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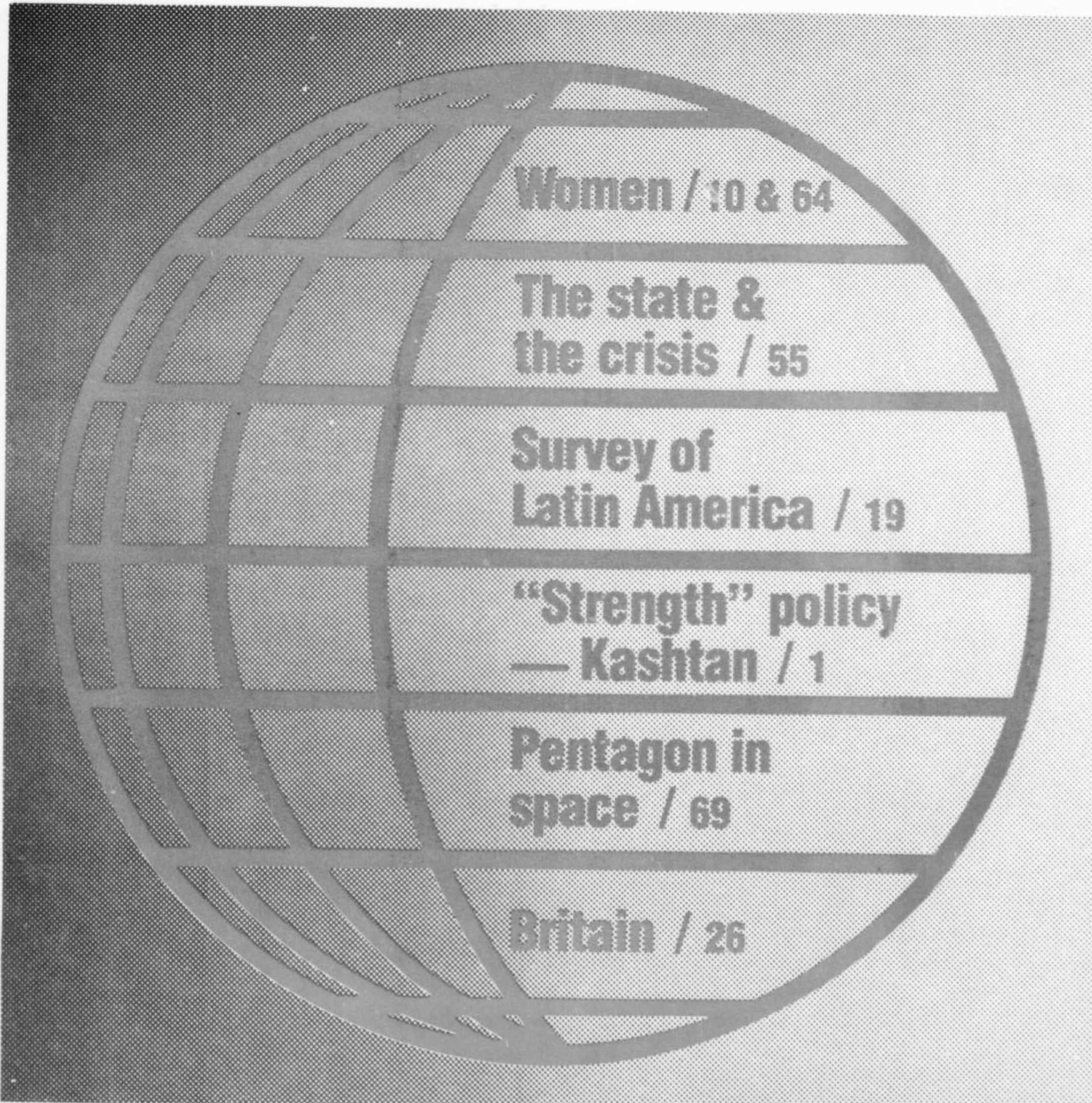
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The insanity of the "strength" policy

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A key feature of the foreign policy of imperialism today is that its most reactionary circles are ever more sharply and blatantly putting their stake on armed force as the chief means for attaining their goals. Military strength is declared to be the crucial factor in international relations, and this idea is backed up with a wild expansion and build-up of the material facilities for the conduct of war.

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, extolling the role of armed force in contemporary international relations, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on November 4, 1981: "Nuclear weapons perform an important function in the conduct of day-to-day diplomacy. Just as broad military capabilities form the backdrop against which foreign policy is conducted, the strategic nuclear balance casts a shadow which affects every geopolitical decision of significance."¹

In order to have the required "background" for their policy, the ruling circles of the NATO countries have been putting in a tremendous effort over a period of years in increasing their military appropriations, which, as they themselves acknowledge, are very much higher than the defense expenditures of the socialist countries. In October 1979, the then U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said: "Together, we and our allies invest about 25 per cent more in defense than the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact."² In September 1980, another U.S. Secretary of State, Edmund Muskie, reaffirmed the fact when he said: "Taken together, we devote more to defense than the Warsaw Pact, including the Soviet Union."³

The Reagan administration has decided to spiral the pace of military preparations even more sharply. In the next five years, it intends to spend \$1.5 trillion on the arms race, which is roughly as much as all the NATO countries spent on military purposes in a whole decade, from 1968 to 1977.

All these vast resources, and also the resources of other NATO countries, are to be used for modernizing and improving various strategic weapons systems, deploying new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe,

modernizing conventional armaments, and re-equipping the land, sea and air forces.

In the efforts to reduce the peoples' resistance to their militaristic plans, their architects have spread about a whole range of false arguments and assertions, primarily inventions about a "Soviet threat" which allegedly calls for counter-measures for the "defense of the West."

This is deliberate misinformation which helps the reactionary circles to camouflage their true intentions. "Under the guise of an alleged Soviet 'military threat,'" said the relevant draft resolution of the 25th convention of the Communist Party of Canada,⁴ "U.S. imperialism is working overtime to knock together a worldwide anti-Soviet alliance and whip up the arms race with the objective of achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies. This so-called military threat is the cover under which U.S. imperialism is undermining the independence of its allies, Canada included, and subordinating them to its aims."⁵

Arguing the need for ever more intensive armaments, the NATO countries' leaders assert that military strength is required to "stabilize" international relations, and that peace should be maintained "through strength." There is nothing new in this kind of ploy. The advocates of war have always tried to dupe the masses with talk about their own desire for peace. Marx wrote: "Of all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our time, none has caused more harm than the one that says: 'In order to have peace, you must prepare for war.' This great truth, whose outstanding feature is that it contains a great lie, is the battle cry that has called all Europe to arms..."⁶

In our own day, the talk about "peace through strength," through the arms race, amounts to a "big lie." Like every lie in politics, it is designed to cover up unseemly and insidious goals which are rejected by the broad masses. In building up their war machine, the imperialists hope to have a "position of strength" to establish their domination of the world, to dictate their will to other nations.

"Strength" methods have always had a cen-

tral place in the foreign policy of imperialism. Characterizing the aggressive tenor of imperialist strategy, Lenin emphasized that the wars being generated by the capitalist system are a direct continuation and means of politics based on the use of force against other nations. Shortly before the October Revolution, at the height of the first imperialist war, Lenin wrote: "... Under capitalism, however, no other basis and no other principle of division are possible except force ... There is and there can be no other way of testing the real might of a capitalist state than by war. War does not contradict the fundamentals of private property — on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable outcome of those fundamentals" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 341).

From the very outset, the world's first socialist state, born of the October Revolution, countered the policy of imperialist arbitrariness, oppression and enslavement of the peoples with a fundamentally different foreign policy, which is determined by the interests of the working people, instead of the exploiter classes. The very first decree issued by the Soviet government, the Decree on Peace, branded the imperialist war as the "greatest crime against mankind," and rejected and condemned every form of coercion of the peoples. The 24th convention of the Communist Party of Canada (1980) emphasized that "the new social order opened the way for genuine democracy in the service of the working masses based on the right to freedom from exploitation and oppression; all-sided equality including national equality; social and economic security; and, above all, the right to live in a world at peace."⁷

But the influence of socialism, the international working-class and other progressive anti-imperialist movements in the 1920s and 1930s were still too weak and inefficient to check the warmongers. Fascism, which embodied the spirit of violence in its ultimate form, the violence which is inherent in the most reactionary and aggressive circles of imperialism, built up a tremendous military machine and used it for its plundering, aggressive aims.

The defeat of fascism created the prerequisites for the establishment of new international relations free from arbitrariness and violence and based on the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states. The UN Charter proclaimed and enshrined the principle of non-resort to the threat or use of force as the cornerstone of international law and order.

However, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, above all those of the United States, alarmed over the political changes resulting

from the Second World War, the formation of the world socialist system, and the rise of the peoples' struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, began to trample grossly on this principle. Seeking to "roll back" socialism and put down the national liberation movements, they adopted their strategy of "balancing on the brink of war," diktat "from positions of strength" and attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This policy was embodied in the cold war. The Brookings Institution estimated that since the end of the Second World War the United States resorted to the threat or use of force on 215 occasions, threatening to use nuclear weapons on 30 occasions.

A corresponding ideological basis was created for this policy. Reflecting the interests and purposes of the reactionary imperialist circles and the steadily growing military-industrial complex, bourgeois ideologists formulated theoretical conceptions to justify and glorify the use of military strength to attain foreign policy goals. The well-known U.S. politologist, Hanson Baldwin, said, for instance: "Upon us (USA — Ed.), more than upon any other nation of our times depends the history of the next century ... We must have strength — actual and potential military strength — for without military strength, power in the world of today has no meaning."⁸

The history of the three post-war decades shows that in that period the whole of imperialism's foreign policy was based on such notions. However, the profound socio-political changes which have taken place in the world since the war have created a fundamentally new situation and produced conditions which did not exist either before World War I, or before World War II, with the result that the partisans of the "strength" policy were compelled to search for other forms of implementing it.

The strengthening of the socialist community, the disintegration of the colonial system, the rise of the peoples' liberation struggle, the large scale of the international working-class movement and the overall growth of the activity of the masses have ultimately led to a change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, peace and progress. Imperialism no longer exerts the prevalent influence on the nature of international relations, and this has created real potentialities for averting wars and excluding the use of military force from the list of instruments of world politics. That is why the participants in the meeting of communist and workers' parties held in Moscow in 1957 declared: "We communists now

say that today war can be prevented, that peace can be preserved. We say this with full confidence, because there is now in the world a different situation, a different balance of forces."

The collapse of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam has shown very well the futility of the use of force and the methods of imperialist policy and the invincibility of the aspirations of the peoples defending their freedom and independence.

The scientific and technological revolution has largely modified the approach to the problems of war and peace. In the new historical conditions, imperialism's persistent urge to have overwhelming military strength and use scientific and technological advances for the purposes of war has boomeranged against the initiators of this course. By starting the nuclear arms race, imperialism has produced a situation in which the use of the stockpiled weapons would pose a threat to the aggressor himself.

This situation has thrown a new light on the correlation between foreign policy and war. War has always been a continuation of foreign policy by other, violent means. It was a natural outcome of the policy pursued by the ruling classes in peace time. Under the exploitive society, this line was aimed at attaining plunderous goals and protecting the self-seeking interests of those in power.

With the division of the world into two systems, the struggle against socialism became central to the foreign policy goals of the imperialist forces. In trying to prevent the building and development of the new society by every possible means, they resorted not only to political, economic and ideological methods, but also to military methods. Although the aggressors' plans proved futile, the depth of their miscalculations was brought out only in the course of fierce military clashes, through destructive and sanguinary experience, which cost the peoples immense calamities and suffering. The imperialists started out with the assumption that the use of armed force could help them to reach their goals, and that all they needed to do was to make better preparations with improved weapons, and socialism would be crushed. But their designs were not destined to materialize.

In the new historical situation, with the emergence of nuclear weapons on both sides, it is becoming ever clearer even in peace time that the use of armed force could pose a mortal danger to the initiator of war himself and could result in the destruction of his own country. In these conditions, the use of weapons appeared to be an ever "less rational" continuation of

policy, a fact which also shed new light on the problem of national security. The paradox of our day is that in their drive for military strength, which was once regarded as the guarantee of a country's invincibility and security, states now tend to worsen rather than improve their position. Thus, having armed themselves to the teeth, created the most perfect and modern means of warfare and accumulated unprecedented military might in a bid for superiority, the United States and other members of the NATO bloc have undermined their security, instead of consolidating it, causing the socialist countries to take counter-measures in defense, and run the risk of falling victim to their own threats.

These changes were not comprehended all at once. It took years for the realities of the nuclear age to dawn not only to specialists, but also on the public at large and statesmen, and for the comprehension of these realities, together with a clear and sober understanding of the possible consequences of a nuclear conflict, to become not only a moral but also a political factor. The leaders of the imperialist powers were forced gradually to reckon with the new realities of our epoch and to take into account the fact that any attempt to use the "big stick" cuts both ways.

Recognition by the U.S. ruling circles by the beginning of the 1970s of military-strategic parity with the Soviet Union, the very idea of which they had long refused to so much as admit, was an important milestone in the development of post-war international relations and became a substantial condition of détente. The Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the United States, signed in May 1972, declared that "recognition of the interests of the security of the parties based on the principle of equality and repudiation of the threat or use of force are necessary prerequisites for maintaining and strengthening peaceful relations between the USSR and the United States." In that document, for the first time in the history of their post-war relations, the two parties proclaimed that "in the nuclear age there is no other basis for maintaining relations between them, except peaceful coexistence." Accordingly, they undertook "to bend every effort to avert the threat of war and to create conditions promoting a relaxation of tension in the world and strengthening universal security and international cooperation."

