The Korean Communists formed an alliance of political parties, groups and patriotic-minded sections of the population in working for their set objectives and resisting the underhand schemes of internal and external enemies who opposed the building of a democratic, sovereign and independent state. Through the efforts of this united front, the old puppet state apparatus was dismantled, and people's committees were set up all over the country. The large-scale consolidation of the revolutionary forces made it possible to establish a new type of power — the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea — in February 1946.

This Committee exercised the functions of a people's democratic dictatorship, acted on behalf of the people and relied on the United Democratic National Front, which brought together broad sections of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic forces, whose backbone was an alliance of workers and peasants led by the working class. The new power met the interests of ordinary people by putting through a successful land reform, nationalising large-scale industry and effecting a number of other economic and social transformations, which had been started in the course of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. All these resolute measures helped to establish a people's democratic system in the northern part of the country, to consolidate the new relations of production, and to prepare the conditions for a gradual transition to a socialist revolution.

Developments along this line were envisaged by the party and accorded with its basic goals and tasks. The situation which took shape also accorded with the Korean Communist's initial conclusion that the completion of the democratic revolution and the start of a socialist revolution in our country did not imply the replacement of the existing form of people's power by another form of government.

In the light of this assumption, our party arranged the first democratic elections in the country's history. The people's committee of northern

Korea was formed in February 1947, and the switch from provisional organs of power to permanent ones helped to strengthen the political prerequisites for restructuring society on socialist lines. It also signified the attainment of the ultimate goal of the political revolution: *the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Consequently, after liberation, the Communists and the people of Korea scored great successes in the revolution and in construction. Kim Il Sung says: "On the basis of these achievements Korea will be a richer and stronger people's country, and a Democratic People's Republic will be established here in our country, which is the long-cherished desire of the entire Korean people. All power in the Republic will be in the hands of the masses of people."² This prediction was based on the reality: by then the economic and social basis and political foundation for building a sovereign, democratic, united and independent state had been markedly consolidated, and so the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed by the first session of the All-Korea organ of power, the Supreme People's Assembly, which was held on September 9, 1948.

With the formation of the DPRK, our people obtained a homeland and began to work even more perseveringly in the great cause of building socialism and communism. This is the basic task of the people's power, which did not alter its forms or its revolutionary people's character, although it did perform different functions at the various stages in the development of the revolution. From the outset, the organs of government acted in defence of the working people's rights to independence, organising their creative potentialities, and helping to raise the well-being of the masses. Consequently, the people's power in the DPRK accords, in form and character, *not only with the stage of the general democratic revolution and the socialist restructuring of society, but also with the period of socialist construction proper*. This had been fully borne out throughout the entire period in the course of developing the socialist property and socialist social relations, and the creation of the material and technical foundation of socialism.

Since its establishment, the power of the proletarian dictatorship has successfully fulfilled all its revolutionary tasks in the political, economic, cultural and military fields, and has given impeccable service to the cause of socialist construction.

But our country's way of development and improvement of power has not been a smooth one. The work carried on by the people's organs of government in preparation for the country's advance to socialism was cut short by the US imperialists and their servitors, who started the three-year war. However, the people's power swiftly put the country on a war footing, and organised and mobilised the people to fight the interventionists under this slogan: 'Everything for victory in the war!'. This enabled us to inflict an ignominious defeat on the US imperialists and their lackeys, and to safeguard the country's freedom and independence. Our historic victory showed that our republic and the people's democratic system have inexhaustible vitality, and that a people which has come to feel that it is master of its country is invincible.

After the war, as the country lay in ruins, we adopted an economic

development programme designed for the priority growth of the heavy industry and the development of the light industry and agriculture, and its successful fulfilment made it possible, within three or four years, to surpass by far the pre-war level of industrial and agricultural production.

Having fulfilled these hard tasks of post-war rehabilitation and construction, we lost no time in continuing our effort to lay the foundations of socialism. The people's power was guided by the party's original course of cooperating the peasantry and improving the economic structure of agriculture even before its technical reconstruction, and actively transforming the private sector in industry and trade, and within a short time introduced socialist relations of production in the towns and villages of the North, so creating an advanced system free from exploitation and class oppression.

But the establishment of socialist economic and social relations in our country does not mean that we have fully overcome the survivals of the old society in ideology and culture, and its technical backwardness: we still have distinctions between town and country, between the working class and the peasantry, etc.

That is why, following the establishment of the socialist system, we believe that the main task of the people's power is *to carry out three revolutions*: ideological, technical and cultural. These revolutions are a form of struggle against the survivals of the old society and for a new communist ideology, technology and culture.

We believe that the vigorous pursuit of these three revolutions, with a simultaneous extension of the functions and enhancement of the role of the people's power, is the main condition for successfully building socialism and communism.

Comrade Kim Il Sung says: "The people's government plus the three revolutions mean communism. When the people's government is continually strengthened and its functions and role are enhanced, and thus the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are thoroughly carried out, a communist paradise where the Chajusong of the popular masses can be completely realized, will be built."³ In other words, the masses will attain their independence through the development of socialist society, whose level is determined by the ideological awareness of human beings, and their material and technical potentialities. Consequently, the development of society means above all work to educate the new man. This makes people stronger spiritually and ideologically, consolidates the relations between them, and develops their cultural and material requirements, which will be satisfied ever more fully as man transforms Nature and masters scientific and technical knowledge.

We have scored considerable successes in *the education of the people* by consistently conducting the ideological and cultural revolutions, so that today one will rarely find in our society manifestations of the old ideology and culture, which were inherited from the past. The whole people, displaying unity of ideas and will, is closely rallied round the WPK and the government. There is in our society an atmosphere of collectivism, with people helping each other in their advance, taking their examples from the Communists, who are armed with progressive ideas and who have

considerable political, cultural and technical knowledge.

The policy of the party and the state in education helps actively to foster the new man. We now have a system of 11-year compulsory education which is free and helps to train national cadres. It is now available to 8.5 million children at nursery schools and at secondary, specialised secondary and higher schools, which means almost one-half of the population.

The northern part of the country, which did not have a single higher school before liberation, now has 244; we have a body of 1.3 million engineers, technicians and other specialists who run the state and economic agencies, cultural institutions, factories and plants.

The priority development of work to re-educate man and the balanced conduct of a technological revolution have done much in transforming society and Nature. In a brief historical period we have successfully solved the problem of socialist industrialisation, laid *a sound foundation for the economy's independent development*, built up its material and technical base and ensured the further improvement of sectoral structures.

Our country's economic strength has further increased as a result of the successful fulfilment of the Second Seven-Year Plan (1978-1984). In 1986,⁴ on the eve of the Third Seven-Year Plan period (1987-1993), gross industrial output was 474 times higher than it was in 1946, and it accounted for 80 per cent of overall output. That year, national income per head of the population came to \$2,400.

Our national economy, multi-faceted and equipped with modern hardware and technology, enables us to turn out enough heavy and light industry products for sustained economic construction and growth of the people's well-being. In 1986, for instance, we generated 52 billion kWh of electricity, produced 6.73 million tons of steel, 78 million tons of coal, 5.2 million tons of chemical fertilisers, 12 million tons of cement, over 800 million metres of fabrics, and 3.6 million tons of marine products. All of that, we think, shows that the state has taken a responsible attitude to creating the material conditions for providing food, clothing and housing for the entire population. The sincere concern of the people's power for the well-being of the population is also evident in a law which in 1974 abolished the tax system. Let us also note that all citizens without exception are assured of work. They enjoy free and compulsory education and medical care. The socialist democratic system fully meets the social interests, creates the conditions for comradely cooperation, and guarantees freedom and equality among men and women.

Our people are boundlessly dedicated to their socialist homeland and regard its development and strengthening as the pledge of their happy future. A reliable pledge of our country's prosperity and strength of its socialist system is our revolution, of which the socio-political organism is the subject, uniting the leader, the party and the masses. The people's boundless trust of the party and the government is also a guarantee of our continued successes in the future.

The people's power is now faced with this important task: to ensure the complete victory of socialism in the country and to effect its independent, peaceful unification. The full victory of socialism in Korea on the basis of the successes attained in the education of man and the transformation of

Nature and society is a real requirement of social progress. The basic problem we shall have to solve in the course of this process is elimination of class distinctions and construction of a classless society through the re-education of our citizens and transformation of social relations on the model of the working class.

Classes can be abolished under socialism through the elimination of *class distinctions* between the workers and the peasants, and here especial significance is attached to the right approach to the agrarian question. The people's power has been working actively to make cooperative property, in particular, all the means of production, the property of the whole people, in accordance with the principles formulated by Comrade Kim Il Sung. Three revolutions are being stepped up in the countryside for this purpose, and their success will help to do away with the ideological, technical and cultural backwardness of the countryside, so creating the conditions for an organic blend of the two forms of property, with a simultaneous enhancement of the leading role of the whole of the people's property with respect to cooperative property, and the transformation of cooperative property into the whole people's property. This policy helps to strengthen the direct production ties between the two forms of property through state enterprises and institutions directly catering for agriculture. In so doing, the party sets the task of further consolidating and extending the functions of agricultural agencies, enhancing their role in running rural cooperatives, and making a bolder application of the methods of management which are proper to industrial enterprises.

The party's efforts actively to promote socialist economic construction are in line with the efforts of the people's power to bring about the complete victory of socialism. The socialist system will become truly solid and finally established only when material and technical facilities are built up in the country, while all the working people, without exception, free from exploitation and oppression, begin to live an independent ideological and political life, with full material and cultural provision. In order to reach this goal, we must build up a *Juche* economy, i.e., all the sectors of the national economy modernised on the highest level with an improved structure, a higher level of technical supply for the national economy as a whole, with agriculture developing along industrial lines, the people released from arduous manual labour, and the problems of food, clothing and housing fully solved.

Kim Jong Il, a member of the WPK CC Political Bureau Presidium and WPK CC Secretary, says: "An important task which we must now carry out to win the complete victory of socialism is to speedily make the national economy *Juche*-oriented, modern, and scientific-based and attain the ten major long-term objectives of socialist economic construction for the 1980's."

These ten long-term tasks in socialist construction, mapped out by the WPK's Sixth Congress, are to be fulfilled during the Third Seven-Year Plan period. These are the tasks: to raise the generating of electricity to 100 billion kWh, the output of coal to 120 million tons, steel to 10 million tons, non-ferrous metal to 1.7 million tons, cement to 22 million tons, chemical fertilisers to 7.2 million tons, fabrics to 1.5 billion metres, marine products

to 11 million tons, and grain to 15 million tons, and to develop 300,000 chonbo of saline soils. Industrial output is to go up by over 40 per cent.

We have already successfully fulfilled the programme for the first year of the new long-term plan.

The independent and peaceful unification of the homeland is another key task before the people's power. The problem of unifying Korea is essentially a return, together with the population, of the territories occupied by the imperialist forces, and the establishment of sovereignty on a national scale.

The present situation in the Korean Peninsula is such that there is a daily growth of the danger of the country's perpetual division and the outbreak of another war. That is why the unification of Korea is not only the supreme national goal of the government of the republic and of the Korean people, but also a component of the struggle for world peace and mankind's progress.

In our approach to the unification question, we firmly uphold these three principles: independence, peaceful unification and national consolidation. A primary step along this way must be the easing of tensions and assurance of lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula. In the past several years alone, the leadership of our republic has made several fruitful proposals in this context, including its initiative for trilateral negotiations with the participation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the United States and South Korea, and the proposal for a phased reduction of armed forces and conversion of the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone.

Guided by a sincere desire to create, as soon as possible, the conditions for the start of a new period in attaining national reconciliation and accord, we announced our readiness, in January 1988, to have a joint meeting of the North and the South.

However, the United States and the South Korean rulers did not respond to these peaceable calls, and seek a 'separate entry into the United Nations', striving by means of 'cross contacts' and 'cross recognitions' to perpetuate the division of Korea. They have continued, at the same time, to follow their line of anti-communism, of aggravating international tension and preparing for war.

We are sure that the danger of an outbreak of another war can be removed, lasting peace ensured in Korea and its peaceful unification effected only *if US troops* (numbering more than 40,000) *are withdrawn from South Korea*, for they are the cause behind the division of the Korean nation. Once the US troops have left the South of the peninsula, conditions will emerge for the formation of one national government of a neutral, non-aligned, Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, on the basis of mutual recognition, and an understanding that the two ideologies and systems in the North and the South can coexist; it could include, on a basis of parity, representatives of both sides, so unifying the country. In the present conditions, this is the most rational and realistic way of solving the problem of unifying Korea and preventing its perpetual division.

The government of the republic and the whole Korean people will continue patiently to work for the realisation of their just proposals.

Among these, for instance, are the actions by the leadership of the DPRK in strengthening solidarity with the international revolutionary forces. Our people's power, having opted for independence, friendship and peace as the basic principles in international relations, has consistently applied them in its external political activity, developing relations of friendship and cooperation with various countries, including socialist and non-aligned countries.

The DPRK is a peaceable socialist state, and the Korean people, who have continuously felt the effects of the militaristic moves by the United States, has a vital stake in ensuring peace on its native soil and in the world as a whole. It has resolutely fought against the aggressive urges of the US imperialists, and is committed to defending peace on the Korean Peninsula, in Asia and on the globe. In the interests of its people, and also of all the other peace-loving peoples, the government of our republic has been doing its utmost to make the Korean Peninsula nuclear-free. It has actively supported the initiatives and proposals of the governments and peoples of other countries aimed at averting a nuclear war, and at defending peace and security throughout the world.

The building of socialism and communism is an historic endeavour which has been carried on from generation to generation. If it is to be successfully pursued, we believe that it is necessary to keep strengthening the people's power, and to turn it into a mighty instrument of revolution defending the people's right to independence. There is no doubt at all that the Korean people, who have travelled a fine way of struggle and victory under the banner of the republic, will continue to support the WPK CC leadership, headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, successfully advancing the revolution and eventually building a communist society on its soil.

¹ Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Pyongyang, Vol. 22, 1985, p. 341.

² Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. 3, 1980, p. 332.

³ Kim Il Sung, *Tasks of the People's Government in Modelling the Whole of Society on the Juche Idea*, Pyongyang, 1982, p. 3.

⁴ The 1985-1986 period is known in the DPRK as a period of 'adjustment', in the course of which the structural disproportions in the economy were levelled out, and the lagging industries pulled up — *Ed.*

⁵ Kim Jong Il, *On Further Developing Educational Work*, Pyongyang, 1984, p. 6.

Policy Makers, Not Commentators

Vladimir Kunovjanek — member of the CC CPCz, director of the CC CPCz Institute of Marxism-Leninism

THE comprehensive restructuring, which Czechoslovak society has now embarked on, is a qualitative transformation of its entire life, including ideological and theoretical activity. Speaking to the specialists of the Higher Party School and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC

CPCz last March, the party's CC General Secretary Milos Jakes stressed that the workers in the social sciences should not "remain on the level of mere commentators of the social processes. The party expects that the representatives of the theoretical front will be bold and ideologically mature creators of its policy."

The emphasis now being laid on the development of theory is not fortuitous; too often in the past, theory offered nothing when important decisions were taken and we had to make them on a purely empirical basis.

Why did such a situation arise? The fact is that at the beginning of the previous decade, the social-science research in Czechoslovakia was politically and ideologically weakened. The workers of our institute, founded in 1970, sought to react promptly to current ideological and political issues, with the result that they often produced rather propagandistic than deeply analytical works. This did not permit its staff to concentrate on any issues of a long-term, conceptually-scientific nature.

These shortcomings linger on. It is precisely now when the party is orienting society towards restructuring that we find that most of the theoretical questions in the solution of which the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPCz should have been involved remain unclarified. We lack more or less coherent perceptions about the future development of Czechoslovak society and the course of the further construction of socialism in the country. We have no studies on the leading role of the party in the conditions of a rapid development of the productive forces and production relations or on the forms of the exercise of this role in the process of democratisation, self-government by the people and the election of economic managers. As a result, most of the problems arising in the introduction of the new methods of the organisation of social life are in fact being solved without having any theoretical guidelines on the advantages, as well as possible dangers, inherent in this changeover.

To bridge this gap the Institute of Marxism-Leninism has set itself the task of organising a *comprehensive study of the theory of socialism*, in particular the role of the party, the political system of socialist society and the social policy of the CPCz. What is at issue at this stage is, first and foremost, the problems of an inter-disciplinary character. By these researches we are to make our contribution to the drafting of proposals for the improvement of the party programme.

The methodology for the study of such problems is being worked out at our institute. In studying, for example, the party's leading role, a correct appraisal of the new conditions arising in society at this stage of accelerated economic and social development becomes particularly important. To be sure, we are to take an overall look at the methods hitherto applied within the framework of the political leadership of society, and work out effective recommendations to be used in different fields, such as economics, state administration and so forth. In the opinion of the institute, special attention today needs to be paid to our analysis of the quality of the party ranks as the chief prerequisite for the exercise of its leading role, of the factors influencing this quality and of cadre policy.

In studying these topical issues, we proceed from the assumption that the restructuring process and wider participation of the working people in the

management of enterprises and other economic units should lead on to a further strengthening of the organisational and creative role of the party. So we have devoted special attention to the problem of applying the principles of democratic centralism, the socio-economic aspects of a transition from the administrative to economic methods of running the planned economy and the prerequisites for a resolution of the contradiction between social, collective and individual interests. The question of how to exercise the party's leading role in shaping and implementing a strategy for scientific and technological progress is also becoming very important.

All of this is closely associated with the development of the *political system* of socialist society at this stage of the extension of socialist democracy, and with the new demands now being made on the National Front's organisation and on the activity of our representative bodies.

We regard the party's social policy as an important and promising sphere of our research work. In this field theory must elucidate such questions as the socialist way of life, social justice today, distribution according to work and the assessment of other criteria, and to formulate suggestions for the further improvement of the position of the working woman, of children, the elderly and so forth.

Czechoslovak Communists are of the view that to accomplish the tasks of restructuring successfully it is necessary to take full account of the accumulated historical experience. Unfortunately, basic research on certain aspects of our party's history did not get a proper appreciation in the previous years. In particular, a systematic study of the problems of most recent CPCz history failed to be undertaken. It is today particularly important, therefore, to concentrate on the analysis of the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and first of all its present stage. At the same time, as we look at our party's historical experience, we ought to strive to disclose the objective and subjective factors that particularly stood out in the various periods of socialist construction.

In the debate on the content of a new textbook on CPCz history, which we are to write, many comrades have correctly pointed out the need to show the causes and nature of the upsurge of a mass working class movement in our country at the time of the emergence of the CPCz, and the switch-over of a large part of the members of Czechoslovak Social Democracy to positions of the incipient communist movement. We are striving to generalise the experience of the Communists' legal party work under the bourgeois parliamentary system, the rich traditions of the unity in action of the working class against the advancing fascism, and to analyse the role of the CPCz in the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and our experience in forming the National Front. In writing the textbook, its authors show a critical approach and do not cut corners. They perceive their duty in giving a correct assessment of those years when not only success attended our party, but also a number of difficulties confronted it.

Our study of the history of socialist construction focuses on the issue of applying its *general patterns to the specific conditions of Czechoslovakia*. Of particular importance are the subjects which are the source of relevant

experience not only for us, but also for the international revolutionary movement as a whole. A good example of this is the creative application by our party of Lenin's theory about the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The strategy and tactics of the CPCz after the Second World War brought the working people of our country to a victorious socialist revolution in February 1948. The experience amassed in the process of industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture in Czechoslovakia is also important.

We also want to give an account of the Communists whose role was not always fully appreciated in the past. Among them, for example, are Bohumir Smeral, one of the founders of our party who worked in the Communist International, and some other figures.

The new textbook will show that Communists can be proud of their party and the history of its struggle to do away with exploitation and for a just social system, for socialism. In the class battles our older comrades won a number of victories, and many of them, in upholding the interests of the people, gave their lives. The party led the industrialisation effort, collectivisation in the countryside and other historic transformations. But we do not want to pass over in silence the mistakes made — sometimes lesser, sometimes greater. It is necessary to learn from them lest they should be repeated in the future. The textbook on party history is scheduled to be published in 1991 when the CPCz will mark its 70th anniversary.

In the light of restructuring the party considerably increases the demands on our institute as its main theoretical base. To be sure, the IML is to provide theoretical, ideologically based stimuli for the application and creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the policy of the CPCz, in ideological work, and in propaganda and agitation. It must provide the leading party bodies with highly qualified theoretical studies and recommendations which would be useful in the preparation and adoption of important decisions. With this aim in mind it is also necessary to use the studies made by institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, higher educational establishments and sectoral research centres. In this connection one of the major tasks of our Institute is to influence the general movement of social thought in Czechoslovakia. So, the IML is called upon to be an important scientific-political centre, an exponent of the vanguard role of the party in the field of the social sciences. It must also carry on the fulfilment of other tasks (coordination of the publication of works by leading figures of the CPCz and the international communist and working class movement, participation in devising instructional aids for the party education system, the publication of the journal *Theory of Socialism*, multilateral and bilateral international cooperation, etc.).

We self-critically stress that even now our institute does not occupy the central position in the social-science front that it should be holding, especially as the political and ideological guiding force of the entire complex of social science. We still have not succeeded in developing wider creative theoretical discussions so as to find a solution to many ripe problems.

Our knowledge of socialism is largely confined to its first extensive

periods, which can no longer be taken as a basis for research. Moreover, we understand the strategic concept of restructuring and the acceleration of socio-economic development as a valuable contribution to the treasure-house of historical experience of world socialism, and as an expression of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the present-day context.

The tasks of the social sciences, we think, is not so much to provide 'scientific' support for the social processes already taking place, as on the contrary, to be at their origins and strive to predict their development. Abstract schemes and high-sounding phrases in fact cover up the dogmatic approaches. The focus must be on a revival of the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism, of a truly dialectical comprehension of the world with its intrinsic constant movements and changes so that the social sciences will become a real basis and support of political activity in the interests of the further progress of socialism.

the party

Communists and Elections

Meeting The Challenge Of Our Times

Mimis Andrulakis — alternate
Political Bureau member, CC,
Communist Party of Greece (CPG)

THE Greek Communists have sound positions among the people. An average of 10-11 per cent of all voters have been casting their ballots for us in parliamentary elections in the 1980s. What makes elections important is not only the returns, of course, but we also consider them as an indicator of the quality and extent of the party's links with people. It is time, I think, to drop the habit of repeating the trite self-consolation: 'Never mind that we have not won many votes: the point is to educate working people through elections.' However useful pedagogics may be, it cannot replace politics.

Elections offer a good opportunity to address people. They cannot be taken out of the context of the Communists' overall efforts to expand their influence, to promote the working class and mass movement and to establish a socio-political coalition of left forces. But if a party seeks (as the

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CPG does) to win a popular majority and considers open confrontation between various forces to be a means of effecting a transition to socialism, then elections and their returns are a very important component of the social and class struggle.

We have no illusions: the political system of Greece works against the CPG. Electoral legislation, for instance, is geared to a two-party system and the practice of a 'useful vote'.¹ But should we take this as justification of our setbacks? The Communists' positions depend first of all on their ties with the mass of people. A strong Communist Party can be a success in spite of reactionary legislation. It can influence conditions under which elections are held and press for most democratic forms of campaigning by different forces.

Of late, the Communists' electorate has been shrinking in many West European countries, but I would not draw parallels between the results of elections in Greece and those in other European capitalist countries. Our circumstances are rather specific. In the past few years the CPG has been a factor of the radicalisation of the mass of people. In the 1981 and 1985 elections it played the main role in defeating the right forces. But the radicalisation of the electorate benefited predominantly Papandreou's PASOK, which won parliamentary majority two times in succession. In 1985 the CPG even lost votes as compared with 1981 (9.9 and 10.9 per cent, respectively).

The CPG's true role and influence on developments in the country are far greater than its 'electoral weight', and there are good reasons for this fact. Greece was long ruled by the 'Colonels' and then by the conservative forces. There are many victims of persecution by the fascist junta. PASOK artfully manipulates the anti-Right public mood, actually blackmailing voters with the possibility of the reactionary forces' return to power. Both in 1981 and in 1985 the Socialists won primarily thanks to progressive-minded voters' support.

But the 'useful vote' phenomenon became widespread in Greece not just out of fear of the Right. Thousands of people are afraid that if the Left forces, including the CPG, win an election, the US and NATO will stage another intervention² and the Common Market will declare an economic war on Greece. There are objective reasons for such fears, but they are no justification for the inadequate ideological work of our party among those groups of left-leaning voters who for various reasons support PASOK. We must convince them that we can play a role in government as well.

Many Greeks understand that if we take PASOK's lead, we will end up on the curb of political life and any prospect of a left alternative for our country will be as good as dead. But few people believe that we can form a government and PASOK's propaganda seeks to further such doubts. We for our part argue that our achievements are the result of the historical process and the struggle waged by the people themselves rather than someone's gift. Though PASOK calls itself a socialist party, it pursues a conservative socio-economic policy. The CPG consistently stresses that *the task is not merely to prevent the Right from returning to power but to create adequate preconditions for introducing change towards socialism.*

Our goal is to do away with the situation in which the people have the

choice only between PASOK and New Democracy. We offer them a third political alternative, namely, our own party in coalition with all the Left and progressive forces, and to try to convince them that the Left alternative is the only way of having social problems resolved.

The political situation in our country is often considered in Greece and abroad one-sidedly, only in terms of what government is in power. But a different approach can be taken, namely, from the angle of political processes afoot and the social and class battles going on.

Our party's goal is to win power for a socio-political alliance of the Left forces. We do not think, of course, that there already exist conditions for such an alliance to form a government the day after the elections. But a strong CPG and a sound Left coalition will be able to exert much influence on developments. Communists, moreover, do not want to take part in a government at all costs. Unless there are certain socio-political preconditions, participation in government will detract from our influence: the crisis of the ruling system will spill over into the Communist Party and other Left forces.

There is another point: under a bourgeois democratic regime a strong Communist opposition with close links to the mass movement can play a positive role regardless of what government is in power. The working people will in that case have broader possibilities to defend their rights and there will be good preconditions for advance towards a Left alternative. I make this point to illustrate the difference of principle between revolutionary realism and *Realpolitik*, the champions of which do not believe in the ability of the mass of people to influence politics.

Change is afoot in Greek society, its structure and mentality. It is far-reaching and controversial. For example, the working class is growing numerically stronger but differentiation within it is increasing simultaneously. The share of white-collar workers in the total is rising, which broadens the social base for the Communists' actions, on the one hand, and faces them with entirely new problems, on the other. New lifestyles, especially in the cities, are gaining ground. The mass media, dominated by our class adversary, play an important role. Direct contacts between people are diminishing and alienation is growing. People become involved in politics in new ways. The pattern of the needs and demands of the working people and society as a whole is changing. All this cannot help influencing election issues and therefore the relationship of the CPG and the mass of people. There was a time when we attached priority to the working people's wages and incomes, but now we have to reckon with other problems as well, such as education, health care, ecology, transport, recreation and information.

It is very important for the Communist Party timely to update its programme, slogans and policy on the basis of this change. The Communists are challenged by the times and it is especially important today who the Party addresses in its election campaigns and how.

If we want to raise our relations with the working people to a new level, social sciences and Marxist applied sociology should be involved in policy-making. The CPG encourages theoretical studies and tries to use public opinion polls on a larger scale. Our methods of analysis, however, are yet

badly behind the needs of the movement.

Another important channel of information is direct contacts with the mass of people. The struggles waged by the working people are constantly giving us food for thought. It is therefore important to know what the mass of people want and shape our electoral tactics accordingly. On the other hand, we cannot base our policies exclusively on voters' wishes: gains will be temporary in that case while the danger of the party losing its influence is great.

A proposal for a *new type of the development of Greek society that would meet the economic and social needs of the working people and correspond to the tasks of broadening democracy and furthering the country's independence* is central to our political agitation today. These tasks, moreover, have been formulated in a new way in many respects. Independence, for instance, is not confined to closure of American bases. Now that economic relations are being internationalised, Greece is taking part in the international division of labour on increasingly unfair terms. As a result of West European integration, it is becoming a country of cheap services (primarily tourist services) with a poorly developed industry and virtually no modern technological base. The task of struggling for democracy has also been posed in a new way: the point is not just to protect it but to ensure the involvement of the working people in running society on a broader scale.

As for our electoral tactics, the CPG has drawn the conclusion that in the first place it is necessary to have a well-thought-out plan of campaigning that would be flexible enough to be modified depending on circumstances. The period between the official announcement of the election date and the election itself is now very long, now very short in Greece: everything depends on the government in office, today on Papandreou's government. That is why we have to have in advance a clear idea of the different phases of campaigning.

Having launched our campaign, we try to maintain it at a high pitch to the polling day. It is the last days in the run-up to the election that are crucial to our party. Usually there are many undecided voters and those who are willing to vote for the Left forces ultimately succumb to wild demagoguery and cast their ballots for PASOK out of the fear of the rightists' return to power.

But the most important thing is to *campaign vigorously and aggressively* and to shape a political climate that would determine the conduct of the mass of people and exert the maximum possible influence on election issues. The rivals should not be allowed to have a free hand and choose key issues for electoral struggle.

Oral propaganda in the form of mass rallies, candidates' meetings with voters and house-to-house visits has a special role to play. Lately we have been making broader use of video along with the conventional forms of campaigning through newspapers, leaflets, radio and sometimes TV.

We try to use every opportunity to form alliances with other Left and progressive forces but far from every temporary alliance can prove useful. That is why *our party is seeking to achieve a permanent coalition of forces* that would contest elections as a bloc.

The latest municipal elections in October 1986 gave us valuable experience. Having formed coalitions in many cities, the Left forces achieved impressive gains.¹ It is characteristic, too, that in Athens most of progressively-minded voters did not go to the polls when the CPG had decided to refrain from supporting either of the two candidates of other parties who contested the Mayor's post.

In the past few years the bourgeois press has been claiming that now that capitalism has entered the technological age the Communist Parties are doomed because they 'have no place in today's Western society'. Such claims seem to ignore fresh possibilities for broadening the Communists' influence. Positive change in the international climate and the Soviet Union's perestroika undoubtedly increase these possibilities, although a difficult ideological and political struggle has to be waged with the bourgeoisie, which tries to misrepresent these phenomena in order to harm the Communists. We ourselves will have to handle those problems anyway. In my view the main thing is to understand the nature of change in society and to learn promptly to respond to it.

Undeniably, Communists have run into great difficulties in many countries in the 1980s. But we believe that there are conditions for a veritable rebirth of the communist and Left movement in the West European countries and in the capitalist world as a whole. If we handle new questions boldly, the bourgeoisie will again see 'the spectre of Communism' over Europe. Contrary to what neoconservatives say, the technological revolution is making our mission even more urgent. The rapid progress of new technologies will lead to a point in social development where society will face the crucial choice between socialism and barbarity. I do not mean to say that our advance will be fail-proof; only those political forces which are able to meet the challenge of the times will 'survive' in the age of the technological leap. That is why Communists must seriously rethink and develop their theoretical and political culture and practice.

The CPG's prospects will depend primarily on its ability:

- *to work out and communicate to the mass of people proposals for a new type of development of Greek society;*
- *to build a socio-political alliance of Left forces that would be ready to struggle for power;*
- *to bring about a qualitative radical change in every area of party work, in theory and practical politics and in our relations with society.*

¹ Here is a simple example: the effective electoral law is shaped and electoral districts patterned in such a way that the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement needs to poll 18,000 votes, the right-wing New Democracy Party 20,000 and the CPG 52,000 to send a deputy to parliament.

² The author means the 1944 intervention by Britain, joined by the US a few years later, to suppress the democratic movement in Greece. — *Ed.*

³ See Zenon Zorzovilis, *A Powerful Blow to the Bipolar System*, WMR, No. 1, 1987.

WORKING AGAINST HEAVY ODDS

Israeli Communists and their allies in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DEPE)¹ are active in the municipal (urban) and local (rural) bodies of government. A *WMR* staff member had a meeting in Israel with Communists elected to municipal and local councils. His questions are answered below by **Zahi Karkabi**, a deputy of the Haifa Municipal Council and an alternate member of the CPI CC Political Bureau; by Kufryasif Mayor **Nimer Murcos**, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel; and by **Ramzi Khouury**, a member of the Acre Municipal Council and a deputy chair of the CPI Central Control Commission.

WHAT is the stand of the Communists and their allies in the local bodies of government? What role does the line of the CPI's activity play in its overall policy?

Murcos. The country has a total of 37 municipal and 125 local councils. The Communists and their allies in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality participate in 36 of them through as many as 118 deputies (the figure before the 1983 elections was 98). The mayors of 20 urban and rural communities are members of the Front; seven of them are Communists. The Communists and the Front in general have a higher profile in the Arab-populated areas. We are at the helm of the local bodies of government in major Arab population centres, including the cities of Nazareth and Umm al-Fahm. The Front also has its deputies in the municipal councils of some cities with a predominantly Jewish population, among them Haifa and Acre.

The municipal and local councils are for the Israeli Communists a forum putting them in especially close touch with the people. We try to make good use of them to popularise the programme and goals of the CPI, including its stand on the matter of paramount importance to us, a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

Khouury. Municipal councils in both Arab and Jewish areas are coming up against considerable material difficulties now that the economic crisis is aggravating. The funds allocated to us by the central authorities are far from adequate for meeting the needs of the people. Many municipal councils have already gone on strike, demanding rises in their budgets. In this situation, the Communists are seeking to show that the main reason for the scarcity of resources is high military spending and the Israeli leaders' unwillingness to make peace with the Palestinians and with our neighbours, Arab countries. It is especially important to bring this truth home to Jewish public opinion.

Karkabi. Working in municipal and local councils, we are constantly very much in the public eye and people are forming a practical idea of us as

The present interview is another contribution to the series about the Communists' work in the executive and legislative branches of government in capitalist countries (see *WMR*, Nos. 4, 7, 8, 1985; Nos. 2, 10, 11, 12, 1986; Nos. 3, 5, 7, 10, 1987).

workers and of our party as a whole. The Communists and their allies are seeking to improve the everyday living conditions and are working against the continuous purposeful and well-thought-out policy of discrimination against the Arab population of the country² that has been pursued by the Zionist ruling circles ever since the establishment of the state of Israel.

Going through Galilee,³ I noticed small groves along the road, which seem to have been planted specially to conceal what has remained of Arab settlements which once had been there. I also saw remnants of buildings demolished quite recently. And in Acre I was shown a house which had all but buried its Arab owners: they had for several years been denied permission to make repairs.

Karkabi. The rubble, hidden by trees, by the roadside is the aftermath of 1948, when the Zionist rulers of the new state of Israel used to demolish Arab villages wholesale. Since that time they have evolved a policy of gradual seizure of Arab lands by 'legal' means, which are the basis of, inter alia, the racist programme of the 'Judaisation of Galilee'. Sixty new Jewish settlements have been built in the area in the past 20 years under that programme.

Khoury. The Arab municipal and local councils are allotted by the authorities very small areas of land for housing construction. Meanwhile, the Arab population keeps growing and many people, especially young families, have to settle outside the area under the local council's authority. The government is now said to have lists of over 11,000 homes built without permission. Under the legislation, any one of them can be demolished and many have actually been razed. Restricting building areas in Arab local councils is connected with the policy of land requisitioning from the Arab population. The Arab population of Acre, for instance, once numbered 20,000 and the figure today is 12,000, or less than one-third of the total. Small wonder: virtually no funds are set aside for the maintenance of Arab residential districts and their residents are forbidden to rebuild or repair even decrepit housing. And in Tel Aviv, which the Zionists want to make a 'purely Jewish' city, a large part of the Arab district of Yaffo has been merely taken away from its residents.

There are in Israel several extreme chauvinistic organisations, such as Meir Kahane's Kach, which demand the eviction of all Arabs from Israeli territory. When all is said and done, is not the authorities' policy in line with those demands?

Karkabi. Publicly, the authorities disassociate themselves from the extremist pronouncements of Kahane and his like. But plans for the deportation of Arabs from the country are known to have been made at a government level. Moreover, some of the members of the governing right-wing parties have repeatedly called for their 'resettlement', i.e., eviction from their lands.

Murcos. The policy of discrimination is manifest in very many fields. Funds given to the Arab municipal and local councils amount in per capita

terms to 20-25 per cent, at most, of the budget of the Jewish ones. There are striking differences between the numerical strength of the staff working for them as well. Take, for instance, Kufryasif with a population of 6,000 and the Jewish community Ma'lot of the same size. We have just two people working in our social services department and they in Ma'lot have 13. The authorities refuse to finance projects needed by Arab communities, such as roads, sewage systems and sports grounds, to approve their development plans or to grant urban status to the larger ones, and do what they can to prevent their industrialisation.

The difference between Jewish and Arab towns and communities in Israel is really glaring. It makes one sad to see the plight of Nazareth, a remarkable city which is more than 2,000 years old and has ancient squares, minarets, market-places and Christian churches.⁴

Karkabi. Nazareth is the victim of the self-same policy of 'Judaisation of Galilee'. It is stifled by the lack of land for expansion and development. Since 1948 its population has quadrupled but its area has shrunk by half. The municipal council now has authority over a mere 7,500 dunums (one dunum equals roughly 0.1 hectare) of land for a population of 55,000, with one-third of that area, moreover, taken up by sacred sites, monasteries, cathedrals and historical monuments. At the same time the Jewish Upper Nazareth,⁵ with a population of 24,000, has 30,000 dunums of land. The Nazareth municipal council has no money to pave the streets, some residential areas have no sewage systems, and roads are falling into a pitiful state. There is no big industry and unemployment is in excess of 22 per cent (three times Israel's average).

What makes things worse, the local bodies of government with all their diverse functions⁶ wholly depend on the central authority. The Ministry of the Interior, for example, has the powers to disband any council (as it has already done in several Arab villages) and to annul or veto its decisions. Housing construction is the responsibility of the ministry rather than the municipal council. As a result, in Haifa, where the Arabs constitute more than one-eighth of the population,⁷ Arab tenants have been given a mere 50 flats over the past 30 years.

How do you in these circumstances fight discrimination against the Arabs and work to improve their living conditions?

Murcos. We are doing what we can. In Kufryasif we have been pressing for larger appropriations, and not without success: the council has a larger budget than any other Arab community of its size. We have been literally battling the authorities for 15 years now over the community's long-term development plan. They buried one such plan but we came up with another seven years ago. It has not yet been endorsed either. The authorities, specifically, are against our proposal for the development of light industry and poultry farms in the area but we consider them essential.

There is one more acute problem: the council has authority over less than one-third of the land belonging to the Kufryasif residents. To be able

to plan the development of the community and protect the land from confiscations, we demand that the entire territory be placed under our jurisdiction. After numerous futile submissions to the Ministry of the Interior, we took our case to the Supreme Court, which ruled in our favour. Several years have passed since that ruling but the Ministry is in no hurry to comply. We are not going to back down either.

Our council also tries to relieve the burden of local taxes levied on the working population and even to have the poorer families exempted from them. But here, too, we are coming up against the resistance of the authorities, which refuse to endorse such practices.

We seek innovations in the municipal activities. International Women's Day is now marked on March 8 every year in the towns and communities whose councils are headed by the Communists and their DFPE allies: we have made it a paid holiday for working women. Celebrations are held regularly on June 1, International Children's Day. As a rule, we organise at such celebrations political rallies in order to address the mass of people directly.

Karkabi. Before our comrade, Tawfiq Zayyad, a member of the CPI CC Political Bureau, became Mayor of Nazareth, the municipal council, dominated by supporters of Zionist parties, had not objected to the hand-over of land to Upper Nazareth or to niggardly allocations. But a very different policy has been pursued in the city for 12 years now. Right after the Democratic Front gained the majority in the municipal council (with 11 deputies out of the total of 17), it demanded from the Ministry of the Interior an increase in the municipal budget. The request was turned down. Then the Communists and their allies organised a series of impressive demonstrations in front of the Knesset in Jerusalem and at other governmental agencies. People of Nazareth were joined by residents of other Arab towns and villages in those protests. The authorities eventually had to give in and the city budget was increased: moreover, at the council's insistence taxes on the local population were even slightly reduced. As a result, it became possible to make repairs to roads and residential areas which were in an especially sorry state and to improve water supply, street lighting and transport. Campaigns of assistance to Nazareth take place every year on the initiative of its municipal council: thousands of volunteers, Arabs and Jews alike, come to the city from all over Israel, the occupied territories, and even other countries, to put in three days of work without pay for the communal good.

The Democratic Front leads the bodies of local government in Nazareth and Kufryasif and their mayors are Communists. But what can be done in the councils where the Front is represented by just one or two deputies?

Karkabi. I am the only Front deputy to Haifa's municipal council, which has a total of 27 members. But one can do a good deal even singlehanded. First, I try to influence decisions taken by the council through its working commissions (I am a member of four of them: the budget, construction, communal services and municipal services supervision). Second, I press for

the endorsement of my proposals for relief to the poorer families, for improvements in the transport services, etc. Third, I seek to win other deputies' support for positions which would reflect our party's demands on important issues, such as broader powers for local bodies of government or a reform of local taxation. Last but not least, I try to help people cope with day-to-day problems insofar as they are related to the municipal council's work.

Khoury. By the way, largely as a result of the Front's protracted campaigning for the introduction of an income tax (now pegged to housing space occupied by families), this demand has now won support from the General Centre of Local Councils, which consists mostly of supporters of the Zionist parties.

As for Acre, 14 out of its 15 municipal council deputies (those from the Labour Party,⁸ the right-wing Likud bloc and religious parties) have formed a coalition, as it were, and I am a one-man opposition. The council nevertheless has to reckon with my proposals and even accede to some of them since more than 60 per cent of Acre's Arabs supported my candidacy for Mayor in the latest elections.

There are in the municipal council two more Arab deputies and on some occasions I have succeeded in bringing them round to my stand on specific issues. For instance, once the three of us sent a telegram to the authorities, protesting on behalf of Acre's entire Arab population against a visit to the city by such a fascist as Kahane, who travels around the country with his racist rabble-rousing speeches.

Karkabi. Democratic Front deputies are helped in their work by public organisations known as committees on municipal services to the population. These committees, which consist of locals, are very effective. In Haifa, for instance, we have joined forces to impress on the municipal council the need to improve the housing conditions in the poorer residential areas and to give them more money from the budget. Championing this cause, the committee has sent many delegations to the municipal council, submitted petitions to various agencies and called rallies in support of its demands and proposals.

There are such committees in every bloc in Nazareth. They take part in the work of the municipal council, cooperating with it in tackling problems of vital importance to the population. Collaboration with public organisations in Nazareth has helped to improve schooling, to widen opportunities for people to participate in cultural activities, and to streamline the municipal administration.

Murcos. Our goal is to make all the local and municipal councils in which we have a majority into centres of struggle against the policy of discrimination. To this end we are seeking the broadest possible unity of the Arab population. There are Centrist groupings and blocs participating in election campaigns in many Arab towns and communities. Some lists of candidates have been drawn up along communal or family lines. Cooperation with such groupings is usually achieved in those places where the Democratic Front is at the head of the local bodies of government. When our representatives do not participate in municipal and local councils, we try to work out with those forces a common stand on the

general demands of the working people. We sometimes fail, of course, because of subjective reasons or the unwillingness of the other side to cooperate with the Democratic Front on the basis of a progressive programme.

Khoury. The Committee of the Heads of Arab Local Councils, established in 1977 on the Communists' initiative and in spite of the authorities' resistance, has become an important factor of cementing the Arab ranks and broadening the struggle against racial discrimination and for equality and a just peace in the region. Our allies and we are doing what we can to preserve and strengthen unity in the Committee.