These principles became the basis for many other international treaties and agreements of the 1970s concluded between states belonging to different social systems, which constituted the legal fabric of détente, the ground for an

improvement of the whole system of international relations. The policy of détente was declared to be the highroad of international life. Thus, the Helsinki Conference participants undertook "to extend, deepen and make progressive and stable the process of détente," with the repudiation of force proclaimed as a primary condition of this process.

The idea that in our day there is no reasonable alternative to détente, to a relaxation of tension, and that other ways lead to a thermonuclear catastrophe has been expressed in a number of key international legal acts of the recent period, in declarations by many statesmen and in documents of authoritative political, social and scientific bodies.

"The world," said the draft resolution of the 25th convention, "is thus faced with the clear alternative — the prospect of an endless arms race which may become less controllable and whose end result could be a world nuclear catastrophe and the end of civilization, or the road of genuine disarmament based on equality and equality of security and on peaceful coexistence of differing social systems."⁹ Détente, which is a concrete expression of the principles of peaceful coexistence in our epoch, has won widespread public support in all countries and given rise to many optimistic hopes and expectations.

These developments generated violent resistance on the part of the most bellicose and reactionary imperialist circles who were alarmed at the prospect of their positions being undermined and the free expression of the peoples' will resulting in unfavorable sociopolitical shifts in the atmosphere of détente and the exclusion of coercion from international relations. Détente, which requires repudiation of such methods, affected the very foundations of the strategy of imperialism and laid bare its class-conditioned substance.

That is why the attacks on détente now being mounted by imperialist reaction in effect signify attempts to "rehabilitate" the use of force in international relations and to resurrect the policy of "mailed fist" and diplomatic methods based on nuclear intimidation and blackmail.

There are many bourgeois theorists and politicians, above all in the United States, who have claimed — and continue to claim — that it is quite possible for the capitalist powers to do without détente. The advocates of the "strength" policy have long been trying to prove that the NATO countries have no use in lessening tension and that they can afford to maintain it for their own purposes, without losing or risking anything. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Adviser to U.S.

President James Carter, asserted, for instance, that it was not war but a series of "intermediate states" that was the alternative to the policy of détente.

This idea is embodied in Washington's foreign policy guidelines. The matter has not been confined to the attempts to expunge the word "détente" from the political vocabulary. The most bellicose circles of imperialism have been trying ever more stubbornly to create "intermediate states" in international relations that would enable them even in present conditions to use military strength with impunity in order to realize their foreign-policy schemes. They believe that an atmosphere of "cold war" or "hot peace," of "balancing on the brink" of thermonuclear conflict, would help them better to resist the people's liberation struggle, to check the aspirations of the mass of working people for social change.

The reactionary circles, which seek not cooperation between states but confrontation, not disarmament but a stockpiling of weapons, not stronger confidence and mutual understanding among nations but growing alienation and hostility between them, hope to secure for themselves more favorable positions in their fight against democracy and progress. They would like to secure military superiority and alter the balance of forces in the international arena in their favor, to neutralize the unfavorable-for-them operation of social and political factors and to settle the historical contest between capitalism and socialism by using nuclear-missile "arguments."

However, the "strength" policy cannot yield the results for which its advocates hope. As on so many occasions in the past, the imperialist strategists have once again made some major and fundamental miscalculations. Their attempts to compensate for the unfavorable overall balance of class forces in their totality by a preponderance of military forces and to raise a nuclear barrier to social liberation movements and historical progress are doomed to fail. After all, no amount of missiles and bombs can overcome the immense material force of the ideas of social emancipation and national liberation, ideas which have gripped the minds of the masses in their invincible striving for social justice, release from oppression and exploitation, and from the threat of war and universal annihilation.

The hopes of the advocates of the "strength" policy to secure military superiority over the socialist countries in present conditions are likewise obviously futile. The attainment by the socialist community of military-strategic parity with the imperialist powers is not acci-

dental but is a reflection of the economic, scientific, industrial and technical potentialities of the socialist states today. That is why there is no ground for the hopes of militaristic circles to use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to forge ahead in the arms race and to secure a handful of "trumps" in the competition with socialism.

Such are the calculations which, in effect, underlie the whole of the present policy of those who would like to have a free hand in acting from a "position of strength" and to wield the instruments of intimidation and *diktat* in international affairs. In May 1980, NATO's military planning committee which met in Brussels declared in its communiqué that the NATO countries intended to secure military advantages stemming from the use of the latest technology.

But the futility of these claims is demonstrated by the realities of our day and by the entire history of the postwar decades. The world witnessed the successive collapse of hopes pinned by the imperialists on the U.S. atomic monopoly, nuclear submarines, multiple warhead missile systems and other modern weapons. There is no reason to assume that the new plans linked with the neutron bomb or Cruise missiles, or even — over the long term — with laser or ray weapons will have any greater effect. On the contrary, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries now have a much more powerful economic, scientific and technical potential than they did, say, just after the Second World War. They have the capability of responding to any challenge by imperialism and to neutralize its attempts to secure military superiority. "Such attempts, and also the attempts to talk to us from a position of strength have absolutely no prospect," Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, told the 26th CPSU congress.

The nature of the existing mass destruction weapons makes nonsense of the very idea of military "superiority." After all, the opposing sides already have the capability of destroying each other over and over again, so that no potential advances in the military field can change this state of affairs in the foreseeable future. In an effort to sidestep these inescapable realities of our day, imperialist strategists have been feverishly casting about for ways of reducing the scale of the dire consequences for themselves of the use of force for foreign-policy purposes.

Among such attempts is, undoubtedly, the current revival of the old conception of "limited," "local" or "little" nuclear war. The idea is extremely simple: to limit a nuclear conflict

to the territory of other states and so keeping one's own country outside the range of a retaliatory strike. That is the idea underlying the plans for the development of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe. With this very idea is connected Washington's stubborn refusal to negotiate on U.S. forward-based weapons deployed along the borders of the socialist countries. That is the idea behind the Pentagon's intention to adopt neutron weapons which are primarily designed for use on the territory of Europe and other regions. Behind the screen of talk about "Atlantic solidarity" and "joint defense," the United States appears to be prepared to sacrifice its allies on the altar of "strength" policy. Yet there is no doubt that once a nuclear conflict got under way, it would be impossible to "dose" it and keep it within "acceptable" limits. Its flames would not spare anyone. Such a conflict, wherever it broke out, however "local" it was planned to be, could become the detonator of a universal explosion.

True, from what some advocates of the "strength" policy assert, U.S. foreign policy goals could be achieved even then. Thus, Colin Gray of the Hudson Institute, a foreign policy adviser during Reagan's election campaign, has criticized "the trend to regard strategic nuclear war not as war but as a holocaust."¹⁰ He argues that "victory is possible" and claims that even while millions of people would die, the United States would emerge victorious, having achieved "the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a postwar world order compatible with Western values."¹¹

Such views will also be found in statements by official U.S. spokesmen. Richard Pipes of the U.S. National Security Council claims, for instance, that a nuclear war is inevitable and that there is a need to prepare for it. Let us recall the storm of indignation that swept across the world when it heard U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig declare that "there are more important matters than preserving peace."

The purpose of all these monstrous statements is to show that there is good reason to build up nuclear strength and to prove that a nuclear clash is thinkable. In an effort to cover up the real consequences of the use of nuclear weapons, these spokesmen want to damp down the protests against the insanity of the imperialist strategy of war.

What kind of "victory" can there be if the use of even some of the 50,000 nuclear warheads already available in the world could jeopardize the very existence of human civilization? After all, the yield of only one thermonuclear warhead is dozens of times greater than the

strength of all the explosions carried out during all the wars in the history of humankind. A message sent to the leaders of the United States and the USSR by 650 U.S. scientists declared that "an all-out nuclear exchange could be complete in one hour, and could destroy most life in the northern hemisphere."¹²

The awareness of the terrible danger impending over the world has generated a growing protest movement involving ever larger sections of the population against the criminal line of militaristic circles.

For Canada, this line is fraught with exceptional danger in view of its immediate proximity to the United States, whose ruling circles are trying to get their NATO allies to follow in the wake of their adventurist policy. The consequences of this policy are already having an effect in peace time. The country has to pay a high price for its "partnership" with the United States within the framework of NATO and NORAD (the agreement on the joint air defense command for North America). Under NATO pressure, the burden of military expenditures has been growing. In this fiscal year they will go up to \$7 billion as compared with \$5.9 billion in 1981. And this with rapidly growing inflation and economic recession. Over the next two years military expenditures will rise by 32.2 per cent and by 1985 they will reach \$9.7 billion.

The Pentagon's military preparations are already having a direct effect on the life of Canadians. For instance, the underground testing of nuclear weapons in the United States frequently results in radioactive fallout. According to Canadian press reports, 40 such cases were recorded from 1963 to 1980. The radioactive clouds that form also reach the territory of Canada. The Canadian Press reported on July 2, 1980, for instance, that such a cloud reached the city of Hamilton, increasing radioactivity to 15 times the normal level. There are reports that the United States has stockpiled nuclear devices on Canadian territory.

Canadian democratic opinion is alarmed and indignant over these facts. The Canadian Peace Congress has sponsored initiatives which are gaining increasing support on the part of the population, including the New Democratic Party (NDP), trade unions, religious bodies, scientists and intellectuals. A campaign has been started in the country to collect signatures to a petition entitled "Peace is everybody's business."

Our party has put forward a number of important proposals and demands aimed at strengthening peace. It demands that Canada

be declared a nuclear weapon-free zone and request the United States and the Soviet Union to respect that decision. The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that it would never use nuclear weapons against a country which refused to make or acquire such weapons and had none on its territory. A relevant agreement with the Soviet Union would help to strengthen the country's security.

In the event of a nuclear war between the USA and the USSR Canada would be caught in the middle of a holocaust. Awareness of this has given new impetus to the demand that Canada become a zone free from nuclear weapons, a demand which has since been acted upon by others, including the NDP, left liberals and the leadership of the Canadian Labor Congress. This finds expression in a statement on foreign policy signed by 78 Canadian personalities.

The outlook for peace will largely depend on the crucial choice the nations now have to make. They realize more and more how disastrous and gloomy is the road onto which reactionary imperialist circles are pushing the world. The overall upsurge in the anti-war movement is becoming a powerful moral and political force capable of exerting a deep effect on international affairs.

Our party, which is active in this movement, shows that there is a real possibility of preserving détente and consolidating peace and international security. The constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at continuing all-round negotiations for the purpose of containing and halting the arms race, the nuclear arms race in the first place, offer a concrete prospect for improving the international situation and averting war.

"While the dangers to peace are great," said the draft resolution of the 25th convention, "there is no room for pessimism or for fatalism in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war ... Despite the efforts of U.S. imperialism to achieve military superiority and change the balance of forces on a world scale, it will not succeed. Imperialism has irrevocably lost its capacity to decide the destinies of nations at will. Military superiority is unattainable. The position of strength policies pursued by U.S. imperialism did not succeed in the past and won't succeed now."¹³

Peace supporters have sufficient potentialities to curb all instigators of aggression and war, preserve détente and promote peace.

1. State Department. Current Policy, No. 339, November 4, 1981.

2. Department of State Bulletin, December 1979, Vol. 79, No. 2033, p. 22.

3. Ibid., November 1980, Vol. 80, No. 2044, p. 27.

4. This article was written prior to the convention, which sat in February 1982. — Ed.

5. Convention 82, No. 1, November 1981.

6. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Coll. Works, Vol. 16, p. 439.

7. Convention 80, Communist Party of Canada, Toronto, p. 53.

8. Hanson Baldwin, *The Price of Power*, New York, 1947, pp. 321-322.

9. "A New Course for Canada," Draft Resolution — 25th Convention, Convention 82, No. 1, November 1981.

10. *Foreign Policy*, No. 39, Summer 1980, pp. 17-18.

11. Ibid., p. 21.

12. *Canadian Tribune*, December 22, 1980.

13. "A New Course for Canada," Convention 82, No. 1, November 1981.

The way to peace and stability in Southeast Asia

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The contest between the two opposite social systems — socialism and capitalism — is being intensified from day to day. Against the background of the tremendous growth of the might of the three world revolutionary streams merging in a great and united force, which has been steadily developing its strategic offensive and scoring more and more major victories, there is a steady weakening of imperialism and reaction, which are sinking ever deeper into their general crisis and are being pushed off their erstwhile positions.

Our adversary has not, of course, reconciled himself to defeat, for he has at his disposal material resources and a broad spectrum of insidious and dangerous means of warfare. For the time being, the balance of forces in some regions of the world enables him to start local or diverse special wars, by resorting to incitement and the fanning of local conflicts, which they convert into proxy wars. The United States has conducted a policy of hostility and open threats against Cuba and Nicaragua in the Central American region and the Caribbean, fostered schemes for using Israel as a shock force to put down the national liberation and national independence forces in the Middle East, and encouraged racist South Africa's aggression against Angola. In the Persian Gulf area, the United States has concentrated large contingents of its rapid deployment force. Pakistan has been converted into a bridgehead for carrying on the undeclared aggression against Afghanistan. Peking has pursued a line of striking an alliance with the United States for the purpose of fighting Vietnam and other countries of the Indochinese Peninsula.

All these moves and gambles are designed to secure sources of energy and raw materials, to

establish control over strategically important territories and to win back lost positions. Such an expansionist and hegemonistic policy tends to produce an explosive situation in these regions and poses a grave threat to the peoples' independence and security. There is no doubt that imperialism, headed by the United States, will remain for a long time the main adversary of the socialist system, the national liberation movement and the cause of democracy and peace.