Murcos. Twenty out of the Committee's 56 members belong to the Democratic Front. But the Committee has already passed a number of progressive decisions thanks to our vigorous role and is always unanimous on major political issues. Our unity makes itself felt in concrete actions, such as strikes by Arab municipal and local councils across the country. Faced with their resolve and cohesion, the Israeli head of government and the Interior Minister had to promise to raise allocations to them and to stop demolishing homes built without permission. This is further proof that unity is a guarantee of success in our difficult struggle.

Karkabi. When a popular uprising broke out in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories in 1987, the Committee became involved directly in the organisation of the country's first ever general strike by the Arab population. The decision to call a strike was taken at a meeting of representatives of all the political forces working among the Arab population of Israel. They unanimously urged a general strike of solidarity with the uprising and decided that the day of the strike, December 21, would be marked as Peace Day. Their statement also called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied lands, for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and for the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the PLO and all the other parties concerned, including Israel.

All the Israeli Arabs enthusiastically responded to the call for the general strike and not one of them went to work on that day. The schools and shops stayed closed. One minute's silence was announced at noon by muezzins in mosques and by church bells and every Israeli Arab rose to his feet to pay tribute to those who had lost their lives in the uprising.

Although the strike was peaceful, the police and security forces provoked clashes with demonstrators. Tear gas was used against Arabs in Nazareth, Umm al-Fahm and Shaf-Amr and dozens of arrests were made. Members of the government and the Knesset from the rightist parties launched a slander campaign, charging the Israeli Arabs with being enemies of the State of Israel, and a deputy interior minister even announced that he was repealing the government's decision to recognise the Committee of the Heads of Arab Local Councils.

But the strike and the uprising in the occupied lands was supported not just by the Communist Party and the cooperated Black Panthers but also by representatives of the Jewish democratic circles, the United Workers' Party⁹ and many notable public figures. The strike paved the way for a large series of acts of solidarity with the uprising in 1988. It demonstrated

the cohesion of the entire Arab population of Israel on the basis of a sound political platform and demonstrated that it was a vigorous democratic force standing for peace and equality and an important reserve of struggle against fascism and racism and for democracy.

¹ The Front was established in 1977 on the initiative of the Communist Party of Israel (CPI), which is playing the leading role in it. Along with the Communists, the Front includes the progressive Black Panther organisation, which is opposed to discrimination against the Sephardim, the Israeli Jews of Eastern descent; the Democratic Front of Nazareth; and progressive Jewish and Arab public figures and groups. — *Ed.*

² The Arab population numbers 650,000, constituting about 15.2 per cent of Israel's 4-million population (minus the occupied territories). — *Ed.*

³ Galilee is the chief Arab-populated region in Israel, one which accounts for 57.2 per cent of the entire Arab population of the country. — *Ed.*

⁴ According to the New Testament, in Nazareth the Virgin Mary learned that she was to become the mother of God's son, and that town was the boyhood home of Jesus Christ. Christian pilgrims have been coming to Nazareth since olden times. There are many churches there, with the Church of the Annunciation dominating the skyline.

⁵ Upper Nazareth was founded in 1957 and has been growing on the lands confiscated from the Arabs of Nazareth and nearby villages. The city, intended primarily for Jewish immigrants, has its own municipal council. — *Ed.*

⁶ They include water supply to the community; maintenance of general sanitation standards; street cleaning and lighting; road asphaltting and repair; construction of elementary and secondary schools, repair and equipment of school premises and their cleaning; long-term development planning (for 10 to 20 years); construction and repair of sports grounds and children's centres; and social services to the needy, the elderly and the ailing.

⁷ Haifa's population numbers 226,000. — *Ed.*

⁸ One of Israel's largest parties, a member of the present-day ruling coalition. Its programme is based on Social Zionism, a nationalistic variety of right-wing social reformism. — *Ed.*

⁹ It is a petty bourgeois Social Democratic Zionist party which is influential among members of farming settlements (kibbutzim), intellectuals, workers, and artisans. — *Ed.*

INFORMATION

International Contacts

Common Strategy of Renewal

KAROLY GROSZ, the newly elected General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, paid his first foreign visit in his new capacity to Moscow, which illustrates, in his words, the special importance attached by Hungarian Communists to friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. During the visit he met Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The two leaders concentrated on ways of renewing socialism, on socio-economic and political restructuring and on the party's role and activities today.

Karoly Grosz said that, in spite of the many differences between the two countries, they pursued a common strategy of renewing socialist society. Both parties are looking for optimum forms and methods of work as the

political vanguard of society but not to replace state agencies, let alone economic management bodies. Mikhail Gorbachov noted parallels between the two parties, primarily in the spirit, theoretical views and concepts. A greater role for the elective bodies was discussed as an urgent issue.

The two leaders exchanged opinion on the condition of Soviet-Hungarian relations and on the present international situation and expressed their satisfaction with the growing atmosphere of trust and understanding between the two countries.

Shared Desire

Representatives of the CPSU and the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) discussed the international situation and relations between the two parties, says the joint communique approved in Moscow on the results of the talks between the delegations of the CPSU and the AKEL; the latter was led by Dimitris Christofias, elected the CC AKEL General Secretary last April.

The sides discussed at length problems of disarmament, the abolition of nuclear weapons, and the achievement of international security. The CPSU delegation reaffirmed the Soviet Union's unchanged stand for the Cypriots' rights and interests and for a more vigorous search for ways of settling the Cyprus problem. A UN-sponsored international conference could be an important factor of such a settlement.

The AKEL delegation spoke highly of the Soviet Union's policy of perestroika and noted that the destinies of peace and civilisation and the national liberation and social emancipation of peoples depended on the success of the changes in the USSR and on the introduction of new political thinking in the practice of international relations.

The delegations approved a plan of exchanges and cooperation between the two parties for 1988-1989 with a view to further developing fraternal relations between them.

Restoration of Relations

Relations between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party USA have been restored after a break of more than 20 years. The restoration of relations was announced at a meeting of a delegation of the Communist Party USA led by General Secretary Gus Hall and the leaders of the Communist Party of China during the American Communists' visit to China last June. Traditional relations of friendship between the people and the communist parties of the two countries were noted. The sides pointed out that the restoration of relations between the two parties would help build understanding and strengthen peace.

For an International Conference of Fraternal Parties

International contacts between Communists are not sufficiently close, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party noted at a meeting at

the end of last June, and the idea of convening an international conference of fraternal parties, namely, of European communist and worker's parties, was put forward. Maxime Gremetz, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PCF Central Committee, said that it would be difficult to implement that idea because some parties opposed it in principle. Such a stand harms the process of exchanges of experience, the extension of solidarity and the solution of important questions of peace and disarmament. What is at issue is not the revival of international conferences to lay down a common policy for all the fraternal parties but the convocation of forums for exchanges of ideas to enable progress towards the solution of various problems, such as environmental protection and the development of Third World countries which are being robbed by transnational corporations.

WMR Introduces

ACHILLE OCCHETTO

General Secretary, Italian Communist Party

ACHILLE OCCHETTO was elected General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party at the joint plenary meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission held on June 21, 1988.

He was born in Turin on March 3, 1936, son of a journalist. While at university he became active in the youth movement, joining the Italian Federation of Communist Youth (IFCY) in 1953. From October 1960 he led its Milan branch. In 1961 he was the editor of the weekly *Nuova Generazione* (New Generation). In 1962 he was elected National Secretary of the IFCY.

In May 1966 Occhetto became a member of the ICP Leadership. He headed the education and science departments, and later the department for the press and propaganda of the CC. In 1969 he became Secretary of the Palermo Party Branch, and in 1972 of the ICP Sicilian Regional Committee. He was elected a communal councillor in Palermo.

Achille Occhetto was one of Enrico Berlinguer's close associates. A member of the ICP Secretariat since November 1983, in 1986-1987 he was its Coordinator. In June 1987 he was elected Deputy General Secretary of the Party.

At the last general election in 1987, he was elected a member of Parliament for the fourth time. He is a member of the Chamber of Deputies' constitutional commission.

In Brief

BELGIUM

THE country's widespread federalist tendencies, stemming from the existence of two, Flemish and French-speaking, communities, demand of the Communists a more flexible policy, including party structure, noted an extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Belgium (June 1988), approving the draft proposed by a special commission on the changes to the Rules.

Under the re-edited Rules, the party retains unified bodies (the Central Committee and the CC Political Bureau) and they are to pursue a common line in questions of foreign policy, West European integration and the CPB's international ties. The forum adopted a resolution on giving structural shape to the three component parts of the CPB — Flemish, French-speaking and the Brussels group.

CHILE

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile has called upon the people to vote against the only, military junta-nominated candidate for president in a plebiscite which the authorities intend to hold before the end of the year. The meeting proceeded from the assumption that Pinochet would be the most likely candidate, thus turning the elections into a big farce. Yet a sharpened political struggle and the mobilisation of social forces make it possible to use the situation that has developed for a step-up of resistance which will bring the end of tyranny nearer.

COSTA RICA

The work of a mixed commission of the Popular Vanguard Party, the Costa Rican People's Party and the Broad Democratic Front has produced a document entitled 'Political Principles for the Unity of Left and Democratic Forces', which must help build a democratic popular coalition involving these parties, with a subsequent enlistment of other progressive political organisations as well.

FRG

A plenary meeting of the Board of the German Communist Party took place in Dusseldorf on June 17-18. Its participants discussed the submitted draft of a document, 'Federal Republic — 2000', which sets out the proposals of the GCP on the issues of domestic and foreign policy of the FRG for the 1990s.

PRC

Over the last ten years, 12,850,000 people have joined the CPC, reports *Renmin ribao*. They're mainly workers, peasants and representatives of the intelligentsia. At present, out of the 47 million Communists 27.3 per cent are people under 35, and 28.5 per cent have a complete secondary or higher education (the figure for 1978 was only 12.8 per cent). As part of an

overhaul of the political structure and the cadre reform, the PRC will have an annual recertification of leading local party and administrative officials from the current year. About 110,000 people are subject to it.

SPAIN

Thousands of Barcelona residents and visitors gathered at the Montjuich Park where a festival of the newspaper *Avanti*, central organ of the Party of Communists of Catalonia, was being held. Delegations of communist and workers' parties and national liberation movements from many countries of the world also took part. The programme of the festival included discussions on the issues of domestic and international life, peace and the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in the Mediterranean.

exchange of views, discussion

Perestroika In The USSR And The International Communist Movement

World Marxist Review has sponsored a discussion on the subject of perestroika in the USSR and the international communist movement. Taking part were **Jose Riva**, member of the Central Committee Political Commission and Central Committee secretary for international relations of the Dominican Communist Party; **George Toubi**, Central Committee secretary and chief of the CC international section of the Communist Party of Israel; **Pablo Sandoval Ramirez**, National Leadership member of the Mexican Socialist Party; **Damian Pretel**, Doctor of Philosophy and Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Spain; **Jim West**, National Executive Committee member of the Communist Party USA; and Professor **Yuri Krasin**, rector of the Social Sciences Institute under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The transcript of the discussion follows.

A Fresh Impetus or New Difficulties?

JOSE RIVA. There are two major types of approach to perestroika in the Soviet Union among the democratic forces of the Dominican Republic.

Some in the democratic movement view the change under way in the USSR with a considerable degree of scepticism. They believe that this change may end up weakening the revolutionary militancy of the Soviet Communists. One encounters such attitudes often among university students, journalists and intellectuals. The body of sceptics also includes people whose views are further to the right and who maintain that perestroika is an attempt at borrowing some capitalist methods and forms of management so as to revive the economy. This is a pessimistic attitude.

At the same time, the conviction is widespread in the Left, democratic movement that perestroika in the Soviet Union will increase its economic potential and enable it to strengthen its hand in its competition with capitalist countries and to step up its assistance to the world's revolutionary forces. Besides, this will demonstrate what socialism can achieve if it develops efficiently. This attitude has gained considerable currency, and our party, generally, shares this view.

Perestroika is also important to the DCP because it has ideologically disarmed the dissidents in our country who opposed the Soviet Union and the policies of the Dominican Communists. Today, even the more extremist groups have run out of ammunition to attack the USSR. True, they continue to criticise our party, but they are doing that under the banner of 'renewal', in an attempt to impose a boundless democratisation on the DCP and to weaken party discipline.

On the whole though, I don't think the difficulties that have arisen with regard to the Communists' activities are really great. The advantages are much more numerous. One of them is that the impact exerted by the ideas of perestroika has helped restore our party's contacts with those sections of the democratic forces which, previously, had lost interest in existing socialism. This restoration has been facilitated by the articles in the Soviet press that filter down to us.

I would also like to note that the policies of the Soviet Union in its relations with the United States are amazingly bold not only in matters of defending peace but also with regard to the settlement of local conflicts. These policies highlight the contrast between the vibrant, dynamic and prompt response of the Soviet leadership to international developments and the lethargic way Moscow acted in the past. All this influences the political climate in the Dominican Republic too.

Jim West. The American public regards perestroika and glasnost above all in the context of US-Soviet relations. Today one can say with confidence that anti-Sovietism and anti-communism are losing ground in the United States: people see that thanks to Soviet initiatives, a transition is occurring from confrontation to a struggle for peaceful coexistence as a form of settling international problems. Our public opinion was greatly impressed by the US-Soviet summits, the moratorium on nuclear tests the Soviet Union observed unilaterally for many months and particularly the signing of the INF Treaty.

We are witnessing the birth of a very broad coalition of peace forces which favours a 50 per cent cut in strategic arms, nuclear disarmament and complete elimination of mass destruction weapons. Alongside many unions, religious groups and various peace and pacifist organisations, the

Communist Party USA and the democratic socialists are recognised as accepted members of this coalition. This new acceptance of communist participation in the peace struggle can be described as a spin-off of new thinking and of the changes that have occurred in international relations. The Soviet Union now holds the initiative on the international scene. This is very important, and it provides Communists with considerable advantages.

The possibility increases that the Cold War is receding irreversibly into the past. New economic and political forces are emerging, and so are new global tasks. Even advocates of capitalism recognise that. Professor Robert Legwold, director of the Harriman Institute, notes that the world is entering a new phase. In his view, Gorbachov is the first Soviet leader to link national security to mutual security by declaring that the USSR will not be able to attain its own security at the expense of its foremost adversary. The professor overlooks the fact that the Soviet Union linked its security with the interests of the United States and Britain in defeating the Axis powers during World War II. But his remark about the new historical stage is absolutely true in the view of the CPUSA. It is a fact of great importance for the progressive and revolutionary forces, as well as for America's peace forces.

Perestroika has given new opportunities to the US Communists. Let me cite a few examples to illustrate the changes occurring in the attitudes to our party and the decline of anti-communism. In the city of Lorain a comrade was one of the founders of a steel union local. During the Cold War there were attempts to consign his name to oblivion. But recently, a union meeting voted unanimously to restore his name to the list of the union's founders — thereby acknowledging his legitimate right to be a Communist and a union leader.

In another example, a Chicago factory was closed down. The company refused to honour its contractual obligation to pay pensions to the retirees. Recently, after a struggle of many years, the factory management paid this compensation to the workers it had dismissed. This successful struggle was led by a Communist. Such developments help raise the prestige of the party. They are a spin-off of the change in the international climate and the decline of anti-Sovietism.

On the other hand, new problems arise because perestroika and glasnost are misinterpreted in the United States. Some people, even a few in the party, hold that perestroika is similar to the so-called Prague Spring of 1968 which was in fact a counter-revolutionary attempt. Some revisionists and ex-Communists distort the essence of perestroika and glasnost and try to use this against the party, claiming they were right in 1968, etc. In short, problems do exist.

Damian Pretel. The Spanish reaction to perestroika has been, above all, one of admiration — not only among the country's Left, progressive forces but also on the part of the general public. Perestroika has highlighted the colossal vitality of socialism as a system and shown that its democratic potential is greater than that of the most democratic capitalist country. It has also demonstrated the fact that Stalinism and the neo-Stalinism of the Brezhnev years are not rooted in socialism, that they are alien to it and that

they arose when the essence of socialism was deformed. It is becoming increasingly clear to Spanish public opinion that socialism cannot exist without freedom and democracy.

It is symbolic that the enthusiasm of the Spanish people about renewal in the USSR deprived the ruling classes of an opportunity to organise a frontal attack on the ideas of perestroika. At first, people were told that reform would either restore certain capitalist features under socialism or lead to a complete restoration of capitalism. But these claims failed to muster any significant support in Spain. Then the bourgeois mass media started harping on recent difficulties in the USSR, notably in interethnic relations. However, one can state with confidence that in Spain it proved impossible to rally the conservative forces for a frontal ideological attack on the changes under way in the Soviet Union.

To the CPS itself, perestroika is also important because it has borne out the ideas we ourselves worked out concerning socialism, freedom, democracy and international politics. These ideas are being developed in the course of perestroika and in the bold moves of Soviet diplomacy.

I think you are all aware how pressing the issue of communist unity is in Spain. To my mind, perestroika has shown that one cannot allow communist parties to split or encourage such fragmentation from without. The renewal drive in the USSR is helping the three communist groups in our country unite and overcome a simplistic and dogmatic approach to socialism.

I would like to dwell on another problem of special importance to the CPS and to all Spanish Communists. One can see that the conservative forces active in some communist groups in our country share the attitudes of and seek support from the retrograde bureaucratic forces which are, in various forms, resisting perestroika in the USSR. These indigenous conservatives hope that as long as their counterparts preserve their positions in the socialist countries, it will be possible to prevent the Spanish Communists from uniting. Therefore, the success of perestroika in the USSR will bring improvement to our national communist movement.

George Toubi. I would like to stress two points. First, perestroika was a vital need and in fact inevitable both due to the requirements of further developing and advancing socialism in the Soviet Union and also due to the new and changing international situation. Second, perestroika has not been completed yet: it is still developing. Like any undertaking, like any new phenomenon this process — quite naturally — encounters certain objective and subjective difficulties. At the same time it is important to stress that the initiative behind the revolutionary changes in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union, as well as in its foreign policy of peace, can come only from the CPSU.

Perestroika is being followed with keen interest throughout the world, in every country, and Israel is no exception. To say that our people react to perestroika either only positively or only negatively would be an oversimplification. The response varies, and it cannot be summed up as a simple 'yes' or 'no'. It is imperative for us to know what elements of this revolutionary process our enemies and adversaries are trying to use for their own ends. I think that their position is now more difficult, and it will

be still more difficult in the future. They seek to distort the very essence of perestroika. "We told you Communists," they openly say, "that socialism is an unworkable social model, and its inefficiency is confirmed by perestroika."

It is necessary to repel this unfounded and superficial claim. We must stress again and again while discussing perestroika that scientific socialism and the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism remain valid and that socialism as a social system is in many ways superior. This does not mean that we are immune against mistakes. How do we assess the mistakes committed, say, during socialist construction in the USSR? I believe it is perfectly clear that these mistakes are not rooted in the nature of socialism. Moreover, they run counter to its very principles.

I have mentioned some of the perestroika-related difficulties that arose due to wrong interpretations outside our party. But certain problems emerge within our party too. For example, some Communists at times behave as if the principles of democratic centralism have ceased to exist. They preach total permissiveness and respond to comradely criticism by saying, "We are now in the era of perestroika. Anything goes." Hence the task to resist resolutely any distortion of the real essence of perestroika.

Now I would like to say a few words regarding the statement of Comrade Pretel. Some fraternal parties are speaking about their 'far-sightedness' in connection with perestroika, claiming that it bears out some of their controversial ideological and political positions. I think that such an attitude is fraught with two mistakes. First, this will inevitably lead us into a blind alley of pointless debate. Second, those who advocate these views in fact ignore the role of the CPSU as the only motive force which could reveal mistakes, and launch such a large-scale process of change in Soviet society. I have no intention of starting a discussion on this question here, but I do not believe that the 'Dubcek Years' in Czechoslovakia or the stand taken by some West European communist parties during the 1970s were of a kind with today's developments in the USSR.

I would also like to stress another point related to the work of our party. Perestroika is very important to the CPI as far as reappraising some aspects of its activities is concerned. Our party is conducting a broad discussion regarding its methods of work, its tactics and the forms used to publicise its positions with due regard for the distinctive situation of Israeli society. Therefore perestroika is providing us with a new impetus in the work of our party.

Damian Pretel. Comrade Toubi, could you specify your critical remark?

George Toubi. Comrade Pretel, I did not voice any critical remarks. I merely want to emphasise that today, with an in-depth process of renewal occurring within the international communist movement, it would not be advisable to return to our past differences or debates and argue who was right and who was wrong. I am sure that as this process advances, many problems will be cleared up. I believe that this approach is in the interests of all our parties at the current stage. It does not mean that I am unaware of our past differences. Let us for the time being leave them aside. I hope I have made my point clear.

Damian Pretel. I may have been misunderstood, but I am far from trying

to revive past differences. Still, I would like to explain that the past is part of today's political culture. That is of enormous significance to the Spanish Communists. We do not intend to castigate or lecture anyone. Our point is simply that perestroika has confirmed some of our own theoretical conclusions. Moreover, it has developed them considerably. But there were also questions on which we were wrong.

While on the subject of the past, let me only remind you that the Soviet comrades are working for an objective reappraisal of their country's history beginning from 1917, as well as the history of their party. This is clear from the vast amount of articles published in the Soviet press on the subject, say, of Stalinism, or from the recent rehabilitation of Nikolai Bukharin and other prominent party leaders who were members of the Leninist guard and whom Stalin exterminated.

Turning to the past helps us learn from our mistakes and better articulate the party's policy today. That was what I intended to say sincerely and without laying any claims.

Yuri Krasin. I think one could describe the impact perestroika is having on social consciousness as occurring at two levels. One is external and I would even say somewhat sensational. After long years of stagnation, social thought in the Soviet Union is in motion. Hence the perfectly natural interest in the bold and frank articles published by newspapers and periodicals, in the polemics conducted in the press over many pressing issues. Abroad, too, there is widespread public interest in these developments. After all, for many years people in the West generally knew very little about the USSR, seeing it as a completely closed society. All of a sudden, this society has begun discussing its problems, has flung all doors and windows wide open and shown not only its positive aspects (which happened in the past too) but also revealed its shortcomings. All this is seen abroad as sensational.