U.S. imperialism has obtained a new ally in putting through its global plans aimed against the revolutionary forces of the epoch. It is Peking expansionism and hegemonism. The Maoist grouping within Peking's ruling circles, which has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, is the biggest force of international reaction which has entered into alliance with U.S. imperialism and which is acting as the most dangerous counter-revolutionary shock force. Everywhere it has taken up this role, confronting the three revolutionary streams, especially in Southeast Asia. The Chinese reactionaries' partnership with the U.S. imperialists, now a characteristic feature of the situation in the world, tends to increase the danger of war and the threat to peace and security in the world, above all in Southeast Asia and on the Asian continent as a whole.

Following the trip to China by U.S. Secretary of State Haig, Peking and Washington took another step in gradually shaping up their deal, which is based on effective military-political alliance resting on common strategic interests aimed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Peking is fostering fresh schemes designed to separate these countries from the USSR and to pit them against each

other. The sharpest edge of this policy is directed against the USSR, Cuba and Vietnam, while its propaganda cover is provided by the idea of fighting "world hegemonism" and "regional hegemonism." The Peking leadership is trying to flirt with the communist parties of some capitalist countries in an effort to range them against the USSR, the socialist community and the world communist and working-class movement. Peking has been straining to get the less developed countries to follow in its wake so as to divert the non-aligned movement onto a way that is far away from the real struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Southeast Asia is now one of the hotspots of the world. The enemy's counter-attacks have been gaining in acerbity and ferocity with every successful advance in the region of the revolutionary cause of the three peoples of Indochina: Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Having entered into a conspiracy, our enemies are carrying on an offensive against the positions of socialism, threatening the peoples' national independence, peace and stability, and blocking the development of relations of cooperation and the deepening of mutual understanding in the region. Following the defeat in Kampuchea and the direct anti-Vietnamese aggression in 1979, Chinese ruling circles began, with Washington's active support, wildly to mount a multiform subversive war against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This involves military pressure on the border, armed provocations, seizure of territory, and attempts to combine brainwashing with espionage operations; subversive activity among national minorities; formation of detachments from among traitors to their country; the organization of subversion and attempts to undermine the economy. All these hostile acts are being put through within the framework of a strategy geared to the task of weakening Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; they are designed to create conditions for a largescale aggressive war for the purpose of occupying the three Indochinese states and spreading Peking's expansion to the whole of Southeast Asia.

The facts show that China and the United States have achieved coordination on uniting and using Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean reactionaries, and arming and preparing them for realizing the hatched counter-revolutionary plans.

The subversive activity begun in Southeast Asia by the United States and China is aimed to weaken Vietnam, undermine the combat unity of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, and to isolate them from the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The ruling circles of the ASEAN countries, in virtue of their class nature, their dependence on the United States, the pressure from China, and their illusions about Vietnam's difficulties, are still unable to reconcile themselves with the actual situation in Kampuchea. China, the United States and members of this grouping have been strengthening their interaction, making use of Pol Pot and other reactionary Khmer groups to fight the Kampuchean revolution. Bases sited on the territory of Thailand are used for hastily training and arming the remnants of the Pol Pot troops and other armed detachments of reactionaries, whose military activity against the Kampuchean patriots is being stepped up to the utmost. At the same time, these circles are pushing their Kampuchean henchmen to set up a "coalition government." Having staged the international conference on the so-called Kampuchean problem, they used the UN rostrum for the adoption of resolutions amounting to gross intervention in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. China and the United States have been pressuring Vietnam in an effort to get it to withdraw its troops from that country, dreaming of a political solution of the "problem" to suit themselves, and seeking to put the countries of ASEAN and Indochina against each other. This dangerous policy could turn Southeast Asia into a highly explosive zone of the world.

Our primary task — which signifies defense of the cause of socialist construction — is to give courageous rebuffs to the aggressive and subversive policy of Peking expansionists and hegemonists, who have made a deal with U.S. imperialism. This calls for protracted and exceptionally difficult struggle in every sphere — political, military, ideological and economic. But while tirelessly enhancing our revolutionary vigilance and constantly maintaining a high state of readiness to defend our country's interests, we always value friendship with the Chinese people and have consistently advocated a continuation of talks to solve the problems in relations between the two countries so as to bring about their normalization. However, to this day, the Chinese side has invariably refused to do so, and this makes the bellicose substance of the Peking rulers' line even more obvious.

Together with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, we have put forward many positive proposals aimed to set up a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation in Southeast Asia. Vietnam wants a normalization of relations with the ASEAN countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a further

development of the dialogue trend, and frustration of Peking's policy designed to fan hostility between ASEAN and our states. Speaking recently on behalf of the three Indochinese governments, the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic put forward a new initiative at the United Nations, when he formulated the fundamental principles of relations of peaceful coexistence between the two groups of countries.

The party and the people of Vietnam are aware that the mission assigned to us by history now consists in reliable defense of national independence, successful construction of socialism at home and efforts to preserve durable peace and stability in the region, something that will enable the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to make a positive contribution to the cause of international détente and the defense of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

In the late 1970s, the victories of the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam brought about a new situation in Southeast Asia and further materially strengthened the combat alliance of the three countries of Indochina. These free and independent countries building socialism are an important part of the world socialist system in this region, where the balance of forces is changing in favor of the revolution.

The Communist Party of Vietnam and its people have scored considerable successes in overcoming the grave consequences of the aggressive wars started by the United States, the Peking hegemonists and their satraps, and also in effecting socialist transformations and building a new society. We were victorious in defending our socialist fatherland in beating back Peking's two-fold aggression: along Vietnam's southwestern and northern borders. The Vietnamese people are engaged in fulfilling two strategic and closely interrelated tasks which consist in successfully building socialism and maintaining a state of readiness to fight in defense of the country.

Our successes are considerable. But in the process of our advance we come up against serious difficulties, above all in the sphere of the economy and the life of the population. These are difficulties in the national economy in which small-scale production continues to prevail for the time being, the economy which has seriously suffered as a result of a long period of wars and of frequent natural disasters. We still have little experience in administering the economy and society, we have made some mistakes in this sphere, and these are now being gradually righted. It is all the more difficult to overcome them because much attention needs to be given to the maintenance of a

high state of combat alert, so as to defend the fatherland and rebuff Peking's hostile policy.

The Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party, have scored major successes of historical significance in the period since the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique. However, because of the exceptionally grave consequences of Pol Pot's policy of genocide and the present intervention and sabotage and aggression on the part of Peking and other reactionary circles, the country still faces many trials. That is why the Kampuchean people are in need of diverse assistance from the fraternal countries.

Our party has resolutely reaffirmed that the strengthening of relations of especially close and all-round cooperation between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea is a strategic matter that is of vital importance for the three states and a factor reliably guaranteeing the preservation of the independence of each of these three countries and the building of their new life.

We wholeheartedly welcome the close and fruitful coordination of the policy of the socialist community countries with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea which has been established in the recent period. This all-round support and coordination of action in various spheres will daily produce even greater results, especially in explaining the just substance of the struggle carried on by the Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean peoples, which the imperialists and other reactionaries want in every way to distort so as to mislead world opinion. Such coordination should also help the states of Southeast Asia to gain a clear awareness of the fact that the threat to peace and stability here is posed by the expansionist and hegemonist policy of Peking, which has made a deal with the United States, and that Maoism (without Mao) has continued to provoke disorders in the countries of the region.

The coordination of our joint action is designed to thwart the policy of the United States, China and other reactionaries aimed to isolate Vietnam. The party and the people of Vietnam will always remember that their victories in the war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors and for the salvation of their fatherland, like the successes in socialist construction and defense of the country at present are inseparable from the valuable support of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. Our party, led by its Central Committee, which is headed by comrade Le Duan, has constantly emphasized that alliance and all-round cooperation with them in the spirit of socialist internationalism is a fundamental and principled

policy. We regard our alliance with the USSR as the cornerstone of our international activity and foreign policy, because we believe that the USSR is the maintay of the socialist system and the world revolution and because we proceed from the revolutionary substance of our Marxist-Leninist parties and states, which are guided by common communist ideals. Such is our fundamental and long-term strategy, which has become the guarantee of the Vietnamese people's victories in defending the country and building socialism, a guarantee of the strengthening of its positions on the Indochinese Peninsula.

Reactionary circles, headed by U.S. imperialism, have been feverishly reforming their ranks and putting up fierce resistance to those who stand for the cause of revolution and peace. This results in an ever greater exacerbation of the confrontation between the forces of socialism, peace, democracy and national liberation, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction, on the other. Their aggressive incendiary policy is the root cause of the present tension in the world arena.

It is becoming ever more obvious that a task of special importance today is to carry on the struggle for peace, to cut short the sinister schemes and aggressive acts of imperialism and the whole of international reaction. It is profoundly logical that the Peace Program put forward by the 26th congress of the CPSU for the 1980s has met with such a great response among all honest people in the world. A wave of action by various strata of the population under the slogans of struggle against nuclear weapons, the arms race and war — unprecedented in scale over the past several decades — has rolled across the countries of Western Europe, Japan and even the United States itself.

The public at large has approved and given support to the peace proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries designed to ease tension in Europe, the Persian Gulf area, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Far East; to Mongolia's proposals that a convention of non-aggression should be signed by the countries of Asia and the Pacific area, and to the initiatives of the three countries of Indochina aimed to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability, friendship and cooperation.

The present situation insistently demands the formation of a broadest front to bring together — for struggle against the incendiary and aggressive course of imperialism, entering blocs with other forces of international reaction — the socialist states, the communist and workers' parties, the national, democratic and peace-loving forces and circles within socialist and social-democratic parties acting for peace. Leonid Brezhnev was quite right when he said: "It is necessary now, today, to do everything to block the way of those who want boundless armaments and military gambles. It is necessary to do everything to secure the human right to life."

Of crucial importance for victory in the battle for a peaceful future will be our persevering efforts in strengthening the might of the socialist community to the utmost, providing reliable defense of the positions of socialism, and constantly maintaining vigilance and readiness to rebuff any adversary wishing to weaken our ranks or to undermine our cohesion. We must closely interact in standing up for the lofty goals of the epoch, carrying high the banner of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Women stand up for their rights

When the Second International Conference of Women Socialists met in 1911 and proposed that International Women's Day should be annually marked, there was a response to its call from women in only a few European countries. Today, the women's movement has been firmly established in all the continents and has become a mighty force which is ever more tangibly merging with the general stream of struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

On the eve of March 8, the *WMR* Commission on the Problems of Peace and Demo-

cratic Movements asked a number of prominent public figures about the tasks before their women's organizations within the national and international framework. Here are their replies.

CALL FOR SOLIDARITY

Marie Kabrhelova
CPCz CC Secretariat member;
Chairperson, Central Committee,
Czechoslovak Union of Women

Among the objective hallmarks of our day is the

drive and perseverance with which women in the non-socialist part of the world are standing up for their human dignity, opposing discrimination, demanding equal rights with men, and increasingly taking part in the struggle for democracy and social progress, in the anti-imperialist movement and the world-wide struggle for peace.

In our country, women now live in different conditions, in a society based on the principle which says that without social independence and equality of the sexes it is impossible entirely to emancipate humankind and to build communism. In Czechoslovakia, women enjoy all the civic — political, social and economic — rights, above all the fundamental right to engage in socially useful labor, because women's involvement in the labor process and their consequent independence provide the basis for their equality and development of all their capabilities. Our country strives for the complex and harmonious blend of the main functions of women, so that both care of the family and active labor and social activity should be inalienable component parts of their life. We believe that none of these aspects can be lost sight of without the risk of causing undesirable deformations, although we are aware that their optimal combination even in a socialist society is a protracted process.

In our country, women make up 48 per cent of all those who work, and they will be found in every sector of the economy. They are no longer confined — as they once used to be — to doing seasonal, "dirty" and low-paid work. They are no longer consigned to the outskirts of production. That is also the outcome of widespread women's education, the key instrument for the development of the feminine personality. In Czechoslovakia, education is not only generally accessible and free, and designed to develop every individual's natural endowments, but is also concerted with the needs of the national economy and the need for specialists, which is why the possibility that the knowledge they obtain will remain unused has been reduced to a minimum. In the choice of occupation, a young woman is helped both by her parents and teachers, and by a network of special consultative centers at schools, enterprises and national committees. Here is a remarkable fact: although girls make up a majority of those studying the humanities, over the past 20 years there has been a sharp increase — more than double — in the number of those of them who prefer a technical education. Thus, there is a long-term perspective in our country in the creation of prerequisites for the work of women in executive posts and in the modern sophisti-

cated fields of production and science once regarded as "typically male," like electronics, engineering and chemistry.

While working at every stage of production and in every sphere of administration on a par with men and being involved in social activity, women also have extensive opportunities for realizing their key function, that of being mothers and bringing up the new generation. Our society seeks to create the most favorable conditions so as to prevent motherhood from keeping women away from work or from continuing their education. When in the early 1970s the Czechoslovak government enacted a complex of measures to stimulate the growth of the population and further improve the living conditions of mothers, these goals were attained without any reduction in the number of working women. Today, eight per cent of the national income goes into direct financial assistance to families with children, and within the framework of social consumption the state covers from 40 to 60 per cent of the costs of bringing up the rising generation (depending on the number of children).