But there is another level at which perestroika influences social consciousness. I am referring to the awareness of the correlation between reality and the socialist ideal. Before perestroika began, there was a profound gap in the USSR between the ideal (seen as an abstract and test-tube, sterile kind of socialism) and the deformed reality which in many aspects fitted neither the ideal nor even the elementary vision of a socialist society. This reality included a bureaucracy, inhumanity which led to brutal repression during the Stalinist period, an over-inflated role of the state apparatus and a low level of our society's democratic traditions. In other words, reality clashed with the ideal, and this contradiction grew increasingly sharp and irreconcilable. It has now been revealed and we have realised that communism is no abstraction and that the ideal is taking shape in the course of building a new society. The ideal has been brought down to terra firma. We now see that socialism is not a nebulosity but our own earthly, mundane socialist world with all its contradictions. Nevertheless, this socialism is closer to us because we have worked hard and painfully to build it, and it is ours with all its advantages and shortcomings.

I hold that this exerts a powerful influence on the international communist movement too because the discrepancy between the ideal and

reality often led communist parties to picture, in their policy documents, an abstract kind of socialism without contradictions or difficulties, a sort of other-worldly objective far removed from reality. As a result, Communists sometimes came to resemble members of a closed sect which could converse in the jargon of this abstract ideal. But outside the sect, no one understood this jargon because it ignored the hard facts and contradictions. Now, for the first time ever, we have set ourselves the task of asserting the potential of this earthly socialism. This is clear from the formula (more democracy, more socialism) our party has advanced. And I fully agree with Comrade Pretel that these two concepts are organically interlinked. It is only natural that this perception of socialism works against conservative forces among Communists both in the Soviet Union and outside it and inspires and cements the creative forces which stand for renewal of the communist movement.

We are to restore Lenin's vision of socialism. But that will not be enough because the world has changed a great deal compared to what it was in Lenin's lifetime. History has posed completely new problems — say, those connected with the technological revolution — which he could not foresee. And so we must not only restore Lenin's concept of socialism but also enrich it with the experience the human race has accumulated.

Pablo Sandoval Ramirez. At first, people in Mexico reacted to perestroika with scepticism: they still remembered Khrushchov's reforms which had not been carried through. But gradually, the specific manifestations of the changes in the Soviet Union won over large sections of Mexican public opinion. Of course, the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests made a great impression and demonstrated the new attitudes taken by the USSR in the field of its traditionally peace-loving foreign policy. Then Mexicans noted the changes in the economic sphere and particularly glasnost and democratisation as the 'spirit of perestroika'. It is these changes that make this social renewal drive revolutionary and arouse heightened interest abroad. The idea that there can be no socialism without democracy has won tremendous support from the democratic forces and the Mexican mass media.

Also of great importance is the current effort in the USSR to expose Stalinism and overcome its pernicious consequences which held the country back in various spheres. All this enhances the appeal and the influence of socialism and consequently helps Mexico's Left, progressive and democratic forces. This means that Soviet perestroika is giving an important impetus to our party and opening favourable opportunities before it.

New Thinking and Our Theoretical Heritage

Jim West. We should develop Marxist-Leninist theory comprehensively in light of the problems that currently exist. The world's interdependence does not negate the class struggle but opens new frameworks and forms before it. I believe we should closely examine the question of which fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism remain valid today — for example, those referring to the nature of capitalism — and which ones should be modified or abandoned. The basic nature of capitalism generates

impulses to overcome severe contradictions by means of force and military moves, of warfare. We should not create illusions on this score. Our attention should focus on the working class, oppressed peoples and the new forces that now confront capitalism and can compel it to retreat and to accept the commitment to world peace. The Vietnam War, the Korean War, and other setbacks for US imperialism prove that this is possible. What has to be stressed is that the worldwide peace movements were a decisive, major factor in compelling imperialism to end these wars.

Yuri Krasin. I would like to examine a point Comrade West touched upon — the role of the class struggle in today's world. Perestroika in the USSR does not question the ultimate class-based goals we have set ourselves as Communists. Many people all over the world understand it. To back this view, let us use a line of reasoning Lenin often used. Let us quote our ideological adversaries who are usually well aware of the class-based policies pursued by Communists. I will refer to Richard Nixon's interview published in *The Washington Post* recently. In it, the former US President refutes the view that Mikhail Gorbachov has abandoned the idea of a communist world. Mr Nixon cites a relevant passage from Gorbachov's report on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and concludes that the road has proved longer than expected but the goal is the same. You can see that our ideological adversary, an avowed anti-communist, does not doubt that the Soviet Communists are still true to their revolutionary goals.

At the same time I think that we should reappraise advancement towards that goal in today's integral although contradictory world, in the nuclear and space age. Lenin noted repeatedly that Marx and Engels had sometimes been mistaken about the time framework within which revolutionary objectives were to be reached. To some extent, this is also true of Lenin. I am sure you remember that in the wake of the October Revolution — in 1918, to be exact — he predicted more than once that a world socialist revolution would triumph soon (within a year). But then this goal began to recede further into the future.

Let us now take an historically retrospective look at all this. Take the bourgeois revolution which does not transform relations of ownership as profoundly as the socialist one. Take French history: the revolution began in 1789 and, Marx says, ended in 1871, during the Paris Commune — a span of almost one hundred years in the history of one nation. But viewed in global terms, the bourgeois revolution is still continuing in a number of developing countries. How, then, can one expect the socialist revolution to triumph definitively within 70 years?

If the plans charted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU are fulfilled, the USSR will attain the 1985 level of US labour productivity by the year 2000. In other words, we can only hope to match the United States in labour productivity by the centennial of the October Revolution. That's as far as a single country is concerned. But what about the global scale?

To sum up, the process of the social revolution which appeared so simple at the time the Winter Palace was stormed, when people thought the 'final conflict' would soon be over, has in fact proved to be a protracted historical process lasting for centuries. Naturally, capitalism today is not what it used

to be in 1917 or even in the first post-war years. Socialism, too, is entering a new stage of its development and acquiring a radically new quality. All this makes it necessary for the Communists to revise obsolete propositions and abandon many stereotypes.

Take, say, the dictatorship of the proletariat, a cardinal concept of Marxist theory. We all know that this phrase is virtually no longer used in the documents of the communist movement. Is that accidental? Is that a scholastic point? No, it is not. It simply reflects a change in our conceptual apparatus which reflects new realities. In developed capitalist countries, a modern working class is taking shape, and the subject of social transformations is itself changing qualitatively. A technological revolution is occurring. This revolution is transferring the bulk of manpower to informatics and the services. That manpower is becoming to an ever greater extent, as Marx put it, a combination of social forces that includes the intellectual potential of society, science. A completely new worker is emerging, differing greatly from what he was in the 1920s, 1940s or 1950s.

Delegates representing communist parties of developed capitalist countries are taking part in our discussion, and I think they'll agree that the transition of their nations to socialism is more likely to become possible through the consensus of a majority of the population. Naturally, in that case, too, the contemporary working class and the Marxist forces must discharge their function and play their progressive, vanguard role. But the class-based nature and methods of exercising power during the period of transition will hardly be consonant with what has come to be known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new realities require new concepts. That is why, while supporting Comrade West's idea that the class struggle remains the motive force of social progress, I believe it important to specify what we mean by this struggle in today's world. The problems Marxist thought is facing are extremely complex and, let me say frankly, we have been slow in analysing new realities.

Damian Pretel. I will try merely to outline briefly the theoretical issues new political thinking has put on our agenda. First and foremost, there's been an obvious shift in the interpretation of the concept of 'peaceful coexistence' which, if I understand correctly, is no longer treated as a form of the class struggle. The idea about the dialectical interconnection of the social and the class-based factors in international relations in our nuclear age is of tremendous importance too. On the other hand, perestroika is telling us unequivocally not to subordinate the activities of communist parties to the foreign policy interests of the USSR. I interpret the phrase about 'unity in diversity' as cooperation of sovereign communist parties and the absence of a party with a leader's mandate in our movement.

I fully share Comrade Krasin's view that new political thinking is a return to genuine Marxism-Leninism with due regard for the realities of the late twentieth century. But I would like to emphasise the ideas about the close interrelationship of socialism and democracy, about the primacy of practice over theory — ideas that have prompted such a heated debate in the Soviet press. The point that the role of the subjective factor increases under socialism is also very important. I see it as a sign that we are breaking with the Stalinist views which have done so much damage both to

Soviet society and to the international prestige of the socialist idea itself.

On the whole, new political thinking reaffirms the fact that dogmatic Marxism cannot exist because dogmatic Marxism is no longer Marxism. Perestroika is a powerful force stimulating the liberation of Marxism-Leninism not only from the shackles of dogmatism but also from the neodogmatism of the Brezhnev-Suslov period.

I think perestroika has made it urgently necessary for new thinking to spread, besides, to Marxist philosophy and other social sciences. We should promote an understanding of philosophy as the science of method, as a form of thinking and cognition, not as an abstract worldview.

Jose Riva. In connection with new political thinking a question of principle arises. It has long been debated, but we don't think it has been fully cleared up. I am referring to the correlation between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation.

Today in Latin America the impression is — and this view is held not only by the DCP but also by other communist parties in our region — that the efforts to tackle the problems of peace and disarmament may somehow push into the background solidarity with the peoples striving for national liberation. Every aspect of this issue is important — the way we should arrive at the right theoretical formula and, more significantly, the thrust of practical policies. Soviet leaders, primarily Comrade Gorbachov, often speak about mutual security, about the interdependence of today's world, about mutual responsibility. We believe that these ideas are perhaps being overemphasised, and this 'clips the wings' of the national liberation movement.

We hold that too many hopes are sometimes pinned on the ability of this or that treaty to prevent war. True, recent agreements do help ease international tensions to a degree. But one should always remember that genuine universal security can only be achieved through a social transformation of the world. This is why we believe that along with the struggle for peace and disarmament, we should simultaneously develop the national liberation movement. Many communist parties on our continent, I repeat, hold this view.

Jim West. In general, I agree with what Comrade Krasin said here, except in the attitude to the question of workers in the basic, traditional industries. There is a certain tendency to ignore this category of workers who are seen as no longer playing a serious role. The emphasis seems to be on the workers of new, emergent industries. But in any industrial society there are workers who are employed in the basic industries, and their role will remain decisive, including in the effort to unite the whole class, which also means the new categories of workers. We should remember that the workers in the basic industries are the bearers of the best traditions in the history of the working class. Incidentally, some of the new industries are also basic.

One more point. Our party understands the need for perestroika and glasnost and desires their complete success. This would clearly establish the superiority of socialism over capitalism and have a revolutionising effect. There is, however, a serious problem with some articles which have appeared in the *Moscow News*, *New Times*, and *World Marxist Review*. I

think that a special responsibility rests on Soviet comrades for the statements which are made in the Soviet and communist press and which are often regarded in the United States as reflecting the official position of the Soviet Union. Due account should be taken of the response to these statements abroad, on the part of both Communists and non-Communists.

In this connection doubts arise about the contemporary value of Marxism-Leninism, about whether our positions were independent in the past, etc., especially when anti-Marxist-Leninist statements are published uncritically, without a militant polemic against them. Hence the extremely great importance of showing where there is continuity between the past and the present, of specifying past mistakes and explaining how the circumstances have changed — because for its part, the bourgeoisie interprets new thinking as a call for a return to capitalism.

For the sake of minimising such confusion, we should fight for the correct understanding of new thinking as a further development of our basic scientific socialist theory in new directions. It is especially important, in view of the threat of a nuclear holocaust, as well as the danger to the world ecological balance, of world hunger, etc., to stress the fundamental humanistic essence and high moral content of Marxism-Leninism which motivated its development from the very beginning. In fact, an ideological offensive is needed on this score, and imperialism must be put on the defensive ideologically on these questions. It is this which, among other things, can encourage others, including the more sober-minded capitalists, to cooperate to advance the common good of the human race.

Yuri Krasin. Permit me to make two remarks. The first in connection with what Comrade Riva said here.

The record of national liberation revolutions, including those in the Latin American region, has shown quite clearly that economic problems are the biggest stumbling block. Even when revolutions win victories, as the case was in Chile and is now in Nicaragua, they immediately run into the problem of an economic programme and begin to mark time. That was what led to the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile. I mean that the solution of the problems national liberation revolutions encounter appears to be connected with the establishment of an equitable international economic order. The latter, in turn, is linked organically with issues of disarmament, with releasing resources to meet the immediate and long-term needs of the human race and to eliminate unjust economic relations. I am far from trying to deny the role of the liberation movements themselves, but the problem assumes an international dimension in which it is intertwined with the struggle for a non-violent world, for disarmament. If you are committed to revolution, you have to think in terms of world, as well as domestic politics nowadays.

My second comment concerns Comrade West's remarks. If I understood him correctly, he objects to the fact that some of our newspapers and periodicals sold abroad create more problems for the US Communists than they do anything useful. He said the Soviet press bore a special responsibility.

I'll begin by answering this quite forthrightly and then explain my answer. I am convinced that there cannot be one kind of truth for the

Soviet people and another for the public, for the Communists abroad. Truth is one, it is indivisible, and it cannot be measured out differently to different audiences. But if a journalist, scholar, or political activist writes something addressed to readers in any particular country, he or she should take the distinctive historical experience, psychological make-up and prevailing sentiments of this nation into account. Perhaps, when we write something for Western readers who are less familiar with Soviet realities, we should balance our criticism of negative aspect which perestroika, naturally, has thrown into bold relief, with a discussion of those achievements of socialism which we do not mention at home simply because they are self-evident. Every Soviet citizen learns about them in primary school, but such is not the case as far as Western readers are concerned. So it appears that this kind of balance should be maintained.

How to Assess the Political Mistakes of the Past

Jim West. Naturally, one cannot develop Marxism-Leninism without closely studying the past. The present is born of the past with all its weaknesses and difficulties. We stand on the shoulders of the past. One cannot reject it out of hand. We are dealing with people's lives, with their long years of devoted work for socialism and peace, with their hopes and their integrity, and we musn't forget that. I think it is time for the international communist movement to begin, on a collective basis, a study of its history. That is all the more important in view of the tendency to present the Communist International as a global mistake and to denigrate the invaluable role it played in pre-war history. The deliberations and findings of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International are rich in basic lessons valid to this very day, for example.

Comrade Krasin is quite right to put in historical perspective the far-reaching revolutionary change which perestroika and glasnost can bring about. In 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' Marx said that working-class revolutions would keep criticising themselves, correcting their mistakes as they proceeded, returning to what was seemingly accomplished in order to start from scratch, and aware of the shortcomings, difficulties and flaws of the first attempts at change.

Obviously, socialist construction is not an easy undertaking in any country. One can assume that the transition to socialism in the United States will also have its share of mistakes, deviations and, sometimes, perhaps even serious violations of law. We will have the advantage that the US working class is a very practical class. But some of our biggest problems will be ideological. In every country, socialism will have the scars and marks it inherits from its particular history of capitalist or feudal exploitation. We have a great deal to learn. The correction of mistakes in the USSR does not mean that we will make no mistakes. And, as has been said, the worst mistake is to do nothing.

Jose Riva. Perestroika is very important to the international communist movement because it has opened a completely new period in its history — a period of debate and a frank exchange of views. While previously we tried to 'resolve' some issues by distancing ourselves from each other, today's realities make it imperative for us to jointly discuss the ideas and

the problems that arise before communist parties both in socialist countries and elsewhere.

Back in the 1960s the Dominican Communist Party held that it was time for renewal in the socialist countries. I would like to recall here that at the latest Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969, the DCP refused to sign the final document because it could not accept some of its provisions. These provisions later were the source of numerous leftward and rightward deviations within the communist movement. At that time, our stand failed to muster understanding, and that entailed certain difficulties our party encountered within the movement. I am recalling this simply to say that change has long been necessary in the socialist countries, so as to restore the appeal of socialism in various regions.

Now that perestroika has formulated many issues so clearly, we all realise that socialism, while essentially a much more humane, democratic and fair system than capitalism, has nevertheless made a number of major mistakes which must be discussed openly if we are to explain their genesis and try to correct them. I agree with Comrade Krasin: we cannot hide anything. The suppression of information in several socialist countries is a serious problem. I think that should this practice continue, it would do a great disservice not only to the Communists of the socialist countries but also to the prestige of the other fraternal parties. The same is true of the authoritarian, anti-democratic manner of government which developed in many socialist countries, primarily in the USSR. These undemocratic practices eroded the masses' interest in socialist construction. My party is well aware of this and of the fact that perestroika is an imperative of history, that it should make socialism dynamic and highlight its tremendous potential not only in the USSR but also in the world at large.

Some comrades have already spoken here about the way we should regard our mistakes. I believe the mistakes made in the course of socialist construction can be explained. As a social system, socialism is a recent phenomenon. It was built in the Soviet Union practically from scratch, without any previous experience. Therefore, mistakes were simply unavoidable. Today, socialism has every chance to correct its shortcomings and demonstrate its highly viable nature.

I do not agree that a discussion of socialism's problems will harm it. Only an honest and methodical analysis of the mistakes committed can insure against their recurrence. Nor do I think that forthright criticism and self-criticism run counter to Marxism-Leninism. On the contrary, this is consonant with the very essence of our theory.

Pablo Sandoval Ramirez. I would like to take issue with Comrade West, having first reiterated my party's unconditional solidarity with the struggle of the CPUSA which is active in the foremost imperialist country of today's world.

I cannot accept the view that the mistakes made as socialism was being built were 'natural'. Perestroika has made it imperative for all of us to overcome a naturalistic and linear attitude to history. History is made by people. And Stalinism was not an inevitable evil, just as the mistakes and crimes of the Stalin years were not inevitable.

To me, a self-critical analysis of the path traversed is a key aspect of the renewal drive in the USSR. An in-depth reappraisal of history has in fact been launched because a great deal must be reshaped, and recurrence of past mistakes and crimes must be prevented. This imparts extreme importance to the reassessment of the role played by many prominent leaders of the October Revolution whose names were unjustly forgotten or anathematised.

We may agree or disagree with some views held by, say, Nikolai Bukharin, but we must obviously welcome the restoration of his good name. I think the same should be done with regard to Leon Trotsky who never was a 'fascist agent' or an 'imperialist mercenary'. We may accept or reject his views, but we cannot deny that Trotsky was a leader of the Bolshevik party, head of the Petrograd Soviet and the man who commanded the Red Army. I believe an attempt is being made to evaluate his historical role properly, but one should move faster to rehabilitate Trotsky politically. Perhaps this is more difficult because Trotsky was not tried the way Bukharin was. But Trotsky, too, was politically slandered and then killed. I repeat that we need a just assessment of the part Trotsky played in history.

Indeed, the study of history is our common revolutionary task. Much information has been collected in Mexico, and it can help restore the truth about Trotsky. You know that he was assassinated in Mexico. The Comintern's envoys tried to involve the then leaders of the Mexican Communist Party in these tragic developments. Those leaders refused, and on that pretext they were accused of being Trotskyites (as in the case of Valentin Campa) and expelled from the MCP.

Jim West. I concede that we have certain fundamental differences in our approach to Trotsky and Trotskyism, but they are small potatoes compared to the urgent need to unite in the interest of the working classes of our two countries. I hope we can unite in a struggle against the common enemy — the US-based transnationals and banks which exploit both Mexican and US workers with equal ruthlessness.

Yuri Krasin. I agree fully with Comrade Sandoval that Trotsky's role should be shown for what it was. That is the Marxist approach, the only right attitude. Historians must, of course, adequately recreate his role in the October Revolution. But I don't think this will mean Trotsky's political rehabilitation. After all, the concepts he advocated stipulated the establishment in the USSR of what we now call a system of administration by fiat. In other words, paradoxical as it may seem at first glance, there is an inner affinity between Trotskyism and Stalinism: both relied exclusively on coercion and administration by fiat in running the country. I don't think we can describe this as a positive attitude, for a political rehabilitation calls for just that.

While on this subject, I'd like to note that one may encounter what I would call two philosophical concepts within the revolutionary movement. According to one of them, a minority — that is, the party — has learned the truth and must act to make the majority — that is the people — happy. Here the emphasis is basically on coercion, on administrative methods, on forcing the masses to accept the will of a minority.

The other, truly Leninist concept, is that a conscious minority — the party — should be the vanguard, but it should advance together with the masses and help them develop, not drag them forcibly behind it. Then the people will be the makers of history and not its objects. Viewed from this angle, the Leninist concept is clearly in opposition to various extremist, radical Leftist theories and to both Trotskyism and Stalinism because, according to the latter, the people are an object to be manipulated.

Pablo Sandoval Ramirez. Comrade Krasin is right in that Trotsky's penchant for administrative methods made him in many ways similar to Stalin. Who knows, had he remained within the Soviet leadership, he may have pursued a policy similar to that of Stalin. As I recall, in his famous 'Letter to the Congress' Lenin himself noted Trotsky's obsession with administrative aspects. But in that same letter he described Trotsky as the "most capable man in the present CC". Lenin speaks about Trotsky's political qualities, and there is no hint of any contrived charges against him. That is what I meant when I said it was necessary to rehabilitate him.

George Toubi. A few words about Trotsky's role. This question is important to our movement, and it calls for a concrete analysis. I agree with what Comrade Krasin said here. On my part, I would like to refer to the following aspect. As we all know and remember, Trotsky, among other things, argued that socialism could not be established in a single individual country. This concept has long been proved untenable. And so there can be no return, no rehabilitation of Trotsky's erroneous concepts. Trotskyism has not disappeared: it is still with us. I have no detailed knowledge of the situation regarding this question in Mexico, but I am familiar with what we have in Israel. We Communists still encounter small but very vocal groups of Trotskyites who try to use even perestroika in the USSR to revive Trotsky's anti-Marxist, adventurous political concepts. That is why the question raised by Comrade Sandoval is not as simple as it may appear at first glance.