Our society has been doing everything to enable women to participate broadly in political and social life and in developing socialist democracy, and this has, for its part, stimulated their mass activity in elective posts. Just now, women make up 28.3 per cent of the deputies in the Federal Assembly, Czechoslovakia's supreme legislative body, and even more of them are members of local organs of power (30-34 per cent). Thousands of women take part in the work of various public commissions and committees, helping by their organizational talents, their dedication and selflessness to bring about a rapid and promising solution to the problems linked with the further development of our society. As we advance in the construction of developed socialism, as the tasks we tackle become ever more complicated, there is a steady growth in women's political, economic and social importance in every sphere of life in the country.

That does not at all mean that, with such broad rights and opportunities, the women of my country have ceased to be sensitive to the members of their sex in other countries of the world. They most emphatically have not! We never forget about those who still have to drag out an existence in squalor and ignorance, in illiteracy and deprivation. Our hearts go out to our women contemporaries whom capitalism and colonialism trample in social and political life, subject to discrimination and doom to backwardness.

Czechoslovak women are aware that it is

their international duty to help their sisters throughout the world, wherever women are fighting for their rights, national independence, freedom, democracy and peace. We have a deep sense of solidarity with the women of the capitalist and developing countries, we understand their concerns and hardships, we share their aspirations, and we are always prepared to give them a helping hand.

That our feelings are sincere will be seen from the Czechoslovak women's part in preparing last October's World Congress of Women, the most representative women's congress in history. The Czechoslovak Union of Women, which in Prague hosted women from 132 countries, 234 national and 96 international organizations, defrayed a sizable part of the costs of holding the congress. It was our view that we could not deprive our women of their right to display once again their solidarity with the worldwide women's movement. Close to one million 10-crown postage stamps issued as a mark of solidarity with the congress were rapidly sold out. It is no exaggeration to say that the members of every single organization of our union helped to make the congress a success by their donations to its fund, some of which were modest, and some very generous indeed. The funds so collected enabled many delegates from less developed countries to attend the forum in Prague.

I do not think it would be immodest to say that we have done and are doing a great deal to strengthen the international women's movement. We have held a number of successful seminars in our country for women from Africa, Asia and Latin America. We have helped Chilean women living in exile to assemble in Czechoslovakia so as to tell the world the truth about Pinochet's regime. The first international function in the preparation of the Year of the Child was also held in Czechoslovakia. We regularly invite active members of the women's movement from other countries to Czechoslovakia to exchange experience, offering them opportunities for study, rest and medical treatment. It is hard to enumerate everything, but we are aware that however great our contribution, it is still inadequate in terms of the time scale, which is why we shall go on developing our acts of solidarity.

The recent forum in Prague was undoubtedly a milestone in the history of the worldwide women's movement. Its broad platform for joint action has great prospects before it. We were also joined by those who had never before worked with the Women's International Democratic Federation, like the International Council of Women. The Prague Congress witnessed that

a united front of struggle for the preservation of peace is taking shape in the world and that the women's movement is an organic part of it. This was also expressed in the call of the congress to make March 8, 1982, a day of struggle by women against the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

The rights won by women can be realized in practice only in a time of peace, for peace alone guarantees the exercise of the right of life by women and their children. In defense of this right, our sisters in the capitalist countries have organized mass anti-war action, taken part in demonstrations and meetings, collected signatures to petitions against the arms race, and exposed militaristic preparations.

Socialism strives for construction, it needs lasting peace. We Czechoslovak women regard the struggle for peace as a struggle to strengthen and make prosperous our own country and the whole community of fraternal socialist countries, and to fulfil the creative tasks mapped out by the 16th congress of the CPCz. It is also a struggle for the all-round development of women as individuals, something that is in line with the building of a developed socialist society, and the promotion of the cause of women's further emancipation throughout the world.

Visitors to our country highly appreciate what has been done in this country for the well-being of women. That does not mean, however, that we no longer have any problems in this sphere. The assertion of women's equality is no simple process and new problems keep arising in the course of its advance. Things which once appeared to be simple actually turn out to be highly complicated.

We have done much, for instance, to overcome the social distinctions between the status of men and women. The point now is to see that the social equality is attended with even greater attention to the physiological, psychological and other peculiarities of women, something that is, incidentally, highly important in the installation of new hardware, the solution of safety and labor protection matters, etc. That is why our state has not only displayed concern for women who are mothers, but has also sought to provide them with specific conditions in production and in everyday life.

Consider also the problem of the sharing of duties in the home. In our country, women even today frequently have to do more household work than men, so that after working a full day, they often have to put in something like a second shift.

What about the moral aspects of equality? Here, much still remains to be done to clear the

relations between men and women of the pre-conceptions which have their roots in the pre-socialist societies. To this day, for instance, when people speak of emancipation they nearly always have women in mind. But one also has to give thought to men's emancipation, the need to deliver the male consciousness from the possessive attitude, from the conviction that women are "naturally weak," attitudes which have been driven into men's minds over the centuries.

I am well aware that for many countries these problems are still a very long way off, but I am sure that the time will come when they will become meaningful for all the women of the globe. We, for our part, shall take pride in the fact that we were among the first to get down to tackling these problems and, just as we ourselves have drawn and continue to draw on the practices of the USSR, the first socialist country, we shall be able to offer our sisters life-tested experience: choose the positive but reckon with your countries' specific conditions.

Meanwhile, let me repeat what was said in Prague last autumn in many languages of the world: the main thing today is to preserve peace! Let our daughters and granddaughters be able to say to their own children and grandchildren: we had wise mothers and wise grandmothers at the most difficult moments in the history of humankind. They clasped hands and joined efforts in helping to safeguard humankind from the threat of annihilation. They were sufficiently strong and united to help make our world a flourishing orchard, and to prevent the human-hating forces from turning it into a wasteland.

HOUR OF INSIGHT

Edith Ballantyne (Canada)
General Secretary, Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom

I believe that there is a new aspect in the attitude of women in various countries to the key issue of our time: the struggle against the danger of war. It is a growing clarity in understanding who and what threaten peace, who and what undermine détente, which forces hamper progress. This understanding produces a readiness for broad and vigorous action.

Of course, in analyzing the causes behind the worsening of the international situation, the views expressed are frequently far from simple. The overwhelming majority of those involved in the women's movement are, however, agreed that it is the reactionary, militaristic circles

who are to blame for the growing threat of war. Women are increasingly aware of the close interconnection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. They are ever more alive to the danger which springs from the imperialist policy of threats and coercion with respect to countries and peoples which want to choose their own way.

In these matters, there is no special, "feminine" standpoint. Being equal participants in peace movements, women join others within them in rejecting such methods in international relations as the refusal to negotiate on existing problems and conflicts, the designation of various regions lying tens of thousands of kilometers away from some country as a sphere of its "vital interests," threats, blackmail, and political and military pressure. Who better than women, engrossed in concern for the family's material and moral well-being, can understand the harmful consequences of the fact that, through the fault of the militarists, the world now has to spend a million dollars a minute on armaments; that throughout the world, 50-60 million workers and a quarter of its scientists have to waste their experience, brains and knowledge on the making of weapons?

It is true that as I meet women from various continents and countries, I come to realize that the extent to which the importance of these problems is understood, what might be called depth of "insight," is far from the same. European women, for instance, are more aware of the threat of militarism than are American or Australian women. One of the reasons is the peculiarity of historical development. For many people on our continent, war is something that could very well go on anywhere in the world, but not close to their own hearths.

That does not mean, of course, that the peace movement in North America is so amorphous. It is vigorous and is on the offensive. It is developing. Those who have become aware of the calamities held in store for the whole of mankind and for the peoples of our part of the world by another world war with the use of modern means of mass destruction are not idle, they are fighting. American peace fighters are actively opposing the arms race and have resolutely condemned Washington's interference in the affairs of other countries, notably its support of the despotic clique in El Salvador. It is only fair to emphasize that women have a special and important place in this struggle.

The progressive women's movement in Canada and the USA has always stood in defense of peace, and I am sure that it will con-

tinue to exert a powerful anti-militaristic pressure on their ruling circles. The women of our continent have repeatedly demonstrated their strength in the past, so throwing the war-mongers into confusion and arousing their anger. But we must do even more. We have to solve many problems so as to involve in active struggle ever broader strata of women.

What are these problems? In the United States, feminism is strong, but there is a need to help it to merge organically with the anti-war movement, so that women should gain a correct understanding of the need to blend the struggle for their rights and the struggle for peace. One could say that there is a need for a qualitative leap. Women are inclined to be guided by their instincts and emotions, but the present period requires not only action on the spur of the moment, but an ability to act rationally, so as to bring out the gist of developments and correctly define the situation.

I should certainly not like to leave the impression that in the women's movement there is no tendency to study and compare the facts. There is such a tendency. The women of our continent are ever more aware of the interconnection between phenomena which, at first sight, appear to be independent of each other. They are beginning to realize that when military expenditures in the world come to \$500 billion a year, this cannot but eventually have an effect on the vital interests of their families and their children. Women no longer regard as abstract the calculations by specialists who say that no more than 8-10 per cent of the world outlays on weapons would suffice to do away with hunger, disease, and illiteracy throughout the world. In short, they have an ever clearer perception of the close interconnection between the struggle for peace and the efforts to assure their children of a happy future.

Here is an example. The veterans of the women's movement recall that at one time, reactionary propaganda skilfully made use of various inventions about the "horrors" of communism in order to check the struggle for peace. The mass anti-war demonstrations last year and in the early months of 1982 have shown a marked thinning out of the ranks of those who still believe that the Soviet Union has an axe to grind when it stands up for peace. People in various countries will no longer be intimidated by talk about the peace movement in which they are involved being "run" by communists. They are, of course, aware that communists are in the ranks of the peace movement. But they are also aware that members of the most diverse political trends march shoulder to shoulder in the movement under common banners, and are

also represented in its leadership.

Or consider the following example. A movement against the neutron bomb has been spreading across Western Europe. Its participants no longer need to be told of what this bomb threatens. Women are ever more aware of the fact that no one but the military-industrial complex, which extracts fabulous profits from the death industry, has a stake in this bomb. It is natural, therefore, that the participants in the World Congress of Women sharply condemned President Reagan's order to start the manufacture of this new mass destruction weapon.

Considering the main lines of the anti-war struggle, as seen from the angle of the women's movement, the first thing that must be declared is: another round in the arms race must be prevented. Women fear that arms production could become uncontrollable and ungovernable, and that public opinion will lose every notion of the volume and nature of the weapons being turned out. But that is precisely what can happen if arms limitation talks are torpedoed again and again. Women have a good historical memory; it gives them constant reminders of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which were destroyed more than 30 years ago by the blasts of U.S. atom bombs. They are also aware of the facts which testify that the second and third generations of those who survived the bombing still suffer from the tragic effects of the irradiation. That is why women so emphatically say "no" to the threat of nuclear war. A majority well understands that the arms race needs to be halted at all costs. Women in the Nordic countries, for instance, have proposed that for a start nuclear-free zones should be set up in Europe. I also think that that is very important.

And here is yet another point. For a long time women remained on the sidelines of social life, they were simply kept out of these spheres. Changes are now under way. Women are becoming ever more active. But their activity frequently lacks consistency, and they are also short of political knowledge. They have staged various actions, organized marches, written letters to international bodies, and are yearning to join in the struggle, but they do not always clearly see the object of their influence. In Western Europe and North America, where I work with women, I find, for instance, that the Soviet Union and the United States are frequently put on the same footing and presented with demands on the same level. I think that the fundamental distinction which exists here needs to be patiently and perseveringly explained.

I should also like to note this other aspect —

and one could say that it is a purely feminine one — namely, that the role of women in the family is of the utmost importance for humankind's future. The kind of generation we have rising in the world depends to a great extent on women who are mothers. Here, we must be more exacting with respect to ourselves.

I myself have four children. I began to work as a young girl, and that was a source of personal satisfaction. But when my children were small and even later, when they attended school, I devoted myself to them entirely. That was not an easy decision to take, but my husband and I weighed up all the pros and cons, and took it.

I admit that I had thought that I would stay at home for a year or two, but I stayed for twelve. Was that a loss of time? No. As I look back, I believe that I did the right thing. My husband and I wanted our children to grow up good, honest, progressive-minded people and upstanding citizens. We could not delegate their education to others, and so we got down to it ourselves. Now our children are grown up. They are active in Canada's political life and are fighting for a better future for their people.

It is up to women to bring up the rising generation. That is the personal responsibility of every mother, and it is our common civic and human duty. But it is a problem that needs to be seen not only through the prism of the family. All over the world, women work as teachers, doctors and in some other fields where they have professional opportunities for exerting an influence on children and young people. It is important that each of us should seek to be a true educator, to shape the minds of the young generation in the spirit of humanism, in the spirit of peace, equality, freedom and respect for people.

Writers and painters have always depicted women as the keeper of the family hearth, and as the embodiment of the ideals of peace and tranquillity. I should like very much to see us, women of the late 20th century, become true champions of peace on this Earth of ours, which is not as big as it once seemed to be, and is not yet as well equipped as it should be, but it is the only common home we have.

LIBERATED THEMSELVES BY LIBERATING THE PEOPLE

Nora Astorga

Deputy Foreign Minister of Nicaragua

One of the characteristic features of the Sandinista Revolution is the mass participation of women in the struggle for liberation from the

tyranny. We women of Nicaragua knew that without freedom for the whole people there could be no freedom for us, which is why we took up arms, fought side by side with the men and carried on political work, while simultaneously developing the activity of women's organizations which had an important role to play in the revolutionary process.

Each one of us is involved in the revolution in her own way. I myself first met members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF) in 1969, when I returned from the United States, where I was then studying. My personal acquaintance with Resistance fighters rapidly developed into cooperation with the SNLF. At first, I was given various assignments, helped with material supply, transportation, and correspondence, travelled all over the country and talked with people.

I must say that my position was then relatively sound. I come from a petty-bourgeois family. I was a student and was able to travel without arousing any suspicion. That is why I was also used for trips abroad. Comrades from the Resistance taught me the rules of secrecy. My political knowledge gradually increased, and I developed from an instinctive sympathizer of the movement into a convinced Sandinista and a political fighter.

In 1978, I had to go underground. I was sent into the mountains on the Northern front, where I was given military training and then sent to the Southern front, where I fought arms in hand and acted as political instructor. I was then about to become a mother, but I stayed on in the army. I came down from the mountains only three months before the birth of my child.

After the victory of the revolution, I held various posts in the political leadership. I was responsible for finance in one of the armies, then a special prosecutor in courts trying war criminals, Somoza men, and in February 1981, I became a deputy Foreign Minister.

There is, however, nothing exceptional in my story. We have many women who distinguished themselves in the revolution and whom it advanced to leading posts. Their names are well known in Nicaragua. I myself can recall my sisters-in-arms for hours. Major Tijerin, who now holds a responsible post in the Ministry of the Interior, joined the revolutionary struggle many years ago, was imprisoned and tortured, but always set an example to the others. Major Monica Baltodano worked on the General Staff throughout the war. Major Leticia Herrera served on the staff of the Western front (incidentally, that staff consisted exclusively of women and had a highly successful battle record). And how can one for-

get to mention the guerrilla fighter, Major Dora Maria Tellez! On August 22, 1978, she took part in storming the National Palace, a battle which was so important for the development of our revolution.

The country now faces new tasks: consolidation of the revolutionary gains. Women are also actively involved in their fulfillment and frequently work in key posts. Lea Guido, for instance, is Minister of Health, and six other women have become deputy ministers. So many women in the leading organs of power is quite a lot for a small Latin American state. Monica Baltondano, whom I mentioned, is a member of the National Secretariat and also of the Political Secretariat of the leadership guiding the mass organizations. That is a highly responsible position. Dora Maria Tellez is Vice-President of the State Council, and Leticia Herrera is responsible for the Sandinista defense committees, a mass organization which operates throughout the territory of Nicaragua.

Our women are, of course, working to develop the revolutionary gains not only in high posts. Many work at plants, factories and agricultural enterprises. There is a large percentage of women in the state apparatus. They are a great force in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country. I say nothing about the activity of women in the more traditional fields of school education and medicine. Many of our doctors are women, and they have initiated a mass movement of health teams. And the campaign to wipe out illiteracy! Sixty per cent of those involved are women.

Let me also add a few figures. Nearly 46 per cent of the members of the Sandinista Front are women. They hold posts of political secretaries in most departments; 40 per cent of the Sandinista militia fighters are also women.

Under the dictatorship, women suffered under a two-fold oppression: capitalist exploitation, and lack of rights in the family. Several projects are now under way to give women professional training. Cooperatives for tailoring, making footwear, etc., are being organized. Our material resources are not large, but the little the country has at its disposal is being generously allocated to help women become equal members of the society in every respect. We do not want them to withdraw once again into the narrow little world of the household, from which she temporarily emerged during the revolution. That is something women themselves do not want. New horizons have been opened up before them by the university of revolutionary struggle.

GENUINE INDEPENDENCE — THE MAIN THING

Manouri Muttetuwegama
General Secretary,
Sri Lanka Front of Women

The central task of the progressive women's movement in Sri Lanka is participation in the struggle for the country's genuine independence. We do style ourselves as an independent state, but actually our sovereignty is an illusion. Nor can its substance — Sri Lanka's actual status in the modern world — be changed by membership in the United Nations, the possibility of appointing ambassadors plenipotentiary throughout the world, and the celebration of Independence Day in our ancient land.

More than 30 years after the proclamation of independence, with the children born in that period grown to adulthood and become fathers and mothers, we are still forced to fight for genuine sovereignty. We have to fight in very hard conditions: the country is, in effect, facing political and economic bankruptcy. The transnationals have been stepping up their penetration of the Sri Lanka economy. The state is steeped in debt to the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other foreign financial outfits.

That is not the result of the people's ignorance or backwardness. In Sri Lanka, we have a fairly high level of education. No, the reasons lie elsewhere, and the main one is that the national democratic transformations were not completed. The country stopped half-way and did not take a socialist orientation.

Of course, there are also many other concomitant reasons. One of these is Sri Lanka's geographical location, which is both a boon and a bane. It lies in the Indian Ocean, at the crossroads of important sea routes leading to the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia. This has always attracted diverse invaders, and centuries ago our country was occupied by the Portuguese, who were followed by the Dutch. In the late 18th century came the British. All were concerned with the same thing: control of the sea routes.

The present period has added new features to the struggle for our region. Its peoples want the Indian Ocean to become a zone of peace, which is why we cannot but be alarmed by the fact that a U.S. military base has been set up on the island of Diego Garcia and that Washington seeks further to consolidate its positions in that part of the world, by making use of its navy,

dictatorial regimes, infiltration by the transnational monopolies and economic pressure.

Experience shows that it is impossible to guarantee genuine sovereignty when anti-imperialist and democratic transformations are incomplete. We feel foreign imperialist domination in every walk of life. Objectively, the government's policy is aimed to tie the country to U.S. imperialism. The government has been trying to establish political and economic relations with ASEAN, although it is clear that this will not bring any stable advantages. It is allegedly being impelled to take this step by the recently accumulated large balance-of-payments deficit. But if Sri Lanka is included in ASEAN, it will ultimately find itself caught even more strongly in the economic web of imperialism.

It looks as though our country's ruling classes have not learned the lessons of history. The government tried harder to cater for its imperialist partners than to serve its own people. It recently gave permission to site Voice of America relay stations on Sri Lanka territory. Our coastal cities have become holiday resorts for U.S. military personnel. U.S. warships keep entering our ports, and we do not even know what is on board, down in their holds. Experience warns us that they could, in fact, be carrying nuclear weapons.

It is common knowledge that a U.S. oil company is already engaged in oil extraction in Sri Lanka, although a quarter-century ago all foreign oil companies were nationalized. Could it be that those who signed the agreement have totally forgotten that right after that the United States cut off all aid to the country? The Americans refused to ship us any wheat, milk and other produce which were then being delivered to us under bilateral agreements.

In that case, where are we heading? Why are the authorities once again letting the country be farmed out and plundered? Every honest person asking such questions cannot but reach the conclusion that the most important thing now is to carry on a consistent struggle for genuine national independence, instead of ceding step by step the positions we had earlier won.

Some could ask whether we, women of Sri Lanka, are not too engrossed in "big politics" while forgetting our specific feminine concerns? My answer is this: the winning of genuine independence meets the most vital interests of Sri Lanka women.

Let us consider the opportunities women in my country have for finding a job. In its efforts to attract foreign capital, the government has announced the establishment of a "free trade zone." Great promises were linked with this

step. It was promised, for instance, that 50,000 new jobs would be created. The building of the infrastructure in that zone cost 130 million rupees. How many jobs have we got in return? Just over 10,000. Only 43 enterprises, of which 27 are small ones turning out garments and knitted wear, have decided to set up subsidiaries in that zone. Who invested capital in them? Businessmen from imperialist countries. For how long? Most probably only for the few years in which Sri Lanka goods are allowed onto the markets of Western Europe and the United States. This means that the flow of capital will soon ebb, like the ocean tide, leaving a littered and foam-covered shore behind it. The foreigners will return home with their profits, and we shall be left empty-handed.

Here is another particular, though highly characteristic example. The bosses of the electronic industry, which is controlled by a transnational corporation, have announced the opening of an enterprise in the "free trade zone" which is to work three shifts. It was broadly advertised that this would create 5,000 new jobs. Many were happy. After all, there is 25 per cent unemployment among young people alone. But when it came to filling the jobs, the company declared that it did not need men and was planning to hire only girls who had sensitive fingers — just the right thing for its finely tuned operations. This made it quite clear all at once that the company wanted to hire girls because they were the contingent of the working people subjected to the greatest exploitation.

Women generally work more and are paid less for their work than the statistical yearbooks say. A woman arriving at an enterprise finds herself in more arduous conditions than a man: she earns less than a man would doing her job, and is in addition deprived of her family. The fact is that in Sri Lanka, public transport is embryonic, so that women cannot travel home from work every day, as they do in Europe, but the enterprise does not make available either hostels, dining rooms or any other social services. Of course, some have to accept even conditions of that kind. But you can imagine how they live! Five or six girls rent a small room in which they live huddled together. So, thanks to the transnationals for their "concern" for women!

That is precisely why our women's movement believes it to be so important a matter for it to carry on a struggle for genuine — instead of imaginary — independence, which is closely connected with the struggle against the exploitation of women's labor.

OUR GOAL: A FREE NAMIBIA

Maria Amutenia

member of the Women's Council, SWAPO

Our council began to operate back in 1960, soon after the formation of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), but it was organizationally formalized not very long ago — its first congress was held a year ago. Before the congress, which adopted the statutes of the Women's Council and elected its governing bodies, we were guided in our work by the statutes of SWAPO itself.

The Women's Council believes that its main mission is to unite women and to mobilize them for the struggle against the occupation authorities' colonial oppression, and for Namibia's genuine freedom and independence. Women have a highly important place in this struggle, and are making a considerable contribution to it. But if they are to enhance their militant role, they need to solve a number of hard problems, arising from the condition of women in Namibian society.

The South African invaders, having converted Namibia into their colony, are working hard to implant racial discrimination in its most repulsive and brutal forms. In the atmosphere of colonial and racial oppression, it is women, the most downtrodden and deprived section of the population, that have to bear the greatest burden and suffering. On their shoulders entirely falls the hard burden of care for the family, because the contract-labor system forces men to seek a livelihood away from home, while the racist laws prevent their wives and children from living with the breadwinner near his place of work.

The reservations and "homelands" set up by the racist authorities for the native population are inhabited mainly by women, children and old people, which are of no "interest" for the apartheid economy. The population of the "homelands" is, in effect, engaged in a ceaseless struggle for survival. The semi-starvation, the lack of even the most elementary medical assistance (for the needs of public health, 7.8 rands per head is allocated for the African population annually, as compared with 112 rands per head for the white population), the highest mortality rate (infant mortality among Africans is 163 per 1,000, as compared with 21 per 1,000 among white infants, while life expectancy among Africans is just over 30 years, and among the whites — about 70 years) — such is the brutal reality the native inhabitants of Namibia have to face.

But even in these conditions, the racists

manage to subject women to additional discrimination. If an African woman actually manages to complete a secondary-school course — and a secondary education is generally within reach of no more than one per cent of Namibians — she can become only a nurse, or a teacher. Other fields are closed to her. When working, she will be paid less for her work than a man or a white woman.

SWAPO's Women's Council has organized its activity in the light of these facts. We devote primary attention to raising the general educational level and political awareness of Namibian women. Without this it is impossible to involve them actively in the national liberation struggle. In the schools set up in our camps in Angola and Zambia, pupils are given not only a general education but also some ideological and political training. They are acquainted with their country's history, with the international situation, and with the experience of other peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. There are also centers for production training, where women acquire a trade and are prepared for creative endeavor for the benefit of society, for the benefit of tomorrow's free and independent Namibia.

The Women's Council also gives much attention and effort to children, the Namibian people's future. A network of creches and nursery schools has been built up and is being improved, and here there are, among others, many orphans whose parents were killed by the South African racists. Our task is to surround these children with warmth and care, so as to enable them to grow up strong and healthy and to become good citizens of their country and active builders of a new society.

Within Namibia, it is important to invigorate women's participation in the resistance to the occupation order, and to increase assistance to the contingents of the National Liberation Army. The women of my country give refuge to our fighters, feed them and provide information about the enemy. Many courageous women-patriots are fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the men and taking part in military operations. They are being savagely persecuted by the authorities. Several leaders of our organization are incarcerated in the racist torture-chambers.

But no amount of repression will do the colonialists any good. The days of their rule are numbered. It is not long before the Namibian people will win the long-cherished freedom and will have before it — and this means the women of Namibia as well — new creative tasks.

Latin America: decade with a hard beginning

A POLITICAL SURVEY

Even within the span of a single year, Latin American reality is so diverse and studded with developments that it can hardly be encompassed in a single survey. For that reason the research group of the *WMR* Commission on Problems of Latin America and the Caribbean confined itself to only some aspects of the situation in that region, aspects that have their roots in long-term tendencies. The group consisted of Ari dos Santos, CC member of the Brazilian Communist Party, Raul Valbuena, CC member of the Colombian Communist Party, Felix Dixon, CC member of the People's Party of Panama, Cevero Romero, CC member of the Paraguayan Communist Party, and Jaime Barrios, CC member of the Communist Party of El Salvador.

In Latin America and the Caribbean the 1980s were ushered in by the victorious revolution in Nicaragua and Grenada. Life has given further evidence that under the present world balance of strength, embattled peoples can smash their oppressors even within a stone's throw of the citadel of imperialism. The victories won in these countries are rightly ranked among the major events of the present, events that at the junction between two decades have caused another deep-going fracture in the system of imperialist domination.

In its bid to restore its erstwhile hegemony and surmount internal contradictions, U.S. imperialism has set a course toward total confrontation with socialism and with the liberation movement of oppressed peoples. It sees one of its immediate aims in halting the positive changes in Latin America and the Caribbean. Having been weaned on the great-power principles of the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. ruling circles are mortified by their defeats in what they see as a "traditional and natural" sphere of North American influence. The most reactionary groups, represented by the Reagan administration, decided that here they would uphold imperial honor, which, they feel, had been impaired during the incumbency of the Carter administration.