Damian Pretel. As I said, the past is part of today's culture, and in this sense I think the history of the USSR, of the CPSU and of the October Revolution itself should be revised and cleansed of the falsified and suppressed information of the Stalinist and neo-Stalinist years. Historical truth should be restored fully.

On the other hand, all of us must admit that in the past, the history of several communist parties was distorted. Moreover, we should be ashamed of the fact that an objective Marxist monograph on the history of the international communist movement is yet to be written. I think it is time to write it, to reflect the rich history of our movement with all its accomplishments and shortcomings. For this project, Marxist researchers in socialist and capitalist countries should coordinate their work.

I suggest we request the CPSU to open the archives of the Communist International and make them available to researchers from all fraternal parties. For your information I'd like to mention that the archives of the Communist Party of Spain have, for many years, been open not only to Marxist researchers but also to other scholars who study the history of our party.

I think it would be advisable for *WMR* to coordinate the work of

Marxists on the history of the communist movement. Besides, why not begin, at *WMR*, to publish the works of Marxist authors from different countries, works that would be of interest to other communist parties?

Jose Riva. I believe it is also time for Soviet scholars and historians from other fraternal parties to write the history of the international communist movement practically anew. We can no longer tolerate any 'blank spots' in this history.

Yuri Krasin. There is an ever more pressing need for an international Marxist research foundation, but the first thing to do is to open all the archives to researchers.

Jose Riva. That applies above all to the CPSU.

On Overcoming Stereotypes Concerning Cooperation

Pablo Sandoval Ramirez. One of our stereotypes is connected with the way we understand cooperation and joint action within the international communist movement which many Communists regard as a kind of closed sect isolated from the outside world. Perestroika has exposed this stereotype as untenable. Our common task is to ensure the cooperation of widely different currents within the world's communist, socialist and generally, democratic movements, of workers' parties which interpret Marxism differently. These are potentially very fruitful tasks, and perestroika raised them timely.

Jose Riva. To all Communists, I think, the most important aspect of perestroika is that it seeks to put an end to the schematism and dogmatism which used to dominate the communist movement. This makes it incumbent on us to interpret creatively the Marxist-Leninist heritage and to apply it to today's realities.

Jim West. Now that we face a new international situation in which there are the Soviet initiatives and a growing role of the fraternal parties, many stereotypes have to be abandoned. Suffice it to recall the influence of the capitalist propaganda that communist parties are 'agents of Moscow'. But we should also remember the problems and the danger posed by 'Eurocommunism' which contrasts 'national communism' to internationalism. Getting rid of stereotypes and overcoming the effects of 'Eurocommunism' and other departures from Marxism-Leninism should create favourable prospects for joint efforts of communist and workers' parties in the new conditions.

Yuri Krasin. Let me draw your attention to only one aspect of the problem we are discussing — the need to overcome what I would describe as dogmatic Marxist fundamentalism. I believe this is the foremost demand now stemming from perestroika and especially from new political thinking.

The thing is that sometimes, unconsciously, we regard class interest as a kind of barrier separating Marxists and Communists from other socio-political forces. I won't go into historical detail: suffice it to recall the 'class vs. class' formula advanced at one time by the Communist International. To this day, we still encounter symptoms of this disease — at least in the social thought of our country, our party.

Meanwhile, the crux of the Marxist world view and especially of Leninism (our time is short and I will only invoke Lenin's *What Is to Be*

Done?) is the striving to follow the highway of civilisation and to relate Marxism and the communist movement to the activities of broader forces. We remember that Lenin wrote: "Communists must not stew in their own juice".¹ But in practice, the opposite is sometimes the case. For example, a corporate workerist trend of sorts has recently emerged, particularly in West European countries. It has appeared — or rather, reappeared — because of the defensive battles the traditional sections of the working class are fighting for what may well be their very survival in the era of the technological revolution. This is a serious problem. It would be disastrous for the working-class movement with its humanistic and internationalist traditions to find itself on the curb of the highway of civilisation.

If they follow this trend, Communists risk ending up in a niche of dogmatic fundamentalism where they can nurse their nostalgia, but from where they will never see the world as it really is, in all its inner conflict and, at the same time, integrity. Apparently, our movement will have to reshape its consciousness to a certain extent.

Damian Pretel. Now that we have to discuss and examine so many new issues which have a direct impact on the activities and struggle of our parties, it is very important to promote cooperation among Marxists, purging it of routine, formalistic practices and stereotypes. In this connection I pin great hopes on the assertion of the 'unity in diversity' principle in the international communist movement, a process furthered by perestroika.

So far though, we still bow to stereotypes. For instance, we deem it useful to exchange delegations on the basis of bi-lateral cooperation. But when a CPS delegation arrives in this or that country, it often finds a detailed programme of its stay already drawn up. Consultations are held upon arrival, but no radical changes are introduced. I would suggest a different practice, the practice of both parties drawing up jointly and in advance the itineraries of their future delegations. I think this will make such visits much more fruitful.

Or take another sphere of cooperation. Unfortunately, many fraternal parties have no schools of their own. Meanwhile, the political education of Communists, of the cadres is growing in importance. It would be very useful for us, for the CPS, to be able to use the schools of other communist parties. However, we would like the curricula to be drawn up in advance not only by the host party but also and primarily by the party which is sending its students to the school. This, I believe, would orient the course better on actual problems. To my mind, this new form of cooperation is highly promising.

George Toubi. More than ever before, Communists should promote understanding and cooperation, enhance the unity of our international movement and discuss new forms and paths of its development.

For example, the general view was, until recently, that international and regional meetings of Communists should be held on the basis of complete consensus and full participation.

As a result, the latest international conference of the communist movement took place almost 20 years ago. Many things have changed since then, and new challenges are facing us. The time has come to reconsider

that unwritten rule and revive the tradition of holding international meetings and consultations without these limitations and without binding final documents. I expect perestroika to help us get rid of obsolete stereotypes in these matters too.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 333.

Will The Year 2013 Be The Dawn Of A New Social Era?

Richard Clarke — Communist Party
of Great Britain

A trend towards an increasing convergence of official economic policy with the ideas of the 'information', 'post-industrial society' has surfaced in developed capitalist countries. Is this a far-sighted or a myopic attitude? This and other questions connected with the development of the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism and only recently begun to be examined by Marxists are the subject of this article.

IN the 1960s and early 1970s, a growing awareness of the central, pervasive and transforming role of science and technology began to produce a conventional (academic popular) wisdom which holds that the world (or at least the industrial/capitalist part of it) was going through a new technological revolution, moving forward into a new era, into some kind of 'post-industrial', 'information society'. With the apparent recovery of capitalism after 1981, such ideas began once again to develop a new currency.

In its popular view, the 'information technology revolution' now conjures up visions which go beyond the avalanche of gadgetry based on the ubiquitous 'silicon chip' (computers and word processors, 'expert systems' autodiagnosis, remote sensing and control). Increasingly, the emphasis is on the *convergence* of microelectronics, telecommunications and systems organisation symbolised by phrases such as the 'cashless society',¹ the 'global village'² and a 'technotronic world'. All are held to be facets of an increasingly imminent 'information age', a fundamental transformation of work, education, communities, of the way we live and the way we perceive the world.

How justified are these forecasts, and what insights can a Marxist analysis contribute to the understanding of the changes to come?

One immediate response is clear: we must be guided by a relevant historical perspective, and the fundamental role of class must be central to any analysis of the profound changes associated with new microelectronic and information technologies. This enables one to see that, in a phase of

profound international crisis for capitalism as a world system, science and technology are invoked as *agents of a new restructuring, not merely of products, processes and techniques of production, but also of productive relations, of class and social structures, power relations and political and cultural institutions*. In other words, science and technology have been invoked to *preserve the domination of the bourgeoisie*. It is from this angle that we should consider the concepts of the 'information revolution' and the 'post-industrial society' which have become well-established in Western social science usage.

The Neoconservative Model of the Future

In the early 1970s, at the peak of the post-1945 capitalist 'long boom', Daniel Bell, a Harvard sociologist, published a book entitled *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. In it, he documented the increasing importance of service relative to industry (not merely in employment but also in economic activity and the generation of wealth) in advanced capitalist countries. He argued that if the industrial revolution gave birth to the circumstances that produced socialism, the 'post-industrial' revolution would transform capitalism and make socialism obsolete.

These ideas have since been taken up and popularised by others, most particularly by Alvin Toffler in his books *Future Shock* and *The Third Wave*³ which have helped to transform the concept of 'post-industrialism' into the new orthodoxy of the Right.

Two articles in a single recent issue of *New Society*, both attempting a 'synoptic overview' of the world a quarter-century hence, illustrate the point. The first, by the same Daniel Bell, described in the journal as "the world's greatest living sociologist", declares that "by 2013, the third technological revolution — the joining of computers and telecommunications . . . into a single yet differentiated system, that of the 'wired nation' and even the 'world society' — will have matured".⁴ And in an accompanying piece, Professor Peter Hall, Chair of Britain's Economic and Social Research Committee, echoes him. In 2013 "we are", he declares, "the first post-industrial society".⁵ The 'third wave' is pictured as an inevitable result of technological progress and the 'information age', as capitalism cleansed of the crises which plagued it at its industrial stage.

Can Capitalism Survive?

Periodic economic recessions are not new phenomena; they are characteristic of the history of industrial capitalism long before the recent period. True, the relatively quiet post-war years in the West gave rise to concepts claiming that, having reached maturity, capitalism had entered a new, crisis-free phase. However, these rosy forecasts failed to stand the test of time. In the first half of the 1970s the capitalist world was shaken by an energy crisis and then by an economic one. The latest stock market crash in New York, London and Tokyo occurred quite recently, in August-October 1987, and one can say that it brought to an end the post-1981 boom in several capitalist countries.

At the same time, today we can see that the short-term 'business cycles'

first studied by Marx and now accepted as an established element in all economic theory apparently occur within *much longer cycles of growth and recession lasting some four or five decades*. This approach is borne out by the considerable parallels that can be drawn between the 1980s and the 1930s, as well as previous major recessions in the history of industrial capitalism. It follows that the crisis that broke out during the first half of the 1970s signalled the end of the post-war upswing and the beginning of a long-term capitalist economic slump. In the West, this has led to a renewal of interest in the 'long wave' concept which was originally advanced by the Soviet economist Nikolai Kondratieff back in the 1920s and which holds the key to grasping the different character of the causes behind the succession of growth and slump within the framework of short-term and long-term cycles.

One characterisation of these half-century waves might be illustrated as follows:

Upswing	Downturn
new technologies	mature technologies
job creation	labour displacement
economic growth	economic stagnation
increased profits	profit margins squeezed
militant labour	compliant labour
ruling class concessions	attacks of gains on the upswing
living standards increase	living standards decline

Each long-term pattern of economic growth and decline is associated with the development of particular technologies. Inventions and basic innovations may well be a continuous process, but they are taken up during a major period of growth in a mutually accelerating process. There is, effectively, a 'bandwagon effect' of new technology systems. Each of these may form the basis for new 'heartland industries' such as the automobile, aerospace, pharmaceutical, computer, consumer electronics and other industries in the post-1945 'long boom'.

The new technologies — from microelectronics to biotechnology — which have facilitated this process do not arise spontaneously from the disinterested search of 'science' for 'truth' but, increasingly, are the products of large companies' long-term corporate strategies. In the new conditions emerging since the mid-1970s, and with the advantages of new technology, multinationals are now able to decompose the process of production into elementary units involving a deskilled labour force and to reorganise it on a global scale — anywhere.

In the advanced capitalist nations this restructuring is manifest in new geographical divisions between the locations of 'sunrise' and 'sunset' industries, in patterns of unemployment and in the sort of jobs that are available for those in work. In Britain in particular, it is manifest in a rapid and far-reaching restructuring of the working class into a small 'core' of full-time, skilled and relatively privileged workers, and a much larger 'periphery' of often part-time, temporary, unskilled and unorganised

workers, in growing divisions between the employed and the unemployed, between inner city and suburban life and between north and south. Those changes have been reflected in confusion and electoral collapse on the Left, and in the rise of a new, 'radical Right', a new reactionary national populism to which the Left has yet to present any effective opposition.

On a global scale, the current restructuring of capitalism can be seen in the profound and rapid transformation of Third World economies and the emergence of a new international division of labour, which is producing a *rapid, profound and destructive transformation of the lives of many Third World peoples*. Generally, these developments are encouraged by the host governments as a way of providing jobs, access to technologies, a route to 'development', or simply income for an élite. Often the specific form of this encouragement is the creation of 'export processing zones' and 'free trade areas' of which there are now literally dozens in South and South-east Asia, Latin America and Africa.

In modern industries, the labour-intensive parts will be located in a country such as South Korea or the Philippines, with low wages, no worker rights or unions, etc.; the high-tech research and development and production facilities may be in another country such as Britain or Italy. The finance division will end up in a country with low taxes.

The consequence has been a *restructuring of the world capitalist economy into 'core' and 'periphery'*, with control increasingly located in the former but production in the latter. This change, of course, is just one aspect of a new *scientific and technological imperialism*. There is also the technological development treadmill onto which developing countries are forced in order to service their escalating debt burdens. Such distortions in the pattern of Third World development are magnified by the investment policies of the IMF and the World Bank.

The consolidation of control functions in the 'core' and of production in the 'periphery' as well as the technological changes that make this possible are in fact a specific response of capital to a falling rate of profit in the advanced capitalist countries during the current long-term slump which, in the 1970s, replaced the post-war boom. True, a basis for future long-term growth is laid in the course of the TNC effort to restructure the international capitalist economic ties. But even during that phase, short-term slumps are inevitable, just as short-term upswings will occur during a long-term slump. One can cite the example of the boom which occurred in the West during the first half of the 1980s and which generated at first hopes and then disillusionment with the social potential of new technology.

But the important thing is that the expected long-term upswing will not create the society the 'post-industrialists' are dreaming about. While removing some contradictions, capitalism produces others which threaten another inevitable long-term slump 'after 2013'. That is the essence of the 'long waves' discovered by Kondratieff. This concept indicates that, having introduced new technologies into economic production, capital takes a long time to perfect them: this reduces the application of newer advances of science and technology and, in the final analysis, precipitates a long-term economic downturn before another switch to the latest technology

systems. *This means that capitalism cannot ensure smooth and stable development of the scientific and technological revolution and, consequently, of society.*

More Questions Than There Are Answers

For the prophets of the 'information technology revolution', however, the idea of 'long waves' is not a framework within which to analyse the long-term instabilities of capitalism and the related new social problems. For example, Peter Hall uses this idea to prove the inevitability of the current (fourth) major recession in industrial capitalism. Unemployment, the collapse of old 'sunset' industries and cutbacks in the social programmes of the 'welfare state' are the inevitable consequence of technological change, and no one is to blame for them. But since what goes down must come up, we should not fear for the health of capitalism; indeed, the new technologies of the fifth Kondratieff boom — microelectronics, genetic engineering — are already with us. And so the best policy would be to do nothing or, at most, adapt to the inexorable 'information technology' change. It merely remains for the government to create the conditions that will allow these new technologies to develop.

Thatcherism is often cited as an example of a government policy in line with the imperatives of the 'information society'. The message is persuasive and pervasive. It has already become embedded in the consciousness of the 'new realism' that pervades the labour movement and the trades unions. Across the platform of the January 1988 launch of the union of manufacturing, science and finance workers (MSF) was stretched a banner with the Tofflerian slogan 'New Wave Union'. Perhaps that is not too surprising since one of its two joint General Secretaries, Clive Jenkins, is the co-author of a series of books in the Bell tradition, the most famous being *The Collapse of Work*.

Even in the socialist countries some academics dealing with the social consequences of new technologies have uncritically adopted sociological theories from the West and failed to grasp the theoretical relevance of Kondratieff's 'long wave' concept for analysing the possible ways of contemporary capitalist development.

Put at its simplest, one thesis advanced by Bell and his supporters is that there has been a shift from secondary (manufacturing) to tertiary (service) activities and that this shift is essential for a transition to the 'post-industrial society'. This thesis is based on the fact that services have become the principal output of the economy and considerably changed the structure of employment. Well over 50 per cent of employment in OECD countries is now in what may be broadly termed the 'tertiary' industries; and if 'white-collar' jobs in the manufacturing sector are included, that proportion rises considerably to around 80 per cent.

That fact can be attributed to several causes. The first is the historically much greater increase in labour productivity in the manufacturing sector compared to office, banks and retailing. Second, this has made the service sector a prime target for restructuring and for investment ('factory styles' of production control), as well as a sales target for office equipment and computer manufacturers.

However, the decline in the economic significance of manufacturing compared to the tertiary sector (including financial, office and distributive work and personal services) is relative. In fact, increased affluence has led to an increase in personal consumption of manufactured goods (washing machines, refrigerators, microwave ovens, cars, etc.) and therefore to an increase in their output. Some of these goods embody functions that would once have been bought as personal services.

Equally important has been the relocation of production overseas, particularly into the 'enterprise zones' of 'newly industrialising countries' (NICs).⁶ This shift bears comparison with nineteenth-century shifts from agriculture to manufacturing in the industrial capitalist nations where the rise of industry was contingent upon that of an empire from which so much of its primary inputs (raw materials and food) were obtained. It is important that a certain level of physical production (of primary commodities such as food, energy and the like) is maintained, but where that takes place is material to capital principally insofar as profits can be maximised.

A developed capitalist country's 'wealth' is generated through services as well as through manufacturing, provided that (as is the case in Britain's increasing dependence on 'invisible exports') a sufficient quantity of these are sold abroad to pay for a trade deficit in manufactures. *The issue, ultimately, is one of the location of production and of the distribution of wealth, rather than the relative importance of services in capitalist social development.*

Nevertheless, a profound question arises about the role of information technology in the generation of surplus value and in the circulation and accumulation of capital. Put at its crudest, can capitalism survive through the exploitation of 'dead' labour? Or, still more simply, do microelectronics and information technology, generated by and characteristic of advanced industrial capitalism, lead ultimately to the annihilation of capital?

Marx was the first to perceive that double-edged element within technological change which, so central to the continued sustenance of capital, produces also the conditions for its eventual collapse. Subsequently, this contradiction led some socialists to the view that capitalism can only ever partially automate, that as it did so, its internal contradictions would increase and the pace of automation would eventually slow, and that full automation is only possible under socialism.

However, the reality today is that many of the more spectacular advances in information technology and its applications seem to be taking place under capitalism. It is therefore necessary to examine the role of information technology in the restructuring of capital — and it is this global process of restructuring which is often conveniently hidden by uncritical and apolitical visions of the 'information society'. As a result, we fail to analyse the social ways of promoting the scientific and technological revolution as an object of class struggle and of the competition between the two systems.

The 'third wave' claim that the strength of the 'information revolution' is in the inexorable and uncontrollable character of the change it generates

does not hold water. Neither the pace nor the direction of technological change is preordained: both are the product of powerful social and economic forces and, very often, of conscious decisions taken by the organisations and individuals with the power to implement them. The whole post-war history of capitalism shows this to be the case.

However, it is insufficient to attribute technological change simply to corporate power or to the strategy of the military-industrial quarters which played the central role in funding and originating many of the technological developments on which industrial and commercial innovations have been based. We need to ask whether the congruence of a fundamental structural crisis of capitalism with dramatic and powerful new technologies is merely coincidental — or whether there is some organic relationship.

There is an alternative theoretical perspective to uncritical visions of a 'third wave', a forthcoming 'information society' or emerging 'post-industrial society'. This is to see the distinctive features of the current period — the fact that structural crises and information technology play a crucial role in economic restructuring and in resolving the contradictions of contemporary capitalism. In this perspective, crisis is not only a sign of mistaken policies or errors in economic management.

The challenge to Marxists is to understand the relationship between long-term recession and rapid technological change in the heartlands of capitalism, to adapt to the new problems and to seize the new opportunities. That does not mean an uncritical acceptance of dated buzzwords of pop sociology. It does mean *a reappraisal of the political means of our struggle in a situation quite different from the 'long boom' of 1945-1973.*

The article encourages us to raise several questions which may be of great importance to the development of Marxist theory. How will another upswing within a 'long wave' alleviate crisis developments? Will the evolution of capitalism become untroubled? How do the state of the working-class movement and the lives of whole generations of working people depend on long-term cyclical shifts? How do we shape the strategy of class struggle during a downturn and during an upswing?

In this connection, questions of methodology also arise. How do we use Kondratieff's ideas today? What social prospects are opening up together with new technological opportunities? What attitude should the working class adopt to them? What can it offer to counter the right-wing populist sentiments and expectations?

An exchange of views on these topical issues of theory and practice would be very useful.

¹ The forecast is that cash will no longer actually circulate, and payments will be made through microelectronic devices. — *Ed.*

² Environmental self-preservation and deurbanisation are supposed to make the future 'post-industrial society' acquire 'rustic' lifestyles. Contacts between the inhabitants of the 'neo-village' will be maintained with the help of highly developed information technology. — *Ed.*

³ The popular name for the 'post-industrial revolution'. — *Ed.*

⁴ Daniel Bell, 'The World in 2013' in *New Society*, December 18, 1987, p. 31.

⁵ Peter Hall, 'Britain 2013' in *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ Countries like Brazil, Mexico, the Philippines or South Korea. — *Ed.*

viewpoints

Dawning Light In The Vale Of Tears

Julio Rojas — Acting First Secretary,
Paraguayan Communist Party (PCP)

A BIRD'S eye view of Paraguay shows it to be a calm green sea of tropical forest with yellow islets of towns and latifundias. But the impression of calm is misleading: the political atmosphere in the country is tense, and the whole world is bound to take notice of the events now coming to a head in the country. In the 34 years of his undivided rule, Alfredo Stroessner, the 'patriarch' of Latin American fascism, has tried hard to turn Paraguay into a vale of tears with the silence of the graveyard. The people's patience is running out. Paraguayans no longer simply ask this question: how long before liberation? They have started to fight the dictatorship, often machete in hand, to bring on the hour of long-awaited liberation.