In parallel with the USA's heightened bellicosity, the most sinister forces have grown active. The political climate has deteriorated

sharply in the region. But the determining factor remains the popular anti-imperialist struggle and the steady enhancement of Latin America's role on the international scene. The liberation movement is continuing its development, the communist parties are gaining in strength, the working class is growing numerically and qualitatively, and the range of its methods of struggle is widening and becoming more diversified. New social strata and political currents are joining the struggle. Closely linked to global processes, there is a growing tendency toward unity among the elements opposed to foreign and internal reaction.

Escalation of aggressiveness

U.S. President Ronald Reagan got his Latin American policy off the ground with the publication (on February 23, 1981) of a piece of falsehood, namely, a "White Book" alleging communist interference in the affairs of El Salvador. This was the first attempt to give credence to the new administration's central foreign-policy thesis about combating "international terrorism" and make the attitude to the Salvadoran insurgents a sort of litmus paper indicating the attitude to the USA itself. This provided the foundation for Washington's "new" doctrine, which sees Latin America and the Caribbean as the critical southern flank of the USA. This doctrine is expounded in the greatest detail in the notorious Santa Fé document,¹ which accords to this region the role of a shield of a new international system of security and the USA's sword in the realization of its policy of world supremacy.²

The aim pursued by official Washington is crystal-clear. First, to retain control of Latin American sources of raw materials, cheap labor, and astronomical profits. Second, to consolidate its already tight links to "allied" regimes, many of which continue to flout human rights. Third, to involve them more intimately in the implementation of its aggressive plans. Fourth, to try and accomplish what the preceding administration failed to do, namely, to bring to a halt or, at least, discredit the liberation movement in the region and get even for the triumph of the revolutions in Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua. And, lastly, for the edification of the world (the developing nations in the

first place) to teach a lesson to all who do not accept the imperialist interpretation of problems.

With a proclamation of its intention to "put an end to communist influence in the Western Hemisphere," U.S. imperialism has steered a course toward forming a united front of reactionary forces in Latin America. The former, allegedly critical, attitude to fascist regimes has been dropped. Full recognition has been accorded to Pinochet, Stroessner, Duvalier and other stranglers of the freedom of nations. In October 1981 the U.S. Senate lifted the ban on arms sales and military aid to the junta in Chile. An analogous opportunity has been opened for the dictatorships in Uruguay, Guatemala and other countries. As well as conventional armaments, the genocidal regime in El Salvador has been given toxic gases and bacteriological weapons. Prominent political leaders who did not suit Washington died under mysterious circumstances — they include the Panamanian General Omar Torrijos, the President of Ecuador Jaime Roldos, and the Peruvian Army Chief-of-Staff Rafael Hoyos Rubio.

Last August, the USA conducted major naval exercises, code-named Ocean Venture-81, in the Caribbean with a landing on the Cuban territory of Guantanamo, where the USA has a naval base. In September the demonstration of strength was "moved" to the expanses of the Atlantic. For the first time Latin American naval forces (of Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela and Colombia) took part in NATO exercises. In November there was a regular conference of commanders of the armed forces of members of the Organization of American States. On the agenda was the question of improving the co-ordination of actions and cooperation in the "overall strategy of fighting terrorism, armed aggression, and subversion." High-ranking Pentagon emissaries are making the rounds of Latin American capitals one after another, while Washington plays host to the most dependable allies of the U.S. hawks. There is no let-up in the attempts to form a South Atlantic Treaty Organization with the participation of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and South Africa.

Of what is all this activity indicative? The strategists in Washington are seeking to speed up, in this region as well, the handwheel of the arms race, to reinvigorate imperialism's military system, and use Latin American armies to block the growing struggle of the peoples, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean.

In order to attain its aggressive objectives, the USA is trying to enlist the support or at least the tacit agreement of most of the Latin American

and Caribbean states. The Reagan administration is aware that today much cannot be achieved by relying on reactionary regimes, police dictate, and intimidation. The "cavalry charges" of the politicians have to be supplemented with economic measures creating the semblance of aid. These are aimed at improving the investment climate in the region and ensuring the predominance of the U.S. monopolies. One of these schemes is a sort of Marshall mini-plan for the Caribbean touted as a panacea for all economic ills, as an effective antidote to "Soviet and Cuban communism."

U.S. economic policy in Latin America and the program of "aid" to Caribbean nations are aimed at imposing monetaristic concepts, the so-called liberalization of economic life. In other words, the purpose is to subordinate the state to private, chiefly foreign capital, lift all controls over capital, remove the customs barriers protecting national industry, and so on. Of course, this policy impinges on the interests of the vast majority of the population, of wage workers and the middle strata above all. In order to impose "liberalization" there has to be reaction across the board, especially political reaction. And the regimes accepting the monetaristic recipes of imperialist experts are everywhere tightening the screws and becoming instruments of repression.

Considerable damage is being inflicted on the countries of the region by the export of economic difficulties from the USA. Reagan's first significant economic action was to raise the bank rate steeply. This temporarily stabilized the dollar exchange rate, stimulated the internal money market, and improved the USA's balance of foreign trade. But the losers here were other nations, including Latin American states. Latin America's foreign debt has now climbed beyond the \$240 billion mark and money is being increasingly piped from local to U.S. banks. Correspondingly, there is a growing shortage of capital. This has led to (alongside the higher interest rate in the USA) more expensive credits in the internal loan market, a fall of the price of exports, and a deterioration of commodity exchange. It has set off a chain reaction: the inhibition of business activity, the rocketing of inflation, a wave of bankruptcies, the ruin of small and medium proprietors, and a growth of unemployment. Imperialist influence thus comes full circle: political aims are achieved by economic means, and vice versa.

The round of "North-South dialogue" in Cancun, Mexico, on October 22-23, 1981 gave a further illustration of whom the Latin American peoples could regard as friends and

foes. Reagan's posture was a repetition of the battered dogmas of monetarism, the assertion that there is nothing to match the self-regulating system of a free market. The USA once again opposed any steps toward the establishment of a new international economic order.

Recent developments strikingly show that the new captains in Washington are motivated by their nostalgia for the 1950s, when the nations of the region were no more than a "voting machine." The methods of the present administration are evocative of those of John Foster Dulles, the notorious troubadour of the cold war. Essentially speaking, what we are observing are attempts to reverse the process of the emancipation of the continent's peoples.

Another Vietnam?

It is no accident that imperialism's aggressiveness is most pronounced in Central America.³ In no other zone of the region has there been such a sharp upsurge of the liberation struggle. In 1979 the Sandinista revolution triumphed in Nicaragua. A people's war is spreading in El Salvador. The anti-dictatorship movement in Guatemala is gathering momentum. A tense situation, fraught with the threat of a fascist coup, has emerged in "traditionally tranquil" Costa Rica. That nation is experiencing one of the most severe socio-economic crises in its history. In Honduras, which has found itself in the focus of the powerful Central American whirlpool, the socio-political tensions have reached the breaking point.

Although in the Central American states (including Nicaragua until 1979) the make-up of the social system is determined by capitalism, the multi-structural stage came to a close later than in many other countries of the region: there still are considerable remnants of pre-bourgeois relations. Hence the more complicated intertwining of social contradictions (capitalist and semi-feudal elements, and oppression by transnationals).

Military-oligarchic dictatorships are the natural outcome of unconsolidated social structures. They are not merely judges standing above the ruling classes and settling conflicts among the various groups in these classes. For instance, in Guatemala the ruling camarilla is itself part of the bourgeoisie, to be more exact of the monopoly section that is becoming ever stronger, is linked closely to transnational corporations, and has ousted the traditional latifundists from power. The most reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie support dictatorships of precisely this type, for they subscribe to the idea, assiduously peddled by the Pentagon, that in an age witnessing the awakening of the

masses to social activity only the military can ensure "stability" and "tranquility."

The majority of the working people of Central America has been reduced to desperation by its calamitous material condition, the barbarous exploitation, the denial of rights, the arbitrary rule by the semi-fascist military, and the lawlessness of paramilitary gangs. The peasants are society's pariahs, and lately poverty and backwardness have grown more glaring than ever in rural communities. The petty-bourgeois strata likewise suffer from economic and political oppression.

In this part of the region, particularly in El Salvador and Guatemala, the objective and subjective conditions have ripened for the most radical forms of protest, including armed risings, because the other roads to democratic expressions have been closed. Quite obviously, the people are desperate and the local élite is unable to govern within the bounds of even the minimum of constitutional legality.

When Central American developments are analyzed it is also important to take into account the wide dissemination of progressive thought, the strong impact of the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, the long-standing traditions of guerrilla warfare, the existence of militant revolutionary organizations, and the growing solidarity of the peoples of the world. All this creates favorable opportunities for the struggle and victory of the peoples.

U.S. imperialism is doing all it can to extinguish the flame of revolution in Central America and retain its economic, political and military positions. If one closely examines the spectrum of steps being taken here by the Reagan administration one will see a set of consistently tackled aims. First — misrepresentation of developments, the discrediting and defamation of revolutionary organizations, and a hunt for their leaders. This is accompanied by a massive psychological assault — intimidation with the bogey of totalitarianism and the subjection of waverers to arm-twisting. Then the physical extermination of patriots by punitive forces commanded by U.S. military advisers. In parallel with a "purge," provision is made for "free" elections. If the punitive forces do not live up to what is expected of them and if the people are not deceived by the elections, there remains a third way — direct military intervention. To this end they have, for the second year running, been inciting Honduras against Nicaragua and trying to suppress the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, engineer a fascist coup in Costa Rica, and thereby close around the Sandinistas the ring of regimes subservient to imperialism.

The permanently central aim is to isolate (and, in the long term, possibly destroy) the principal "source of instability in the region" — socialist Cuba.

At the 11th session of the OAS General Assembly last December in St. Lucia, the U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig did not fortuitously repeat, for the umpteenth time, the allegation that Cuba was systematically conducting a campaign of mounting interference in the affairs of its neighbors.⁴ Similarly absurd accusations were hurled at Nicaragua. This slander is needed to justify the statement that the United States, along with other nations, is prepared to take any steps to prevent any Central American state from becoming the theater of terrorism and war in the region.⁵ Thus, on the pretext of fighting "international terrorism" and the "threat of war," the USA arrogates to itself the right — under or without the flag of the OAS — to interfere openly, up to direct military intervention, in the affairs of nations.

The communists do not rule out this scenario. "Indeed," said Manuel Mora Valverde, CC General Secretary of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, "there is every reason to ask: Will the USA send troops to Central America? Technically, it can. However, it should ponder whether it is in its interests to kindle a major conflict that would have only one result — the emergence of another Vietnam in the very heart of Latin America."⁶

Imperialism's plans are holding out the prospect of more suffering for the peoples. That is why these designs must be stopped. However, it must be emphasized that the main thing — not only in Central America — is not in the actions or intentions of the USA but in the deep crisis of the existing system of domination. Far from underestimating imperialism's might, we believe that to consider it the sole mainspring of all the processes taking place in this zone is to ignore the long and tenacious struggle of our peoples. The masses have learned much and, most importantly, they know on what the defeat of imperialism and the victory of the revolution depend.

The democratic alternative

"To be free there is no way other than the unity and struggle of the entire people,"⁷ states the Manifesto of the Communist Party of Chile circulated in the country last September. Such is the imperative of the present political situation, and it springs from the growing resistance to the military-fascist junta and U.S. imperialism. At the same time, this slogan of the Chilean communists mirrors reality in the entire region.

The striving for unity has an objectively

broad foundation. The course pursued by Washington and the reactionary dictatorships taking their cue from it, serves the interests of only a tiny minority of the population of Latin America. This minority consists of the finance and landowning oligarchy, the upper echelon of local businessmen, the semi-fascist military, and the corrupt bourgeois politicians, all of whom have allied themselves with foreign capital. All political forces have become active within a relatively short span of time. These are motley and contradictory forces, but they are capable of uniting against imperialism and its flunkies and fighting for the implementation of democratic, social reforms. It has become evident that the experience acquired in the anti-fascist and anti-dictatorship movements can be used to cut short the most aggressive aspects of imperialist policy.

Of course, it is not enough to declare the motive forces of this or that revolutionary stage. It is necessary to evolve concrete tactics, to develop organized forms of resistance consonant with the achieved level of struggle and unity. In countries ruled by military dictatorships (Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, Paraguay, El Salvador, Uruguay, Chile, and other states) these tactics envisage a democratic alternative paving the way to social changes, to socialism. This means creating the conditions under which the fronts already existing or being set up may be joined by all opposition elements without exception, in other words, not only by those who have always been opposed to dictatorial governments, but also those who had until recently served such governments faithfully but are now moving ever farther away from them and trying to find a way out on the road to the restoration of democratic freedoms. An analysis of the situation in these countries bears out that there is a possibility for united action by diverse sections of society — from the working class to a section of the bourgeoisie.

The democratic gains that have been won (for example, the annulment of some repressive laws, the political amnesty, and others in Brazil) are the fruit of mainly united and organized actions by the working class. The workers are fighting for the assertion and development of all democratic gains more consistently and more perseveringly than other opposition forces, for their specific demands are the basis of national interests.