Brazen Fascism

Stroessner's regime has been called all sorts of names: the 'Fourth Reich' and 'Latin America's forgotten dictatorship'. Some have even declared Stroessner's regime, and Pinochet's together with it, to be examples of the 'democratic revolution doctrine'.¹ In Washington, where the idea originated, they are acting as if they don't know that ever since Stroessner seized power in 1954, virtually every Paraguayan family has mourned for a killed or incarcerated relative. Something like 360,000 men and women have at one time or another gone through the dictatorship's torture chambers. A large part of the population is in exile. The Communist Party has suffered huge losses. Our leader, Antonio Maidana, spent almost 20 years in prison, and when he was released in 1977 under public pressure, Stroessner's thugs kidnapped him in Buenos Aires. No one knows where he now is or what has happened to him.

The dictatorship has engaged in individual and large-scale terrorism with the use of the armed forces, the police, and the paramilitary groups ('garroteros'). Not long ago, General Silva sent in the army, the river fleet and the police to 'clean up' the Alto Parana area, in what has come to be known as operation *Yecopyty*, whose aim, he declared, was to "realise the armed forces' defence plan" because "the possibility of subversive and other activity was not ruled out". A ranch-to-ranch search was carried out for weapons "to prevent them from falling into the hands of irresponsible or criminal elements". What kind of democracy is that? It looks more like the rhetoric and action of the Nazi SS!

This is fascism, a terrorist dictatorship. Stroessner has imitated his European predecessors in preaching his 'religion' of anti-communism and chauvinism, implanting a cult of the leader advertised by official propaganda. And while the 'leader' himself is close to 76, he has no intention of stepping down from his throne. His cynical, but frank maxim is that power is retained by force, while loyalty can be bought.

Indeed, money is paid to the 'pilgrims' who every year flock to Asunción on November 3 to offer their congratulations to the 'leader' on his birthday. The pay is not high, but it is given. Stroessner has to pay much more for the 'loyalty' of his immediate entourage. He is the owner of or shareholder in most profitable and parasitic enterprises: gambling dens, speculative financial companies, and large landed estates. Smuggling has never been more flourishing, and it involves anything that can be sold: stolen cars, weapons, whisky.² The scale of the drugs traffic has caused serious alarm even among the US patrons of Paraguayan fascism. Stroessner has farmed out this highly lucrative business to Andres Rodriguez, his most dangerous rival, making sure of the deal by having his daughter marry the general's son.

To get rid of the regime's opponents and of those who are merely discontented, to bribe possible rivals and rely on corrupt generals, the dictator set up a power mechanism which has functioned smoothly until quite recently, when it began to sputter, so showing once again that *the operation of the objective laws of social development can be slowed down only for a while. These laws cannot be abolished. The fascist regime is still going, but it is disintegrating, and there is a reek of decay from Asunción.*

The armed forces are, for the time being, the mainstay of Stroessner and the generals' camarilla. Most of them have been trained in US military schools in the Panama Canal zone, and profess the doctrines of 'national security' and 'counter-insurgency'. They regard communism as their arch-enemy, claiming that it has been penetrating into social organisations, political parties and social institutions, including the Catholic Church. In actual fact, the pores of the Paraguayan society are shot through with militarism, which always goes hand in hand with fascism. Figuratively speaking, our country is captive to the armed forces headed by a gang of corrupt generals.

Still, the army, an apparently solid institution, has shown signs of cracking, despite the regime's attempts to present it as something monolithic. Contradictions between the young officers, including many colonels, and the sclerotic generals have been building up and have broken out here and

there, mainly because the young officers are deprived of the privileges and incomes of the command: their military career tends to end in the rank of colonel, while the rank of general has been monopolised by Stroessner's old cronies.

Contradictions in the army became manifest in 1986, when Lt.-Col. Gustavo Stroessner, the aged dictator's son, was designated as his heir apparent. This kind of nepotism was not to the liking of the other officers, and their protest was voiced by General Lopez Prado (a lucky exception!), but he was quickly removed from his cavalry command and packed off into diplomatic exile; he is still military counsellor at the Paraguayan embassy in Washington.

We, Communists, do not exaggerate the differences within the armed forces, and while swords and bayonets are not all that reliable a guarantee, the dictatorship is still being propped up by them.

Colorado Taken Over by the Fascists

The dictator staged an attack on the premises of the Colorado party³ on August 1, 1987: the fascists expelled the representatives of the traditional wing and put Stroessner activists in their place. This attack was followed by arbitrary persecution of the leaders of a party which had, until then, been represented on the government and had provided a democratic front for the dictatorship. That was the violent form in which the gradual displacement of Colorado from its positions in the state and political apparatus was completed, a process which began 34 years ago. One could assume that Stroessner had got rid of his rivals, but since fascism and common sense are incompatible, the dictator and his clique seem to have cut off their nose to spite their face.

Serious antagonisms developed between the regime and those who dominate national production and property (local banks, commercial, industrial and agricultural enterprises), that is, those who had made our country dependent on imperialism, and who are now faced with the sway of international capital and the transnational corporations, and the disproportional growth of 'shadow', parasitic capital which infringes upon their interests. That is a factor behind the sharpening of the political crisis.

The total usurpation of power in the state and party apparatus has led to a widening anti-Stroessner opposition. Colorado party members who have been deprived of their posts or have simply broken with fascism have formed the Doctrinaire and Ethical Movement of Coloradismo and the Colorado Civilian Movement together with many other associations, including the Colorado Intransigence Movement, whose leader, Edgar Insfran, is one of the candidates for Washington's plan of 'transition from dictatorship to democracy'.⁴

The establishment of a Coordination Centre for Free Elections on the initiative of the National Accord was evidence of serious political shifts, opening up the possibility of unity among all the opposition forces without exception, on a broad platform of struggle against the regime's electoral farces and repressive policies.⁵ It also testifies, of course, to substantial changes in the policy of the National Accord, which earlier wanted a dialogue with the dictatorship.

Thus, the violence perpetrated over the Colorado party has developed into a *sharp polarisation of contending forces, a narrowing down of the regime's social base, the isolation of Paraguayan fascism, and the spread of anti-fascist and anti-dictatorship attitudes.*

The Coming Dawn

On April 24, 1986 more than 5,000 people marched through the streets of Asunción chanting slogans like: 'End the Military Dictatorship!', 'A United People is Invincible!'. Among those who took part were the workers of the capital's clinical hospital and other medical institutions in the country, which is why it has come to be known as 'clinicazo'. They began with economic demands, and joined in the anti-dictatorship struggle. 'Clinicazo', it is said in Paraguay, has put fascism in check and inaugurated the Permanent Encounter of Social Organisations, which, for its part, became the basis of the *People's Democratic Movement. This marked a qualitative leap towards the unity of the progressive forces.*⁶

The new movement involves broad social strata, putting forward progressive social ideas and building up unity 'from below'. It is in touch with the masses, which want to put an end to the dictatorship and to install a democratic government that would get down to putting into practice the slogans of the day: fitting wages for the working people, land to the peasants, and freedom to the people.

The awakening of social consciousness is one of the positive changes under way in Paraguay. There is evidence of it among intellectuals,⁷ workers, peasants and young people. Here are some examples. *First*, the inter-union movement, which is fairly independent of the state and the employers, has been noticeably more active. It has campaigned for higher wages and trade union autonomy, against sackings, unemployment and repressions and for human rights. It involves the main trade unions, which have staged mass demonstrations and rallies, 'partial strikes', and other forms of protest. The movement is a part of the Coordination Centre for Free Elections, and a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and of ORIT, its inter-American branch.

Second, the peasantry, the largest contingent of the anti-dictatorship, democratic forces, has an ever greater role to play. Rural working people have been taking over waste lands on the local and foreign latifundias, in order to stave off the threat of starvation. Now and again the farms and crops are burned down by the police, the landowners' armed mercenaries, or even the army. The peasants are arrested, tortured, and often shot. But they or their relatives have occupied and tilled the land once again over a period of years, defending themselves with machete or rifle in hand. Here and there the peasants have managed to keep hold of the land through staunch resistance.

Third, 70 per cent of the population is under 30: for the young people Paraguay is not only Stroessner's estate, but also an arena of anti-dictatorship struggle. It is the young generation that is hardest hit by the poverty, the lack of jobs, the landlessness, the high cost of education, the shortage of housing and medical care, and this tends to build up the resistance to fascism. The most important thing in youth action is that the

repressions designed to intimidate the young no longer work. Indeed, they have triggered action in defence of the victims of the persecution. The young people are making a very important contribution to the common cause, taking a firm stand in the political and social struggle and requiring their leaders to be as militant as the popular masses.

All of that warrants the assertion that *the political and social movements running in our country on various levels are becoming massive, organised and conscious, eroding the pillars of the regime and bringing on the dawn of liberation*. The stand of the Paraguayan clergy has done much to advance the anti-dictatorship, democratic struggle.

The church is called an infallible barometer of the political climate. In Paraguay it has long refused to be in double harness with the dictatorship. One will no longer hear from the pulpits either blessings for Stroessner or calls for self-denial in this vale of tears, but ever more frequent 'prophetic denunciations' of the violence and calls for good works for the poor. The church has recently taken a strong stand against the trampling of human rights and the 'legalised' corruption. The churches have become places of assembly and debate, in a spirit of democracy, not of life in some 'world to come', but of the problems and battles 'in this world', and of the people's burdens and concerns. There is severe condemnation of state terrorism and of the corruption and pride of the powers that be. At the end of last year, Catholic priests and members of their congregations staged a 'march of silence', an impressive demonstration of protest involving 40,000 people. A 10,000-strong column left this march to pass through the centre of the capital under revolutionary slogans.

That has enabled the church to win more supporters, to develop the democratic struggle, and to kindle hatred for the dictatorship. The fascists were unable to do better than to dub parish priests and bishops 'subversive elements'. They have not confined themselves to issuing threats, but have again and again resorted to force and trampled on the sanctity of the church by breaking into the debates and divine services. The priests have been ever more fiercely accused by the authorities of 'adhering to communism'. In this context, Monsignor Rolon declared: "*Priests are, of course, not communists. But they are not anti-communists either. As for the Communists they are also our brethren.*"

International Factors

Positive changes in the international arena are especially significant against the background of the mounting confrontation between the forces of democracy and fascism in Paraguay. The awakening of public consciousness and the more vigorous anti-dictatorship struggle in our country promote the processes of democratisation in the Southern Cone area. For a long time, neighbouring states were ruled by dictatorships supporting the Stroessner regime and cooperating with it. There has now been a radical change in the situation.⁸ Pinochet alone remains among the regime's South American allies. The others are the bosses of South Africa, Taiwan, South Korea, and Israel.

The Paraguayan dictator has had fairly complicated relations with the United States which is objectively impelled to provide further support for

the Stroessner regime by the numerous impediments in the Latin American policy pursued by Washington (the activity of the Contadora Group and Support Group, the peace policies of the leading states in the region, the heroic struggle by the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Panama, Cuba's growing authority, etc.). It is not surprising, therefore, that Paraguay has been included among the countries in need of US aid 'in the interests of national security'.

In view of the extremely odious nature of the fascist dictatorship, on the other hand, the US administration is fearful of a social explosion in our country, and there has been talk even of 'modernising' the existing mechanism of domination and exploitation, without any 'traumatic' changes in order to preserve the old system behind a democratic front.

This appears to be a two-faced policy. While Pentagon leaders have paid visits to Stroessner, Reagan's ambassador at Asunción Clyde Taylor and other State Department officials have held talks with representatives of the National Accord on ways of getting out of the crisis. The main thing for the United States is not to lose Paraguay as a dependent country, strategic base, and centre of provocations in the heart of South America.

Despite the 'good intentions' of US diplomacy, Stroessner will not accept any other way but his continued and absolute rule. It is a curious fact that the dictator's minions have declared the US ambassador persona non grata for his contacts with the opposition and exposures of the drugs traffic, in which the regime is directly involved.⁹ The fascists appear to be very touchy people, indeed!

The contradictions between the Stroessner clique and the United States are, of course, minor ones, but they do weaken the dictatorship because they are manifestly expressed as a part of Stroessner's general international isolation.

Socialism has been and continues to be a beacon of hope on the way to liberation for many Paraguayans, the Communists in the first place. The activity of the most reactionary, militaristic circles of imperialism is hemmed in by the dynamic socialist foreign policy, which creates favourable conditions for national liberation and social emancipation.

Another powerful factor, we believe, has now come on the scene. It is perestroika and glasnost in the USSR and restructuring in a number of other socialist-community countries. Bold self-criticism, in-depth analysis of stagnation phenomena, the removal of the aura of 'infallibility' from socialism, the elaboration of the ways to overcome its difficulties, and the acceleration of economic and social development all go to make socialism even more understandable and acceptable to world public opinion. It is no accident, after all, that Mikhail Gorbachov's book on perestroika has become something of a best-seller in Asunción, despite the continued ideological persecution: it is being read by friend and foe alike.

Our party enjoys growing respect and authority on the political scene because of its active participation in exposing the electoral farces, its demands for a multi-party system, and its perseverance and principled stand in the fight against fascism. There has been wide public interest in PCP documents, notably its address on the occasion of its 60th anniversary. The attitude of the bourgeois opposition to us was quite clearly formulated

by Juan Carlos Zaldivar, chair of the Authentic Liberal Radical Party, who said: "We could be allies of the Communist Party in the fight against the dictatorship". The PCP is now preparing for its Fourth Congress, with the priority task of strengthening the party's leading role, and its capacity to mobilise the popular masses and create an alliance of left-wing forces and a broad anti-dictatorship front.

The Communists believe that the main condition for democratisation in Paraguay is the destruction and eradication of fascism. If, despite our policy and the will of the people, imperialism and its henchmen manage to secure a balance of forces enabling them to effect a 'peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy' on the US model, we shall continue, even then, to fight for national liberation and social progress. We accept the historic challenge issued us by the dynamism and complexity of the present moment.

¹ See M. Yopo, 'Paraguay: ¿Transición o Reacomodo?', *Como Sur*, Santiago, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1987.

² The building of the Itaipu hydro-power plant is one of the regime's loudest speculative deals. Stroessner agreed to the project in the hope of winning the goodwill of the Brazilian generals, and made a fortune by selling to them the Paraguayan part of the power to be generated by the plant for a period of many years ahead. — *Ed.*

³ The National Republican Association set up in 1887 to express the interests of the latifundists, the big bourgeoisie and the senior officers. Since August of last year, this bulwark of Paraguayan conservatism has been turned into Stroessner's party. — *Ed.*

⁴ This was admitted by Robert Gelbard, deputy assistant US Secretary of State, at a meeting in Buenos Aires with leaders of the National Accord which brings together four opposition parties: the Authentic Liberal Radical Party, the Colorado Popular Movement (MOPOCO), the Revolutionary Febrerist Party and the Christian Democratic Party.

⁵ A wide spectrum of political parties and movements is represented on the Coordination Centre: National Accord, Coloradists, Communists, the Popular Democratic and Paraguayan liberation movements, the Working People's Inter-Union Movement, student federations, Catholics and others. — *Ed.*

⁶ Alongside of the National Democratic Movement is the Paraguayan Liberation Movement named after J. C. Rodríguez de Francia (MOPALI), which was set up abroad by delegates from the country.

⁷ Despite the fascist obscurantism and pseudo-patriotism, a real revival of national culture has begun, with literature, the stage, and festivals of music in the late 1970s and early 1980s being used as an expression of political and social protest. The anti-dictatorship democratic struggle has involved prominent members of the intelligentsia, among them Augusto Roa Bastos, Herminio Gimenez, Elvio Romero, and Carlos Villagra Marsall.

⁸ The ruling parties of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay (the Civic Radical Union, the Brazilian Democratic Movement and the Uruguayan Colorado) support the anti-dictatorship activity of Paraguay's National Accord.

⁹ When this issue was at the printer's, news came that Clyde Taylor had been replaced by Timothy Towell. — *Ed.*

Political Reportage

Turkey's Democracy On Trial

Gerry Van Houten — CC member,
Communist Party of Canada

The shameful trial of Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey, and Nihat Sargin, General Secretary of the Worker's Party of Turkey, continues in Ankara. A member of the *WMR* Editorial Council, who along with an international observer team attended the opening sessions of the trial, recounts his impressions below.

ON the day the trial opened, international and Turkish public opinion had the opportunity to see the great abyss which still exists between the government's carefully cultivated efforts to present itself to the world as a modern democratic state of the Western European kind and the reality of the continuing violation of human and democratic rights.

We, the international observer team from 12 countries, appeared in front of the courtroom well in advance of the opening time. We were greeted by 2,000 Turkish workers, about 100 media representatives and 200 well-armed police who surrounded the building of the State Security Court. Fifty of them were armed with submachine guns and placed themselves at the courthouse entrances or perched themselves on the roofs and balconies of nearby apartment buildings. Still others were busily photographing the participants which, given Turkey's repressive conditions, could mean the seizure, arrest and torture by the security police for Turks who were there.

The two Communist leaders were then brought to the courthouse in a windowless, armour-plated police van. When they stepped out, the defendants were greeted with loud cheers and rhythmic applause. They were in chains. Although haggard-looking because they were in the sixth day of a hunger strike in solidarity with other political prisoners who had also gone on a hunger strike, Kutlu and Sargin were visibly happy with the open show of domestic and international support they were receiving.

The two Communist leaders are going through a very grave ordeal. Last November, they made a conscious decision to return and did so openly and publicly.¹ Nevertheless, when they arrived in Ankara, they were immediately seized by the security police. In violation of Article 19 of the Turkish Constitution, which states that detainees must be brought before a court within 15 days, the police held them for 19 days without formally arresting them. During these 19 days and in subsequent weeks, they were tortured. Kutlu suffered a heart attack. Sargin was so badly treated that he still bore signs of torture when their trial finally opened on June 8.

Haydar Kutlu and Dr. Nihat Sargin are charged under Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Constitution. These Articles prohibit the expression and

propagation of political convictions which the right-wing military-backed government might consider to be dangerous to its authoritarian power. This Constitution was imposed on the country in 1982 by the military rulers who had themselves come to power in a coup in 1980. Articles 141 and 142 were directly inspired by the 1926 Italian 'emergency laws' introduced by Hitler's close ally, Benito Mussolini.

Despite the presence of foreign parliamentarians, lawyers, cultural personalities, the domestic and international media and others, the judges decided to run roughshod over the legal rights not only of the defendants but also of their lawyers. Although much larger courtrooms were available, the authorities refused to accommodate the request of the foreign and Turkish lawyers to change the trial's venue. The defense has 417 lawyers. The authorities knew in advance that in addition to these lawyers there would also be a large contingent of foreign observers and press representatives — not to mention the families of the accused. The authorities' decision to hold the trial in a small courtroom was therefore a rather thinly veiled attempt to conduct the trial behind closed doors.

The judge did, of course, allow in the defense lawyers but they were surprised to see 150 of them in full judicial robes file into the room and take all the available space. Meanwhile, the news media and the international observer team protested vigorously that the police, on orders from the judges, were physically keeping them out. After some negotiations, 10 members of the media and five foreign observers, including Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis and French Communist Senator Charles Lederman, were admitted. In a very touching and emotional scene, Theodorakis walked up to Kutlu and Sargin, embraced them warmly and gave them words of encouragement. Naturally, those members of the international observer team and the mass media who were still excluded from the courtroom continued their protests. Many of the latter laid their recording and photographic equipment on the street and explained to onlookers what had happened. The 2,000 Turkish demonstrators broke out in rhythmic applause to show their support for freedom of the press.

In the afternoon, the authorities changed tactics. This time, they refused to allow the defense lawyers into the courtroom with the exception of the heads of the defense team. The police physically restrained the lawyers as they sought to enter the court building. The heads of the defense team walked out of the courtroom in protest. In contrast to what happened in the morning session, the news media and the foreign observer team were allowed in to witness the reading of the 231-page indictment. This was no true concession as the indictment had been published in full well in advance.

This shocking treatment of defense lawyers was actually not the worst. The defendants' first two lawyers were themselves indicted and were among the 14 who made their appearance on June 8. Attila Coskun was charged for membership in the CPT. Rasim Oz was indicted for inciting to rebellion. How? When Kutlu and Sargin made their initial appearance before the court, Sargin shouted to his lawyers that he had been tortured. Oz shouted back: "Long live your fight for democracy." This is called

subversion in a country whose government claims to be a modern democratic country.

Because they themselves were indicted, Coskun and Oz lost their right to defend their clients. It was the authorities' way of intimidating other lawyers who might take up the case. Turkish lawyers answered that threat by joining the defense team en masse.

The lawyers and defendants were not the only ones to have their domestic and human rights trampled upon by the authorities. During the lunch break, an altercation took place between the police and a number of Turkish demonstrators. Seven young men were savagely beaten by the police in full view of a number of foreign observers. They were then forced into waiting police cars and driven away. The names of four of them were known to some of the Turkish witnesses but the other three had to be listed as 'missing'. If it were not for the fact that foreign observers were there, far worse would have happened to many more demonstrators.

Yet the above-mentioned cases were far from unique. Despite the recently acquired fig leaf of democracy, the violation of legal, democratic and human rights in Turkey continues unabated. The trial of Kutlu and Sargin constitutes only the tip of the iceberg of systematic repression and violence on the part of the Turkish state.

According to what I was told by the leaders of the Human Rights Union — the first Turkish organization in the country to protest the mistreatment of Kutlu and Sargin — since the 1980 military coup, 250,000 Turks have been arrested and tortured. Yet only 5,309 ever went to formal trial. Tortures by the security police have killed 175. There were 50 political executions between 1980 and 1984 while 29 political prisoners are still under sentence of death. Although Turkey recently signed the UN Convention on Torture, the practice has not ended.