Where the stand of the working class and other contingents of working people, notably the peasants, is logical and natural, the growth of opposition feeling among segments of the ruling class is a relatively new development. The communists have always said that the

bourgeoisie cannot be regarded as a single whole. Some of its sections (industrial, agrarian, commercial, and even banking) constantly come into conflict with imperialism. These conflicts have become particularly acute today with imperialism's increased aggressiveness. Members of these sections sometimes go so far as to toy with the idea of ceding some power to the democratic forces so as not to lose it altogether. As Giacondo Dias, CC General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party, noted, they realize that they cannot rely solely on the USA, that "it is better to give away some rings now than to lose the hand."⁸

Of course, nobody expects any part of the bourgeoisie or any of the governments controlled by it to suddenly become proponents of socialism or consistent anti-imperialists, the economic and class bonds linking imperialism and these governments to suddenly crumble. There must be no delusion on this score. However, while bearing in mind that the interests of the working people and the bourgeoisie come into collision and will go on doing so, it must be seen that there is a long road ahead that can and must be traversed jointly by everybody who wants democratic changes. It is vital to form coalitions and unite the opposition forces in order to uproot fascism and anti-people dictatorships, defend national property, and create the possibilities for real development and defeating the plans of the imperialists. In other words, the struggle of the working class for unity and broad-based alliances is not a short-term tactic; it can go on for a relatively long time.

To be sure, this is not an easy road. Take Brazil again. The government is trying to push through its own scheme for the democratization of social life and thereby let some steam out of the "boiling social cauldron." It is trying to win the largest possible number of supporters for its scheme. However, the most consistent opposition forces are pressing for a deepening of the process that has begun. A sharp struggle is raging between the government and these forces. In the opinion of the communists, "developments are unfolding by no means how the government wanted but neither quite as the opposition believed. So far the initiative is in the hands of the government. If the opposition forces do not unite, if the working class does not achieve unity, the government will unquestionably win."⁹

The rising social tension and the growth of contradictions with imperialism are having repercussions in the army, which, in some cases, is the sole mainstay of dictatorial regimes. In their analysis of the situation in

Brazil, Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries, some analysts see these repercussions as stemming from the "weariness" of the military with the fact that for a long time they have had to prop up right-authoritarian governments. This is essentially wrong. Despite the efforts of the Pentagon and the militarist élite to corrupt the military and degrade them morally, they are not indifferent to the mounting people's struggle, to the constant exposures of brutality and violence.

The clergy, who closely follow the sentiments of believers, continue to play a noteworthy role in the liberation movement. Sober-minded Catholic leaders link the struggle for democracy with the need for social changes. One of them, Archbishop Elder Camara of the Brazilian city of Recife, declared: "We intend to go on helping people living in sub-human and un-Christian conditions. We cannot support a social order under which two-thirds of the population is starving." In Chile and El Salvador most of the Catholic clergy condemn terror and violence. In these countries the participation of the people in religious processions and rites has become a form of political and social protest.¹⁰

All these tendencies are to be observed not only in countries ruled by dictatorships. In the present situation the parties of the working class see it as their task not to push away from unity a single opposition tendency or a political organization. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that a proletarian party "which operates in a bourgeois society cannot take part in politics without marching, in certain cases, side by side with bourgeois democracy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 46). In a situation where a democratic movement is growing, he said, unwillingness to participate in broad political coalitions and attempts to conduct the struggle single-handedly, solely for the purely class aims of the workers, are tantamount to renunciation of revolutionary work, to a switch to tail-endism, to a loss of the political perspective. As Lenin saw it, the independence of the proletarian party is determined not by dissociation from democratic movements representing other sections of the people, but by its ability to make a proletarian imprint on the common struggle.

Enhanced opportunities

The experience of Nicaragua, which mirrors the important specifics of the liberation process in the region, is especially valuable in this respect. The Sandinistas were able to unite practically all opposition forces despite distinctions in their programs and political aims, and abort Washington's maneuvers to preserve the

former system. The bourgeoisie joined in the Nicaraguan revolution — at its very last stage, it is true. Its sober-minded representatives saw what the ideology of the Sandinistas was, but nonetheless joined hands with the latter. This is evidence of the growing potentialities for cooperation among democratic circles.

A further confirmation of this is the unitary process now under way in El Salvador. Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, social democrats, progressive military, and a section of the Christian Democrats opposed to the bloody alliance of the military Christian Democratic junta with U.S. imperialism, have united around the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF). They were brought together by the interests of the struggle against a common enemy. In fact, the RDF has become the spokesman of the entire nation, of the different classes and sections of the population, of the diverse political groups and currents.

In Guatemala the forces opposed to the dictatorship are growing in their range. The insurgent movement has received a new impulse and has spread to 19 of the nation's 22 departments. In February 1981, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL) passed an important resolution calling upon all revolutionary organizations to begin forthwith, without any preconditions and exceptions, coordinated military action against the anti-people government of Lucas Garcia. The GPL believes that agreement among the various currents on specific issues or the adoption by them of joint tactics can serve as the starting point of a unitary process.

Attention is attracted by the fact that both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador the revolutionaries would not have formed such influential coalitions had they not developed a reliable formula for their own unity in advance. This is the main guarantee of success. And the wider the anti-dictatorship, anti-imperialist front — internally and externally — the stronger becomes the call for left unity. The Communist Party of El Salvador has set an example of a new attitude to insurgent organizations, which some people called "ultra-left" by force of habit. In some cases they were denied the right to call themselves revolutionaries, while their actions were said to be the cause of almost all if not all the troubles of the liberation movement. Instead of wasting precious time and effort, at the height of the struggle, to ascertain who enunciates the "absolute truth," to identify the "adventurist," the "reformist" or the genuine fighter, the Salvadoran communists, without closing their eyes to differences, proceeded

from the need to look for what draws the Left forces together and not what disunites them. Even when they had different positions, they made it a rule to conduct an ideological polemic on a basis of mutual respect, learn from each other, and act together and strive for organizational unity.

In the wake of the Sandinistas, the Salvadoran revolutionaries drew lessons from the armed struggle of previous years. The guerrilla units of the 1960s were closed military groups. They acted on their own, chiefly in mountainous and rural localities. They had poor ties with the population and with progressive parties. Sooner or later, the Salvadoran Left came to the conclusion that no battle can be given without the active support of the masses. The struggle against the junta is now conducted not by scattered guerrilla units but, under the direction of a political vanguard, by regular insurgent units belonging to an army — the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

The Latin American communists are putting forward new concrete proposals in the interests of unity and are prepared for dialogue and cooperation. For example, in parallel with its September Manifesto, the Communist Party of Chile published a 20-point minimum program as a platform of struggle for all sections of society and political organizations demanding the restoration of democratic freedoms. The Front of Democratic and Popular Unity of Bolivia, of which the Communist Party is a member, seeks to extend anti-fascist resistance and ensure closer unity among opposition political circles and social strata. The strike struggle by the working class, the mass protest movement, and the hunger protests have compelled the Bolivian dictatorship to give the trade unions a legal status. In Colombia the communists have formed a bloc with other left-wing organizations and are pressing for democratic unity among all patriots; this will make it possible to withstand the assault by imperialist capital and defend the people's vital interests. The sixth congress of the Communist Party of Venezuela took a line toward "rallying the broad democratic forces." Despite the complexities in the relations among the left-wing forces, their coordinating committee continues to function. A lucid program of struggle in defense and for the extension of democratic rights has been put forward by the United People coalition in Costa Rica. There are signs of a change in Paraguay — the Communist Party has declared that the time has come to set up an anti-dictatorship front. In Argentina the coordinating organ of the opposition forces — Multipartidaria — whose establishment was a long-standing aim of the

communists, has been constituted. Despite the stepped up harassment, the Broad Front of Uruguay, which includes the communists, remains a tangible political factor. It has made an inestimable contribution to the formation of a Democratic Convergence group, to strengthening the opposition as a whole, and to the mobilization of the masses on a scale unprecedented since the 1973 coup.

A major victory was won last year by the People's Party of Panama. Against enormous odds and despite strident anti-communist propaganda, it secured legalization, submitting a register of 36,000 new members: the minimum membership required by law is 30,000. Official recognition of the PPP has shown that the communists have made skilful use of the potentialities for reinforcing the support they are getting from the people. This added strength to their call for the formation of a democratic front of national liberation. There has been a significant development in Mexico as well: this was the merging of five organizations, including the Communist Party, in the United Socialist Party. Unity, states the constituent declaration, rests on a community of aims and tasks, on the recognition of scientific socialism as the ideological foundation.

In Latin America there has thus been not only a further deepening of the conflict between labor and capital, between the forces of progress and reaction, but also an accentuation, to use Lenin's words, of "the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 25). The success of the revolution and its transition to a socialist perspective increasingly depend on unity among the left-wing forces, on the maximum unfolding of the patriotic front, on its willingness to see anti-communism as a divisive instrument and jettison it, and on the ability of the working class and its party to head the general democratic movement and make creative use of favorable international factors.

Common cause of the peoples

The growing consciousness of the people and the rising opposition to imperialist dictation are a mark of the times. Ever larger sections of Latin American opinion realize that the peoples have a destiny of their own and that there is nothing they can share with imperialism.

The defense of the revolutions that have been accomplished and of the right to make a choice of their own has become the common cause of Latin Americans. Committees of solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, with the patriots

of Chile and Uruguay, and with the insurgents in El Salvador and Guatemala are springing up everywhere. Mass demonstrations are being held to pledge support for them. This movement has ranged beyond regional frameworks, reaching other nations, including the USA.

The voices of the communists, socialists, social democrats, liberals, religious currents, youth and women's organizations and trade unions are fusing in the international solidarity campaigns. However, it is not only a matter of the breadth of the ideological spectrum. A real possibility is emerging for cooperation among politically heterogeneous forces. Experience shows that unity begins with a specific common cause, in which it is easier to ascertain points of contact and areas of likely cooperation. The solidarity campaigns are exercising a considerable positive influence on their participants, giving them extensive experience, freeing them from prejudices, and teaching them political flexibility. In organizing the joint actions and working with different sections of progressive opinion, the communists are finding allies where formerly they encountered indifference and even hostility. The shoots of future left and democratic coalitions are appearing and the way is being paved toward unity for the sake of social changes.

The growing momentum of the struggle waged by the Latin American peoples and the increasing strength of solidarity actions on a continental scale are enhancing the role played by the Latin American states on the international scene and helping to extend links and contacts with those from whom they had been fenced off by internal and external reaction.

This is an objective historical process. The productive forces have developed dramatically in Latin America. In terms of economic potential, the largest countries have forged ahead of some West European nations, and this creates considerable possibilities for foreign policy maneuvering. The last colonial enclaves are disappearing in the Western Hemisphere. The family of sovereign republics has now been augmented by its 31st and 32nd members (Belize last September, and Antigua-Barbados in November). Some nations are active members of the non-aligned movement. Fidel Castro, leader of socialist Cuba, continues to enjoy considerable prestige as chairman of that movement.

External factors play a large role: the possibility of neutralizing the influence of imperialism by the growing influence of and support from socialism, and the possibility of relying on the solidarity of democratic opinion worldwide. For instance, the struggle of the Latin American

peoples against Reagan's acts of aggression has the understanding of the international social democratic movement. At its sitting in Paris in September 1981, the Bureau of the Socialist International adopted a statement condemning the U.S. administration for its massive military aid to the Salvadoran junta. The Socialist International subscribed to the Mexican-French communiqué, which recognizes the revolutionary democratic organizations of El Salvador as a "representative political force."

In Latin America one can still see instances of the inertia of the recent past, when to many people it seemed that they were safe against a possible nuclear conflict and would not feel involved in the matter of general security. However, there are now signs of a mass psychological and political turn. This is expressed by the appearance of peace organizations, the increasingly more active participation of Latin Americans in international anti-war campaigns, and the actions in support of the important peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Nobody, including the various sections of the bourgeoisie, wants a return to the cold war days, which are associated with total subordination to imperialism, with the absence of prospects for independent development.

A characteristic of Latin America and the

Caribbean is that in these zones, peace is seen as linked very closely to basic realities, to two main political factors — the liberation movement and imperialist expansion. For the Latin American peoples, the struggle for peace is indivisible from the abolition of hunger, poverty and illiteracy, from the struggle against the denial of political and civil rights, and is hence intimately connected with the struggle against imperialism, with the struggle to bridle imperialism's most aggressive circles. It is precisely in this that the region's progressive, democratic forces see their cardinal tasks in the present decade.

1. WMR, July 1981; January 1982.
2. *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties*. For the Council for Inter-American Security, Inc. Washington, 1980.
3. By tradition and geographical norms Panama is not regarded as part of Central America.
4. *International Herald Tribune*, December 4, 1981.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Bohemia*, No. 9, 1981.
7. *Partido Comunista de Chile. Boletín del exterior*. No. 50, 1981, p. 6.
8. *Die Wahrheit*, October 15, 1981.
9. *Ibid.*
10. The fact that social renewal is not alien to decent clergymen and that the principles of Christianity are to some extent compatible with the ideals of the revolution is strikingly illustrated by the work of four Nicaraguan clergymen holding high offices in the people's government and in Sandinista mass organizations.



Carrying the communists' ideas to the people

Ian McKay

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The 37th congress of the Communist Party, which took place in London between November 14th-17th, 1981, met against the background of one of the most fluid political situations in Britain this century. Two and a half years of Tory government rule have exacerbated the crisis of British imperialism and created a devastating decline of the economy, with now around four million men, women and young people unemployed. Tory policies are undermining the social services, health, housing and education, while the rights and democracy of local government itself are jeopardized by proposed government legisla-

tion. The Tories are also engaged in a determined attempt to drive down wages and benefits and are in the process of introducing legislation aimed at weakening the ability of the trade unions to fight for better wages and conditions.

So far as foreign policy is concerned, the Thatcher government has been in the forefront in advocating arms race policies, support for Reagan and increasing Britain's arms spending.