I personally spoke with a number of Turks who had been arrested, tortured and imprisoned or who had relatives who suffered the same. I flew into Ankara on June 7 and I had barely arrived at the hotel when a young woman approached me and other foreign observers pleading for our support for her husband and other political prisoners who were on hunger strike against deteriorating prison conditions. I was to see her again at the offices of the Human Rights Union where she, along with about 20 other women, were conducting a hunger strike in solidarity with their loved ones. On the day of the trial itself, I met a young man who had been released from prison only 20 days earlier. He spent 32 months in prison for alleged membership in the CPT. On June 10, I spoke with the editor of *Yarin*. Although the magazine has been allowed to publish, he informed us it had not been easy. The arrest of the seven *Yarin* workers in Istanbul illustrated the difficulty of working in conditions where most left and democratic organizations were not allowed to operate openly and legally.

Despite the fact that the public eye is watching the trial very closely, the Turkish courts continue to violate not only the human rights of the defendants but also the West's commonly accepted norms of legal procedure. The 20 foreign lawyers, including John Bowden who had been retained by the Turkish defense, Lord Anthony Gifford, both from Great Britain, held a press conference the day after the trial opened to protest the

court's mishandling of the case. Among their concerns were the following: (a) the seven-month delay in bringing the case to trial when it normally takes Turkish courts two or three months, thus indicating the government's uneasiness about how this trial would look to the world and domestic public opinion; (b) the fact that not only the prosecutor but also one of the three judges was appointed by the military; (c) the severe restrictions placed on the rights of the defense lawyers; (d) the denial of access to the trial to the public; (e) the denial of proper facilities to the defense; (f) the postponement of the trial to June 17 even though only 99 pages of the 231-page indictment had been read. The foreign lawyers accused the court of trying to frustrate foreign observation of the trial. (On June 17, another 69 pages were read and then once again the trial was postponed to July 4 and no doubt for the same reason.)

Had the lawyers' press conference taken place a few days later, they would have had the opportunity to protest the fact that seven more defendants were added to the trial.

The lawyers' press conference was immediately followed by one organized by the 30-strong Greek delegation which included representatives from all of Greece's parliamentary political parties. The largest delegation from any single country, the Greek democrats made it plain that continuing human rights violations in Turkey were an obstacle to the improvement of Turkey's relations not only with Greece but also with the European community. Similar sentiments were expressed by parliamentarians from the Federal Republic of Germany (Greens and Social Democrats), France (Communists), Denmark (Socialist Peoples' Party), Great Britain (Labour Party). Observers, among them lawyers, also came from Austria, Belgium, the German Democratic Republic, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland. Several West European Communist Parties also sent observers while a number of socialist countries expressed their opposition to the trial through diplomatic channels.

One of the defense lawyers asked me what I thought were the prospects for Kutlu and Sargin and for the wider struggle for democracy and human rights in Turkey. I answered that I was optimistic although the struggle would be long and hard.

Firstly, the Turkish government ignores at its peril, the deep, wide and growing support for Kutlu and Sargin who have become the symbol for the struggle for democracy in Turkey. That was why 417 lawyers joined the defense team by June 7 despite what happened to Coskun and Oz. (Ten days later, the number of lawyers defending them exceeded 500.)

Prominent Turkish personalities such as writer Yesar Kemal and singer and film-maker Zuflu Livaneli, two of Turkey's most popular artists, have very publicly come out in support of Kutlu and Sargin. During the garden party sponsored by the lawyers on the evening of the day of the trial, Livaneli and Theodorakis led the 800 in attendance in singing patriotic and internationalist songs. And let us not forget the 2,000 demonstrators who braved a police given to brutality to represent the Turkish working people in solidarity with the indicted.

Secondly, international solidarity with the fight for democracy and

human rights in Turkey is growing stronger as was proven by the presence of some 80 international observers. Demonstrations took place in several European cities. Several West European governments have expressed their unhappiness with the Turkish government's recalcitrant attitude. On June 17, several foreign observers were once again in the courtroom to watch the proceedings. Jans Peter Bonde, a Danish member of the European Parliament handed over a message to Kutlu and Sargin from the chair of the European Parliament. He also gave the court a resolution passed by the European Parliament demanding the release of all political prisoners and the guarantee of freedom of conscience and political activity.

State prosecutor Nusret Demiral characterizes the trial of Haydar Kutlu and Dr. Nihat Sargin as "the trial of the century". Indeed, he is right as far as Turkey is concerned. But for Demiral, the trial of the two General Secretaries is the long-awaited opportunity to deal a death blow to the Turkish people's aspirations for a modern and democratic Turkey. This trial is also the trial of the century for the democratic forces, including the Communists who see it as a way of putting an end to the decades-long cycle of military coups and repressive anti-democratic rule. The trial of Kutlu and Sargin is therefore the acid test for Turkish democracy.

The Turkish people yearn for democracy and human rights and are prepared to fight for it. With stepped-up international support and solidarity, Turkish democracy can and will win.

As this report went to the press, news of the trial came in from Ankara. Having read the indictment, the state prosecutor demanded at least 271.5 years in prison for each of the two communist leaders and 15 years in prison for each of the other 14 defendants. Haydar Kutlu said in reply that his comrades and he were being tried for their political convictions. "Democratic thinking is standing sham trial here," the CC CPT General Secretary stressed.

¹ For more detail see *WMR*, No. 2, 1988.

Against Repression and Persecution

A Message From Ansar-3

THE 3,000 Palestinian inmates of Ansar-3 prison have had a message smuggled out of it: it is addressed to democratic governments, the international public, and all honest people. The message appeals to them to protest against the extremely cruel conditions of detention in this prison, against the Palestinian prisoners' inhuman treatment by Israeli soldiers,

and to speak out decisively for their release and the deliverance of the whole Arab people of Palestine from the occupation authorities' oppression.

The message describes Ansar-3 prison. In fact, it is a vast concentration camp of tents, surrounded by barbed wire and watch-towers. A 'grave of humanism and democracy' is how the Palestinian inmates call this prison. It was erected in the centre of the Negev desert when at the height of the popular uprising in the occupied territories Israel's prisons became too small for the huge influx of detainees and new prisons had to be built. Ansar-3 is one of them.

As the prisoners stress, the Israeli occupation authorities are acting in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits deportation of arrested persons beyond occupied territory — Ansar-3 Prison is outside the Arab lands occupied by Israel in 1967.

The message reveals the horrible conditions of detention: the elementary standards of hygiene are being violated, the camp teems with poisonous snakes and insects, the prisoners show a high sickness rate because they are underfed and denied medical assistance.

To repress them morally, the prison administration keeps them strictly isolated from the outside world, does not let them have interviews with their relatives, allows them no magazines, newspapers, books nor radio listening. Without any reason whatsoever, the detainees are being subjected to torture. For example, they are forced to stand under the scorching sun for hours on end or may be thrown for a few days into punishment cells.

Ansar-3 is no exception. At present, 10,000 Palestinians are languishing in 30 Israeli prisons. As in cells of pre-trial detention, many crimes are being committed there. The detainees are subjected to humiliation and beatings, and suffer from daily manhandling and a shortage of fresh air in the overcrowded cells. They are allowed no interviews with their mothers, wives, or children unless the latter are also in the same prison. Quite often people die under torture. The occupation forces' racism is at its worst in torture-chambers.

The Palestinian prisoners appeal to all people of good will to do everything to save them from tortures and death.

Mahmoud Shoukeir

representative of the Palestinian Communist Party on *WMR*

Behind The Facade Of 'National Accord'

A NEW government was set up in the Sudan on May 15, 1988, with the ministerial portfolios shared by the Al Umma party, led by Sadiq el-Mahdi,¹ the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), led by Mohammed Osman el-Mirghani,² and the National Islamic Front (NIF), led by Hassan at-Turabi.³ Some portfolios went to representatives of the South Sudanese parties, and one to the Sudanese National Party (SNP).

The political moves over the formation of the new government went on for over two months, with a sharp struggle in the ranks of Al Umma and the DUP over the participation of the Islamic Front in the government. Both bourgeois parties have patriotic-minded members who want to keep the Islamic Front out of the government because of its prominent role in the Nimeiri government for nearly seven years, and because the Muslim Brotherhood takes a hostile attitude to the objectives and slogans of the popular uprising of April 5, 1985, which put an end to the dictatorship. (Let us recall that the uprising demanded the repeal of anti-democratic laws, notably the 'Islamic Sharia law'.)

The Front did not subscribe to the Charter of the Uprising, a document approved by the political parties, trade unions and organisations involved in the April uprising and based on the National Alliance for Salvation of the Sudan. Nor was the Islamic Front represented at the negotiations between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and political party delegations in Ethiopia in March 1986 which resulted in the adoption of the Koka Dam Declaration.⁴ The Front did not sign the Charter in Defence of Democracy or the Programme for Saving the National Economy, worked out by a national economic conference.⁵

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the Islamic Front's approach is incompatible with the objectives and slogans of the uprising and is, consequently, aimed against the popular masses. Why then has it been given portfolios in the new government? Let us look at the facts.

The coalition government formed after the general election two years ago by members of the Al Umma and the DUP has failed to fulfil the programme on which it campaigned and which reflected the political line of the uprising. It has shown a total incapacity to tackle the country's most acute economic and social problems. Nor did it take any practical steps to end the civil war in the South, which is such a drain on material and manpower resources: every day of the war costs the state over 3 million Sudanese pounds. The country's dependence on the imperialist circles and Arab reaction has simultaneously intensified.

The national economy now functions mainly with financial support and goods deliveries from the United States, other Western powers and some Arab states, and depends on loans from the IMF and the Paris and London clubs. Official estimates put the total loans made available to the Sudan at \$10 billion while unofficial estimates put its external debt at almost double that figure.

The imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, followed by the reactionary Arab regimes, have attached various strings to their aid to the Sudanese government, including:

- the Sudan's return to its former role within the US strategy in the Arab world and Africa implying, in particular, that a CIA regional station will continue to operate in Khartoum;
- the use of national territory for aiding the armed Ethiopian counter-revolution, the supporters of Idi Amin carrying on a war against the legitimate government of Uganda, and the Hissen Habre regime in Chad;
- agreement to exercises in the Sudan by US rapid deployment forces and British contingents; and

— resumption of the agreement with the United States which was ratified by the Nimeiri regime on the siting of US military bases in the country.

There are in the Sudan, objectively, social forces whose class interests and political urges coincide with those of imperialism and Arab reaction, and they are represented on the leadership of Al Umma, the DUP and the NIF, which differ on minor, but not on fundamental issues. It is not surprising that they have now agreed to the ministerial share-out. The demagogic 'national accord' slogan, which is used by the government as camouflage, cannot conceal either the reactionary nature of the new government, or its true objectives, which are hostile to the people's aspirations. *The new government is essentially an instrument of the Sudanese reaction in its fight against the gains of the 1985 popular uprising*, primarily against democratic liberties. In the existing situation, it can easily create the atmosphere for a military coup engineered by the Islamic Front to establish a reactionary dictatorship.

The allocation of portfolios in the new government is indicative: at one time, two-thirds of its members were among Nimeiri's entourage; all the ministers, including those representing the South Sudanese parties, take the Islamic orientation. We are convinced that an alliance between the Al Umma and the NIF, which has managed to impose its terms in the portfolio share-out, is the axis of the coalition.

One can judge about the objectives of the government of 'national accord' from the feverish activity of the Islamic Front since April 1985. It has conducted lying propaganda and psychological warfare, building up a political climate in which the reaction could demand the dissolution of the Communist Party and then provide pretexts for curbing the rights of trade unions and insinuating opportunistic elements into their leadership. The Islamic Front has simultaneously drummed in the idea of a 'national accord' government, with the inclusion of its own members and the military, something that would eventually invalidate all the gains of the uprising. The Front has also tried hard to frustrate any initiative to end the war in the South, regarding a peaceful outcome as a threat to its political and economic interests, which are embodied in the Sharia laws, on the one hand, and in the interests of the Muslim banks and funds, on the other.

Our party, accordingly, believes that the formation of the new government poses the threat of wiping out the democratic rights and freedoms, and we find evidence of this in the 'national accord' charter, the governmental programme, which, among other things, is a revision of the clauses of the 1985 Provisional Constitution concerning the political parties' freedom and guaranteed activity. It also says that it is the fundamental law of the country, so that any other enactment contradicting it must be repealed or duly amended. But the fact is that the 'national accord' government seeks to enact laws replacing the Constitution which sprang from the uprising, and to do away with the democratic freedoms for which the people paid a high price.

The Communists anticipated that once the dictatorship was overthrown — and it was in power for 16 years — there would be a struggle between the forces backing the uprising (among them many members and leaders of

bourgeois parties) and the followers of the former Nimeiri regime advocating regress. These are, in the main, those who favour authoritarianism, political and economic dependence, and parasitic capitalism, and the agents of foreign capital, whose interests are expressed by the Islamic Front. The Communist Party believes that in order to consolidate the 1985 victory, new alliances need to be concluded and new tactics and methods adopted to set up the broadest front bringing together all the forces of the uprising, all those who want its slogans to be realised. Our party has, at the same time, announced its readiness to support any serious step by the government in fulfilment of the Charter of the Uprising. The democratic opposition in parliament (three deputies from the Sudanese Communist Party and two independents) have formulated a well-argued and clear-cut programme providing for measures and reforms in economics, finance and the social sphere.

The formation of the new government with the participation of the Islamic Front was not unexpected either for the Communists or for the other democratic forces, because since the elections, the first governmental coalition displayed a clear tendency to slide to the right. There was evidence, even then, of a deal between Sadek el Mahdi and the leaders of the National Islamic Front, when their secret and public consultations began. The only new element is that the Islamic Front has made use of its material and political potentialities with the support of foreign circles, especially Saudi Arabia, to become a factor of purposeful influence on the old coalition government, in every way seeking to weaken it and make it retreat from its old positions, which ruled out fundamentalist participation in government.

The extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the Sudanese CP CC in May 1988 described the new situation as signifying *a sharp shift to the right*. But it also noted that the mass popular movement has an adequate potential for continuing the struggle along the way opened up by the uprising. In these conditions, the party believes that the primary task is to unite all the democratic forces which took part in it. The Sudanese CP CC calls on the Communists to enhance their vigilance and seek forms and methods of actively resisting reaction. It has laid special emphasis on extending the party's influence within the working class, the peasantry and other sections of the working people, and ties with everyone who is opposed to the shift to the right, including those in the Al Umma and the DUP; it has been working on an electoral political programme in the light of the new conditions, with more solid unity within the National Alliance for Salvation of the Sudan. It has stressed that support for the Palestinian uprising is an impetus to the further rise of the popular movement throughout the Arab world.

We firmly believe that our people and its democratic forces, which have stood their ground under the two military dictatorships and which ultimately put an end to them, will frustrate the plans for another coup.

Ali Ahmed el Tayeb
representative of the Communist Party of the Sudan on WMR

¹ Head of the Al Umma party and of the religious sect Ansar, now in his second term as prime minister. — *Ed.*

² A well-known political and religious leader and head of the Khatmia sect. — *Ed.*

³ The leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. — *Ed.*

⁴ For details see Ali Ahmed el Tayeb, 'Southern Sudan: How to Heal the Bleeding Wound?', *WMR*, No. 1, 1988. — *Ed.*

⁵ For details see Mohammed Ibrahim Nuqud, 'Breaking the Vicious Circle', *WMR*, No. 2, 1988. — *Ed.*

The Results of Socialist Orientation

Rita Sinon — Secretary, Central Executive Committee, Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF), Minister of Internal Affairs, Republic of Seychelles

FOR tens of thousands of tourists the Seychelles, in the western part of the Indian Ocean south of the equator, are a paradise on Earth, a veritable Eden. Wonderful, sparkingly white sand beaches afford sunbathing at any time of the year. The climate is pleasantly warm rather than sultry and the air is spiced with tropical aroma. Picturesque landscapes are a feast for the eyes, where else can one find gigantic tortoises and rare species of butterflies and birds? Or take, for instance, coco-de-mere, an extraordinary kind of coconut with an amazing shape. And on top of it all, stories are being told of enormous treasures hidden by the pirates in their time in these parts.

But the Seychelles can hardly be associated with sunny holidays alone: for the indigenous population there is a lot of work to be done. In the past few years the islanders have seen quite a few changes. The people of the Seychelles, led by their Progressive Front, have put an end to their colonial past and have for more than ten years now been following the course towards socialism.

What are the results of the progressive changes and socialist orientation? What are the urgent tasks and problems facing the young state today?

The present publication contains some answers to these questions.

Our island state is not big and on the world map it looks like small dots scattered over the vast Indian Ocean north of Madagascar. The Seychelles archipelago consists of over a hundred islands with a total area of a mere 453 sq. km. Less than 70,000 people live constantly on the islands, 90 per cent of them concentrated on Mahé, the main island with its capital Victoria.

The islands were discovered by Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese seafarers in the late 15th-early 16th centuries. The earliest settlers who colonised the islands in 1770 were French (they also brought slaves from Africa) and merchants from India.

Several decades later Britain, using military force, seized the colony from France, inaugurating a long period of the British crown rule.

On the one pole of the country there were European colonists wallowing

in riches and owning the land and the national wealth, and on the other African slaves toiling on cotton plantations and rice fields and gathering in coffee beans and sugar-cane; they were subjected to merciless exploitation. When slavery was abolished, the land-owners and merchants continued to control the entire economic life, while the former slaves became wage labourers who remained undernourished, poor, illiterate and denied health care. The colonialists did their utmost to perpetuate that state of affairs.

The people's long struggle against the British colonial oppression brought independence to the country in June 1976. True, London sought to transfer power to its henchmen led by the corrupt president, James Mancham. However, he soon fell: the following year the British puppets were overthrown. We consider June 5, 1977 the day of genuine liberation, when the progressive forces occupied the commanding positions in the country, rallying around Albert René, who became the republic's president.

The Seychelles People's Progressive Front, the revolutionary vanguard of the nation and its only party, governs the republic, carrying on the cause its predecessor, the United People's Party founded in 1964 by Albert René, the present General Secretary of the Front. In keeping with the country's Constitution, the Front is the guiding force of our society, mapping out the guidelines of state policy at its congresses. Held annually, the latter are attended by the members of the Central Executive Committee, delegates from 23 area party branches and also representatives of the armed forces, women's, trade union, and youth organisations. The executive power is concentrated in the hands of the president, whose candidature is nominated by the Front, after which the national elections are held. The president is elected for a term of five years, forms the government and can be re-elected for not more than three terms. The People's Assembly is the highest legislative body in the country.

The Front has proclaimed the aim of establishing a classless society of and for the working people. Ever since that time socialist orientation has found expression in concrete deeds and changes in virtually all fields of life. *Immeasurably more has been done for the Seychelles people in the past ten years than in the preceding two centuries of colonialism.*

Take, for instance, real rather than nominal wages. In the past decade they have more than tripled on the average. Even the lowest-paid workers now get 1,100 rupees a month, that is, about \$200 (our currency is freely convertible), as a result of the policy of redistributing the national income through the state budget in favour of the working people and the poor.

The country inherited a lop-sided economy from colonialism. We are doing everything to diversify it, developing not only tourism but also fishing, farming and industry. *The five-year plan for 1985-1989*, which has been worked out by the government, has a great role to play in this. It envisages capital investment to the tune of 2,800 million rupees in more than 300 different projects and promotes economic growth, exports, a better balance of payments and bigger employment. It is planned, among other things, to provide 11,000 new jobs by the end of the 1980s.

The well-being of the Seychelles people is steadily growing. Ever more families are moving to new homes, farmers and craftsmen get aid from the state, and the transportation system is being improved. Our annual per

capita income is approximately \$2,400, one of the highest among the Third World countries.

But, perhaps, the most notable changes have taken place in education, health care and social security.

The elitist *educational system*, which existed before the revolution for the children coming from wealthy families who could afford to pay for it, has been eliminated. Instead, compulsory nine-year schooling has been introduced, complete with free breakfasts at school canteens. Apart from raising dramatically the number of schools throughout the country, serious changes have had to be made in the curricula, which in the past reflected the colonialist ideological and political principles. Needless to say, all this calls for considerable resources — about 20 per cent of the budget, its biggest portion, is now spent on education.

In the colonial period the Seychelles people were taught to imitate the foreigners: the underlying reasoning was that they had no culture of their own and should therefore adopt that of the foreigners. Measures taken with the aim of developing the Creole language, formerly kept in oblivion, have made a tangible contribution to the implementation of a new policy in this field. Primary school tuition is now given in it, and prose, poetry and plays are written in it, too.

After graduating from the ninth form, the young boys and girls for two years make use of the National Youth Service system. This innovation was prompted by the desire to inculcate national dignity in the young people and to develop in them the ability to live in the community and to solve various problems together. Education is continued at the youth camps, where the young people receive different vocational training. They choose one of the four main fields — farming and fishing, construction, the humanities and exact sciences. Those showing good academic progress are given recommendations for entry into the polytechnic, the main educational establishment where they can get a sound professional training or prepare for enrolment at the university. The rest are helped to find jobs, taking into account the abilities and predilections of every one of them.

The youth camps train 90 per cent of all the youngsters. The largest of those camps is on Saint Anne, where 750 students live in fourteen communes, growing vegetables and fruit, maintaining small livestock farms, making their meals, washing and cleaning up. This helps develop in the youngsters simultaneously independence and collectivism and a more responsible attitude to life.

In a word, we managed to create equal opportunities in education for our children and we are proud of it. Let me add that before the revolution a mere twelve students from the Seychelles studied at universities abroad, whereas now there are about 100 of them.

Of course, problems exist in this field, too. One of them is that professional training among our teachers leaves much to be desired. Due to a shortage of trained national personnel we have to employ foreigners in this field, which proves to be rather costly. We intend gradually to replace all foreigners with local teachers.

We have built *a system of health care for all* rather than only for those who can afford to pay a substantial sum of money for the service. The World

Health Organisation has come to the conclusion that no other country has made such marked progress in this field as we did. Before the revolution, the child mortality rate in our country stood at 43 per 1,000 newborn babies, while the corresponding figure today is 17. Average life expectancy has also grown significantly and now amounts to about 70 years.

The second largest share of our budget goes to health care. Free medical aid has been introduced throughout the country. Patients spend not a single rupee on medicines: we are in general against commercialising medicine. Quite a few new clinics and hospitals have been built on the islands and the old ones revamped. The local production of medicines has been developed, thus reducing our dependence on transnational corporations, and enabling us to save currency and create additional jobs. The pharmaceutical shop operating under Victoria's Central Hospital now produces about 100 different medicines that are most frequently needed by the people of the Seychelles and that used to be imported in the past.

Nevertheless, there are still many unresolved problems. Far too often local people have to resort to the help of foreign doctors who do not understand the Creole language, which inhibits contact between them and the patients.

Prior to the revolution the country had no *social security system* to speak of. In 1979 we set up a special public fund, to which all the working people contribute 5 per cent of their wages. The fund is used to pay old-age pensions amounting to 550 rupees (about \$100), sick leaves and disability allowances, maternity home bills and some other expenses. Considerable subsidies go to large families, those who cannot find jobs, the lowest-paid workers and old people's homes. Some of the money is appropriated for the state construction programme, which envisages the provision of homes to all the citizens of the republic in the years to come.

We are an island nation, largely dependent on the sea, but before the revolution we made poor use of its riches. Today *fishing* is one of the more dynamically developing economic sectors and a major source of replenishing the country's national income. The government has set three main tasks in this field, namely, to meet the domestic needs in fish, to boost exports and to get maximum profit from the catch made by foreign vessels in the republic's maritime economic zone.¹

At the same time we ourselves are beginning to develop industrial fishing. We have bought refrigerator ships and built a fish cannery with an output capacity of 10,000 tons a year. It employs 250 people and is in fact the first processing enterprise on the islands to operate entirely on the local raw materials. The modernisation of the old sea port in Victoria and the building of a new one together with large warehouses are also conducive to the development of fishing in the republic. Already now annual fish consumption per inhabitant of the Seychelles is 85 kg, one of the highest indicators in the world.

The building of an international airport on the Seychelles in the early 1970s boosted the development of tourism, which is now the main source of foreign currency revenues (accounting for 90 per cent). One-fifth of the entire gainfully employed population is engaged in the field. Every year we receive about 70,000 tourists, that is, one tourist per inhabitant, and hope

to raise the figure to 100,000 soon. We plan to invest heavily both in the building of new hotels and in improving the services.

The efforts made by our party and the government in the *agricultural field* aim at achieving self-sufficiency in food supply. We intend to expand the network of state and co-operative farms and to put agriculture and livestock farming on a scientific basis. Thanks to the establishment of the Seychelles Trade Department farmers get full pay for their labour, their products have a stable market, while consumer prices for them are quite reasonable.

The National Development Bank gives loans to farmers. Not so long ago they were exempted from paying taxes. Special insurance funds have been set up to compensate for losses in case of floods or other natural disasters. During the first decade of the revolutionary changes the country became self-sufficient in eggs and poultry, and the production of meat also grew.

Ever more industrial goods labelled "Made on the Seychelles" are to be found in our shops as a result of the policy aiming at achieving *economic self-sufficiency*. The above-mentioned fish cannery is so far the biggest achievement in the field of industrialisation. Besides, dozens of other enterprises have been set up in the past few years, including a brewery, a soft-drinks factory and a confectionary. The production of household appliances and detergents has also been started. Mills have been built to process farm produce, several perfumery and furniture shops have been opened, with the output of most of them intended for the domestic market.

Over a third of industry is in the hands of the state. And there are also private and mixed enterprises. The free exchange of rupees for dollars creates favourable conditions for foreign investors. But the latter are often in no hurry: it has already been mentioned that our wages are several times higher than in many other places. Well, we make do with our own capital investment in these cases.

Our party has been consistently advocating peace and fully supporting the socialist states' initiatives aiming at the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security and averting the threat of nuclear war. We think highly of the Soviet-US Treaty on the elimination of two categories of nuclear weapons and hope that this first step towards a nuclear-free world will soon be followed by even greater measures to reduce the strategic arsenals. Seriously concerned over the situation in the Indian Ocean, we are for turning it into a peace zone and for the elimination of all foreign military bases there. Needless to say, we deem it unthinkable that such bases might appear on our archipelago.

The republic's domestic and external policy is not to everybody's liking. During the ten revolutionary years the imperialists sought to change the course of developments on the islands on more than one occasion. For example, in 1981, in collusion with the racist South African rulers, they made an attempt to overthrow our government. A group of mercenaries was formed, which landed at the Victoria airport only to make a hasty retreat, hijacking an Air India plane.

The enemies of socialist orientation, in particular the reactionary émigrés who have entrenched themselves in London, fight us not only with the help of arms. They also resort to anti-government propaganda and spread compromising rumours. The neocolonialists cannot forget about the

advantageous strategic situation of the island republic and its vast maritime economic zone. We are aware of these dangers and urge the people to be vigilant.

Let everybody know of our determination to carry on the cause of building socialism — a society in which the sun smiles at all and everybody.

¹ In 1977 the republic declared the establishment of an exclusive maritime economic zone with an area of 1,000,000 sq. km. around the Seychelles archipelago. Anyone fishing in it has to pay duty to our state. About 50 foreign vessels, primarily Spanish and French, have bought licences and catch there approximately 150,000 tons of tuna fish a year.

surveys, letters, and diary

We Regard It As An Assistant And A Friend

Marking the 30th Anniversary of the Journal, *WMR* Contributors
Express Their Opinion About It

It Is A Good School

Alexei Rumyantsev, *WMR's* first Editor-in-Chief, Academician

MY work with this journal gave me the joy of friendly cooperation with veterans of the communist movement and with the talented party youth from different countries. The years I spent in Prague broadened my understanding of inner-party and inter-party democracy and openness, convinced me of the necessity and inevitability of a pluralism of communist opinions and showed how important it is to be considerate, patient and principled in exchanges of views.

Ever since the publication of its first issues *WMR's* special role has been that it provides the Communists of different countries with a *platform* for their free discussion of the burning issues of the development of modern society.

Now that the threat of destruction of all life looms large over the world, the unity of all progressive forces in the struggle for human prosperity, for

the right of nations to an independent social development without any outside pressure, and for social justice assumes particularly great importance. Under these conditions, we expect our journal to help in overcoming the outdated stereotypes in action and thinking of the Communists and indeed of all those who care for the future.

☆☆☆ WMR 30th Anniversary ☆☆☆

To Realise The Plans Is The Most Important Thing

James Stewart, General Secretary, Communist Party of Ireland

IT so happened that the journal's 30th birthday almost coincided with the fraternal Parties' Conference to discuss its work. This gives the anniversary a businesslike mood.

Today there is no longer any need to argue that *World Marxist Review* has always benefited the parties which in its pages could exchange views on urgent theoretical and political issues. The Communist Party of Ireland knows this by experience.

Now it is important to arrange work in such a way that the journal gets rid of the shortcomings that hinder its wider recognition. For many years dull, ponderous and anaemic articles quite often appeared in *WMR*. Some publications looked glossed over, all as like as two peas, and in addition they suffered from verbosity. It is good that in the last 1½ or 2 years changes for the better have begun to show. Articles are now more analytical, closer to the readers' interests and more understandable to them in language.

I think that the recommendations expressed by the Conference participants will play a positive role, speed up the process of restructuring *WMR* and serve to improve its activity. We all, contributors and readers, will judge the results by the new issues with which the journal enters its fourth decade.

☆☆☆ WMR 30th Anniversary ☆☆☆

Individual and Group Option

Shamsuddoha, CC Secretary, Communist Party of Bangladesh

OVER the past thirty years *WMR* has become a prestigious well-known publication. Most importantly, it tries to dialectically approach the events and problems of the modern world. This, I think, is one of the purposes of the journal. We would like to see richer and more diverse the information in its pages on the state of affairs in other countries and on what conclusions the fraternal parties draw on urgent political issues. And not

just written by contributors from the relevant parties, but also expressing the collective opinion of, say, the *WMR* Editorial Board or Editorial Council.

Such articles cannot be taken as attempts to give directives or interfere in the affairs of other parties. I think that the journal still poorly uses its unique opportunities as a publication which has on the editorial team representatives of many parties and, consequently, possesses extensive information from different sources. To generalise this information, analyse it and then acquaint the readers with it would be very useful. And even if the positions of the author of an article do not coincide with the conclusions of the analytical survey prepared directly in the editorial office, don't worry. A comparison of different views, if this is done in a respectful and comradely manner, will only serve the interests of our common cause.

☆☆☆ WMR 30th Anniversary ☆☆☆

A Platform for Ideas

Yasser Arafat, Chair of the Executive Committee, Palestine Liberation Organisation

WE do not regard *World Marxist Review* as a usual sort of journal. Here there originate ideas that nourish the intellect and conscience of all progressive, democratic forces on the planet. It is a great honour for me on behalf of my comrades in the PLO Executive Committee, the Palestinian revolutionaries and the entire Palestinian people to express warm gratitude for the firm internationalist, revolutionary stand on the Palestinian problem that the journal has held in the most difficult and complex periods for us. A friend in need is a friend indeed.

I highly appreciate the way *World Marxist Review* elucidates the questions of the struggle for peace, democracy and for the rights of peoples; we value its support of the just cause of the Palestinians and of their sole legitimate representative — the Palestine Liberation Organisation. I wish you new accomplishments.

☆☆☆ WMR 30th Anniversary ☆☆☆

More Discussions, More Openness

Frieda Brown, President, Women's International Democratic Federation

WHAT would I like to wish *World Marxist Review* on its 30th birthday? Perhaps more discussions, polemics, controversy. Otherwise how can the truth be born? From monologues? From maxims or statements? Hardly so. A debate, if it is not just the semblance of a debate or idle talk around an insignificant subject, can teach us a lot.

I know from experience that among the Communists too there are quite a few people who adhere to differing views on certain issues. And when a clash of opinions takes place, as was the case, say, at the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Parties and Movements in November last year or at the recent Berlin forum for nuclear-free zones, the results of collective work are far more productive.

I am confident that the journal can do more in revealing the important processes of our time. For example, it is obviously short of discussion materials on the women's movement. The articles earlier published on this theme expressed, as a rule, the so-called generally accepted point of view. Yet the women's movement today is very contradictory, there are many controversial positions and the range of different views is exceptionally wide — from ultra-conservative to ultra-radical.

And one more point. While on the whole highly evaluating the work of the editorial staff, I would nevertheless wish it to raise the level of openness of its publications. Above all, on the issues of the women's movement in the socialist countries. Up until now such articles have clearly tended to be oversimplistic. Yet it is obvious that under socialism too many complex problems exist in women's lives.

Readers' Congratulations, Suggestions, Recommendations

On The Road Of Perestroika

AS a long-time reader of your journal, I am happy to congratulate it on its 30th anniversary. However, I have a few suggestions and critical remarks to make.

I think the journal should continue on the road of perestroika. Although its contents have visibly changed, pointed and polemical contributions still are few and far between. Judging by what *WMR* says, perestroika in the USSR is proceeding smoothly as if there were no stormy discussions and debates about what our society should be like. Regrettably, foreign readers are hardly likely to get from contributions by Soviet authors an idea of the polemical pitch of the debates going on in the USSR. But the correct picture is all the more important since the subject of discussions are ways of further developing socialism.

A. Mishchenko, Moscow, USSR

Build Up the Circulation

The role of *World Marxist Review* to me as a Communist is hard to overestimate. It gives me special satisfaction to say that the life-giving wind of glasnost, which made itself felt already late last year, has now grown stronger and become in many ways decisive for the journal's contents. I go

through some of the issues 'at a sitting', so to speak. Regrettably, very few people subscribe to *WMR* in Spain; in this context I have a natural question to ask: can the journal be circulated on a larger scale, be made accessible to the general reading public, to very different sections of the population, and introduced to all the working people as well as to an increasing number of Communists?

How come that now, 13 years after Franco's death, we do not yet print *WMR* in our country and do not even have an agency where one could take out a subscription to it?

Jose Fernandez Poves, Madrid, Spain

The Weapon of Truth

I think that the interview with Prof. Volkogonov,¹ the author of a book about Stalin (which is going to become a publishing event), fits very well into the present concept of 'From more discussion to more knowledge'. All this is very characteristic of our time and accords with the processes of democratisation. There can be no taboos for discussion, especially for Marxists.

Communists of my age undoubtedly find it very hard to part with the delusions they embraced forty years ago, which are today defined as Stalinism. Most comrades are especially hard put to revise their view of the party as an army with a commander-in-chief, a hierarchy, and an obedient body of fighters. And it is even more difficult to drop the metaphysical approach to and idealistic perception of the proletarian revolution.

It is my profound conviction that we have to counter 'communist mythology', born in a certain age of a combination of many factors compounded by our youthfully persistent ignorance of some aspects of Marxism, and also, naturally, of the resistance by the still watchful and vigilant 'priests and guardians of Temple'. Whatever might happen, we must use the victorious weapon of truth to crush prejudice and cut away dogmas.

I think that contributions like the interview with Volkogonov help clarify historical facts and interpret them in a genuinely Marxist-Leninist way, and for that reason are especially important to the moulding of new political thinking.

Jeronimo Carrera, CC member, Communist Party of Venezuela

Reflections on *WMR*

I like very much the survey of the discussion 'The Communists in Today's World: Partnership and Its Rationale' (*WMR*, No. 3, 1988). The survey shows that in dealing with today's realities, Communists effectively defend their principles while trying to shed outdated views. Participants in the discussion — at least most of them — were willing to meet each other half-way. It is important to work out a more or less common stand also because discussions like those which were conducted *among* several parties in Prague take place *within* communist parties in some countries; of course,

there surface in them all sorts of differences caused by specific circumstances and social development.

Matthias Dohmen, Wuppertal, West Germany

My Viewpoint . . .

I would like to begin by commending the journal on its progress. The demand for it keeps growing and we have to pass issues round from reader to reader.

But not yet all the subjects are given sufficient coverage. There are few contributions on problems involved in splits in some communist and workers' parties. Yet I don't think that new political thinking forbids either discussion of ideological and political contradictions or different views of organisational matters, such as the number of successive terms permitted in elective posts of leadership in the party.

I am all for the idea of clearing the way for young cadres, of believing in them and advancing them. But that policy, I think, should rest on specific stipulations in the party rules as well as on the principle of comradeship. As we have it now, General Secretaries in some parties have secured their posts for life, as it were. The Social Democrats are known to have had such a problem as well but then have made much progress towards resolving it by nominating two or three candidates for election to every contested post of leadership. *WMR* would do well by describing Communists' practice in this respect.

Adel Az-Zgeir, Arab student

***WMR* Supporters Speak**

Carmina Moreno, member of the Communist Party of Portugal, housewife.

FIRST of all, I would like to thank the *WMR* editors for the opportunity accorded us to visit Czechoslovakia. We had heard and read so much about this country — at last we could see everything with our own eyes.

Now a few words about how we help in winning new subscribers for *WMR*. I shall describe my experience. Being a housewife, I naturally have but a limited circle of people whom I happen to meet with. Nevertheless, as you daily communicate with them you can always suggest to a friend or an acquaintance that he or she should buy an issue or two. Some, having discovered something new for themselves in the materials of the journal, later become its regular subscribers. Of course, this is the simplest way of promoting subscriptions, but if you show persistency and enthusiasm, you can achieve quite good results.

Why did I begin subscribing to, and moreover, helping to circulate this journal? Before the revolution of the 25th of April, 40 per cent of our people were illiterate: I was among them. I learnt to read and write only after the triumph of the revolution of 'red carnations'. Among the first magazines I read independently was *WMR*. And then I realised that the Portuguese Communists were not alone in the struggle for progressive changes. *WMR* has since become my desk book, helping a lot in my self-education.

In conclusion, I would like to note the importance of *WMR* for Portugal. Of course, in a country where US films and the local yellow press keep implanting consumerism it is far from easy to promote a serious theoretical publication. Our job is precisely to explain to people the simple truth: the magazines full of pictures from the glamorous life of film stars are only a bright cellophane wrapper which can by no means substitute the genuine intellectual food which every mature person needs.

Jaime Dias de Almeida Santos, retired bank employee.

I am not a member of the Communist Party of Portugal. Nevertheless, I am interested to know all about the socialist countries and your journal provides detailed information in the most objective way. That is why I am among those who read and help to circulate *WMR*.

As for the view expressed by Carmina, I beg to differ. Certainly, I am not suggesting that entertaining pictures are the right thing for *WMR*, but its get-up does need refurbishing. I would be glad to see more photographs and drawings published in it, and especially the use of diverse types. Reading a continuous text is tiresome to the eyes, it has to be relieved by graphic material. And, if we want to attract new readers, then the journal's cover must become more eye-catching. A few words on the contents. I, for example, do not always find what I am looking for. It seems to me that the materials from Czechoslovakia have been too few. *WMR* coverage of the current reforms in the USSR, Hungary and other socialist states is also inadequate.

Paula Pinto, Communist Party activist; she works on the publication of *WMR* in Portugal.

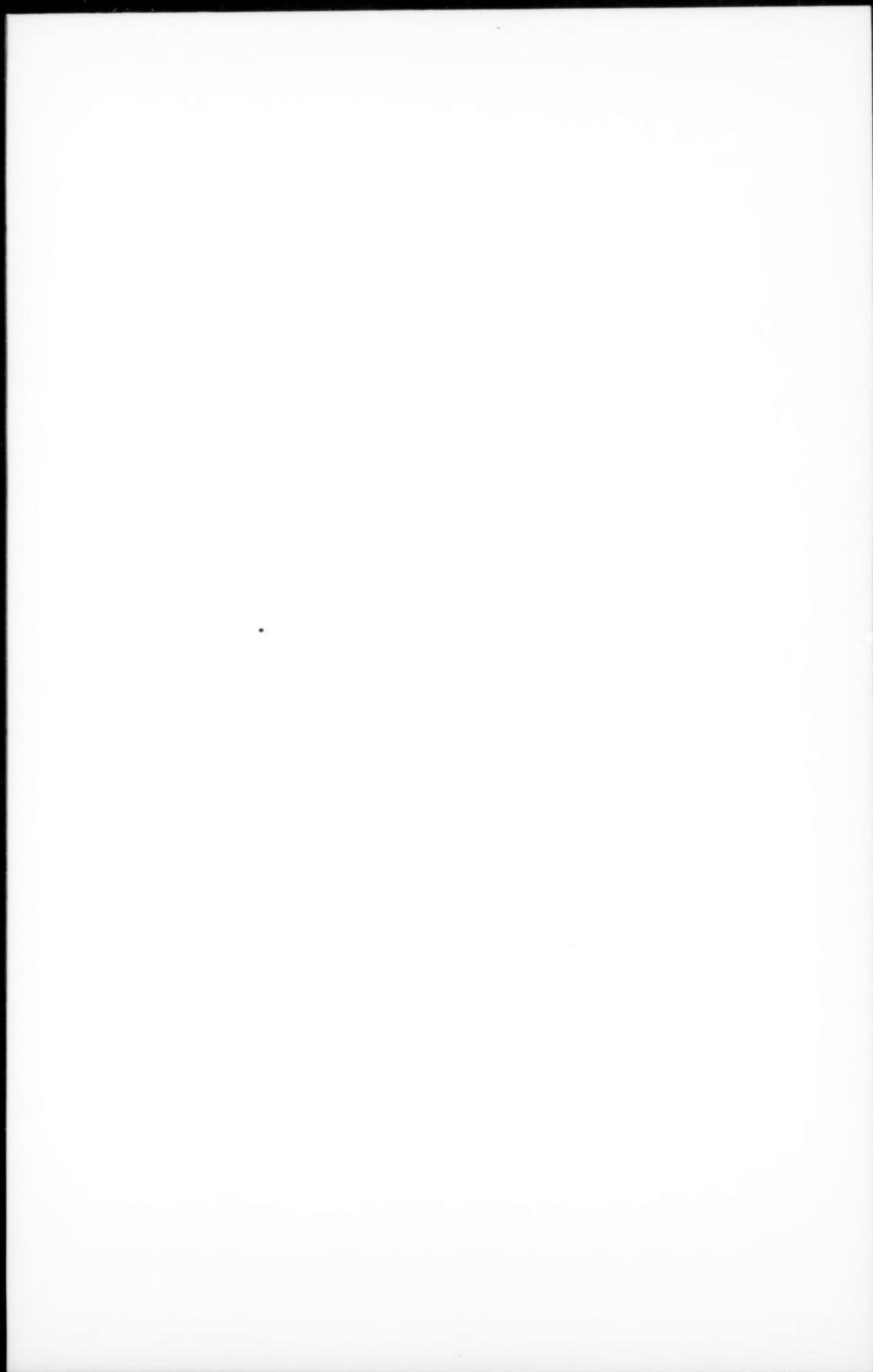
Now that mass-culture productions have flooded our country, it is extremely difficult to have the Portuguese take an interest in reading serious journalism. I think that in our conditions we need not just the active work of *WMR* supporters, but also a well-thought-out campaign to organise subscriptions. Why, for example, not hold *WMR* fêtes, as communist parties' organs do in many countries. Besides that, we need good advertising and closer contacts with those who organise subscriptions in their local communities.

Everything I've heard mentioned here is important, but still the most important thing in our work with potential subscribers is the content of the journal itself. Of late it has noticeably changed for the better. *WMR* has

become more discussion-filled, more polemical. Today it offers the reader a broader spectrum of views than before.

For example, I particularly remember an interview from Copenhagen¹ where the views of the Social Democrats and Radicals are covered. Although on many issues they differ from the position of the Communists, nevertheless I regard this publication as very useful. Only in the process of such discussions can people who at first did not share our point of view change their perceptions about Communists and the communist movement as a whole. When we speak of potential *WMR* subscribers, we should also encompass other people, not just communist party members. The most important thing, I think, is that these people will not become anti-communists and that they will strive for unity of action in the bid to advance peace and progress.

¹ *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1988.



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