While there has been a rising tide of struggle against the Tory government policies and Britain has witnessed over the last period some of

the biggest demonstrations for many years, in the case of the October 24th CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) peace demonstration, one of the biggest ever, as yet, however, the Tories have not been forced to shift from their present policies and are intent on pressing ahead with their monetarist and militarist strategies, the effects of which can only be disastrous for the British people.

The experience of the last disastrous right-wing Labour government, the shock of the election of a vicious anti-working class Tory government in 1979, and the worsening crisis of British imperialism, have given rise to some of the most important left developments in the whole history of the British Labour Party. These developments, which affect both the policies and the democracy of the party, though very far from consolidated, have led to a situation in which a section of the right wing of the party has left the party to form the new Social Democratic Party (SDP). The recent electoral successes of the SDP in alliance with the Liberal Party have added new and, from a left viewpoint, negative dimension to British politics of considerable consequence. While the left developments in the Labour Party are of great importance and while there has been a significant advance in the adoption of left policies in the trade union movement, none the less, the right wing remains the dominant force in both wings of the movement. This situation presents a very real barrier to further left advance, makes much more difficult the task of winning the masses of the people for the left policies of the movement and militates against furthering the understanding and generating the confidence that such policies provide a real alternative to the Tories and "yesterday's" policies of the SDP/Liberal alliance.

It was this situation which I have generalized here, that the 37th congress of the Communist Party was assessing and discussing. In my view, the outcome of this discussion and the decisions of the congress positively point the way forward for the British people and show how the present Tory government can be defeated, and how a Labour government of a new type can be won. Describing the character of the struggle necessary to bring about this change, Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the party, in his speech on the main resolution before the congress, said: "As the People's March so brilliantly demonstrated, and as the peace movement confirms, it is above all in struggle that people learn and gain experience." Experience of their own capacities, of the capacities of other people, of the possibilities of "alliances within and across

movement political boundaries and of the strength and power of these alliances, not only to influence current political development, but to change society itself."¹

From this, McLennan pointed out, comes class and political confidence and the vision of what is possible, given the development of great mass movements, mass movements in which, while the labor movement and working class play their leading role, their own organizations are enriched and given new inspiration.

And in turn, the development of this struggle shows the need and possibility for a great strengthening of left unity with the Labour Party members. Communists and others are working together for common aims. Communists in the trade union and democratic movement are every day participating in united action and discussion with others on the left.

The initiatives of the Labor Coordinating Committee, exemplified by the conference in London in July and the conference in Glasgow in November (1981), have been a significant new feature in such joint activity.² The carrying forward of those initiatives into every major city, industry and workplace, in the context of a great turning outward by the left, could have a profound effect within the labor movement, change the outlook of large numbers of trade unionists and win more unions to the side of the left. More than that, if this turning outward encompasses linking up with the activities of other sections of the democratic movement, millions of people not associated with the left and the labor movement could be drawn closer to the progressive forces in society, millions who must be won if there is to be a political majority for progressive socialist change.

Such a concept of struggle, outlined by Gordon McLennan, is uniquely that of the Communist Party and emphasizes the central importance and need for a much bigger Communist Party and a great extension of its influence. It was in the course of this main debate that the issue of the Communist Party's affiliation to the Labour Party was debated.

An amendment that sought to make affiliation a much more immediate campaigning issue was defeated, with the Congress deciding that: "As right-wing ideas and leadership are progressively defeated in the labor movement, bans and proscriptions removed, and left unity extended and strengthened, new opportunities will open up for still more developed forms of Labour-Communist unity, including in the electoral field, with the possibility of future affiliation to the Labour Party. But affiliation is a

long-term perspective, not an immediate issue. It can only become a reality if our party greatly increases its involvement in struggle both at the workplace and in the locality; its participation in elections; and makes radical advances in membership and political influence. This needs to be both within the labor movement and amongst wider sections of the people. We need also to respond positively to any opportunities for Labour-Communist unity."³

As will be noted, the debate on left unity raised yet again the key question of the size and influence of the Communist Party. Following a critical but constructive debate, the congress in the final adopted resolution resolved to improve radically the party's electoral work and campaigning and agreed to tackle the question of building the party. The resolution stresses that not only for us, but for the whole of the labor movement, it is essential to build a larger Communist Party, with many more active branches, especially in workplaces, which can enormously expand the public campaigning for communist policy and ideas.

At the last congress of the party there had been reported a drop in membership between July 1977 and July 1979 of 4,694. Decline in membership has continued since then, but is smaller than in the two previous years. In July 1979 membership stood at 20,590 while in July this year it was 18,458.⁴ However, as this congress emphasized, it is not enough to slow down membership decline. The big question is how to resume growth. To achieve this means winning at least 1,000 new members each year.

Our strategy is that alongside our work to develop mass struggles and to build left unity and strengthen the left in the labor movement, we will need to give a tremendous lift to the independent public campaigning of the party, with confident and bold presentation of our policies. Our objective in the coming period will be for every branch to turn outward, to the workplaces and to the local communities. We will aim to carry forward the recent developments in propaganda materials and journals both in content and quality of production, but bolder use will need to be made of every form of public propaganda — the *Morning Star*, mass pamphlets, leaflets, posters, public meetings, etc.

The congress further declared: "The party leadership, and, in particular, district committees, must make a radical improvement in their work to assist the development of the political life, efficient organization and public campaigning of the majority of our branches. Within the branch, political discussion and education are essential if the whole party is to be

imbued with the ideas of our program and strategy, and then be able to carry these ideas to the people. Branch secretaries and committee members need training and practical assistance, for they are key links in the party's political leadership and democratic structure.

More attention needs to be given to the development of local policies on all issues along with work to prepare policies for key industries. Every party branch must aim to become a public force for our communist policies, and a focus for left and working-class unity in its area or workplace. This is the only sure basis for continuous party growth.

The second main resolution debated by the congress was on "Peace and Disarmament." In opening the discussion, Pat Milligan member of the EC, declared: "The most crucial issue facing humanity is to prevent nuclear war, and whilst this prospect is terrifying to contemplate, the growing understanding of the enormity of the threat hanging over the world also creates the conditions in which progress can be made toward world peace and disarmament.

"We communists have always argued that Britain can make a major contribution to bringing this about, and now a heavy responsibility rests with us because of the reactionary, cold war policies of the Thatcher government and its subservience to the United States' war-mongering administration. As our congress meets, the possibilities exist, to a greater extent than ever before, of being able to avert the horrors of world war."⁵

The possibilities that now exist, referred to by comrade Milligan, encompass the great developments there have been in the movement for peace in Britain which includes: the decisions by the Labour Party, TUC and Liberal Party in support of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain; the huge growth of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and vast increase in its organization's membership and campaigning, culminating in the massive 250,000-strong demonstration in London on October 24, 1981, referred to earlier.

In the main resolution adopted by the congress the following were the main demands of the party:

In order to create the conditions in which Britain can pursue an independent foreign policy for peace, the congress pledges to campaign for the following central demands:

— No siting of Cruise missiles in Britain. Scrap Polaris. Cancel Trident. The closure of all foreign military and nuclear bases in Britain and the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

— Unilateral nuclear disarmament for Brit-

ain as an essential step toward winning multi-lateral disarmament.

— An immediate two billion pounds cut in arms expenditure as a first step toward cutting by half the present arms bill of £12 billion; for the conversion of the arms industry to socially useful production.

— No development or deployment of the neutron bomb.

— Oppose the development of a rapid deployment force.

— Britain's withdrawal from NATO. A nuclear-free zone in Europe and the mutual dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

— Active British participation in bringing about disarmament negotiations.

— Measures to encourage trade, cultural and sporting exchanges with the socialist countries.

— An end to Britain's role as an arms supplier, especially to fascist and racist regimes.

— Full support for national liberation movements.

It was in the course of this debate that the congress supported the decision of the Executive Committee of January 1980 on Afghanistan, on a vote of 157-115. In the final resolution adopted by the congress the following was agreed:

"The EC disagreed with the intervention as an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and urged the withdrawal of Soviet troops ...⁶

"We support the Afghan revolution and completely reject the claim that events there signal Soviet aggression and expansionist aims ...

"We will combat all efforts to use such claims as a pretext for abandoning efforts to achieve détente and disarmament, whilst also campaigning against imperialist interference in aiding and abetting counter-revolutionary insurgents in Afghanistan.

"The Soviet Union wants peace and has made repeated proposals for disarmament and arms reduction negotiations. We will campaign for all such proposals which will lead to a reduction in international tension and an end to the arms race."⁷

The third main resolution and debate at the congress was on the *Morning Star*. In opening the discussion, Tony Chater, Editor, described the vital role the paper has played and is playing. Describing the big advances that were made this year at the Labour Party and TUC conferences on three central issues of policy — unilateral nuclear disarmament, withdrawal from the EEC, and the alternative economic policy, based on opposition to any form of in-

comes policy, he said that on all these questions, the *Morning Star* has fought day in and day out, and has made its own special contribution to the victories won. The *Morning Star* has always been the friend of the peace movement, championing the campaign against nuclear weapons from the days of the Stockholm Appeal after the war. It supported the CND demonstrations of the late 50s and early 60s, and the struggle over the years to win the Labour Party conference for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Similarly on the Common Market. From the very beginning, even when there was confusion among many on the left, the *Morning Star* exposed the EEC for the big business set-up that it is. And in the referendum campaign, the *Star* stood out as the only daily newspaper fighting to get Britain out. The same goes for the central question of incomes policy. No other paper exposed the social contract for the con-trick it was.

There is no question that without the consistent campaigning by the *Star*, it would have been far more difficult to win the TUC and Labour Party conferences for the left policy advances that have taken place.

The fight to build the daily circulation of the *Morning Star* is a vital part of the campaign to mobilize the movement needed to win the whole range of left policies which will lay the basis for opening the road to socialism in Britain.

At the heart of the debate was the crucial question of increasing the paper's circulation as necessary to extend the influence of the paper, but also in order to overcome the serious financial difficulties that confront the *Star* at the present time. The congress decided to work to improve both the content and the circulation, to campaign to increase sales by 3,000 daily in the course of 1982.

Many of the resolutions passed by the congress were composite, being based on branch and district committee resolutions, some such as "Ireland," "Women," "Racialism" and "Youth Unemployment," were the subjects of main debates. The main branch resolutions concerned agriculture, cooperatives, East-West trade, health, higher education, housing, industrial work and workplace branches, inner cities, national and democratic rights, police and armed forces, proportional representation, social services, and many other subjects.

The congress welcomed and heard speeches from fraternal delegates from the Communist Parties of Chile, Ireland and South Africa; AKEL (Cyprus); African National Congress; SWAPO (Namibia); MPLA-Party of Labor (An-

gola); the Palestine Liberation Organization; and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. In addition, 46 messages from communist parties and liberation movements were received.

Declarations of support were adopted on Cyprus, Southern Africa, the Middle East, El Salvador and Chile.

1. *Comment*, No. 24-5, Vol. 19, December 5, 1981, p. 5.

2. The theme of both conferences, attended by Labour Party members and communists, was "The Trade Unions and Socialism."

3. From the resolution "Mass Struggle to Defeat the Tories and win a Labour Government of a New Type." *Comment*, No. 24-5, Vol. 19, December 5, 1981, p. 11.

4. They were represented at the congress by 285 delegates, 65 of whom were women. The biggest number of delegates (146) were aged 26-40, and over half had been in the party 10 years or less.

5. *Comment*, No. 24-5, Vol. 19, December 5, 1981, p. 16.

6. This approach is demonstrably at variance with that of the overwhelming majority of communist and workers' parties, which identify themselves with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) on this issue. The PDPA stresses that the dispatch of a limited Soviet force to Afghanistan at the request of its government is in conformity with the UN Charter and the Afghan-Soviet Treaty, and considers it an act of international assistance to the Afghan revolution. This attitude was set forth in detail by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the CC, PDPA, in an interview "The Afghan People Will Stand Firmly on Guard of the Revolution," *WMR*, April 1980.

7. *Comment*, No. 24-5, Vol. 19, December 5, 1981, p. 19.

Features of the revolutionary party

Ranking officials of three revolutionary parties of Africa were hosted by *World Marxist Review*. These parties — the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Party of Labor (MPLA-PT), the Liberation Front of Mozambique Party (FRELIMO), and the Congress Party of Independence of Madagascar (AKFM-KDRSM) — function under differing conditions. The MPLA-PT and FRELIMO are ruling vanguard parties which have a social composition corresponding to their nature. The revolutionary-democratic AKFM-KDRSM participates in the leadership of the state as a member of an alliance of patriotic parties; it unites Marxists and other consistent democrats. *WMR* put to their representatives, questions concerning general and specific features of a revolutionary organization. The following replies are by Luis Pizarro, head of the CC Political and Ideological Education Department of the MPLA-PT, Arsene Ratsehehera, Deputy General Secretary of the AKFM-KDRSM and José Cauatorze, section head, CC Ideological Department of the FRELIMO Party.¹

Q. How would you characterize the basic features of your party? What conditions influenced its formation?

L. Pizarro. The MPLA-PT defines itself as the vanguard party of the working class. It is a Marxist-Leninist party guided by scientific socialism and structured organizationally in accordance with the Leninist principles of the new type of party.

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was formed in 1956 as a result of a merger of underground anti-colonialist

organizations. The stages of the national liberation struggle were also stages of the MPLA's development. In its 1957 manifesto, it proclaimed that revolutionary struggle was the only way to liberate the Angolan people. Unlike the various small narrow-ethnic, tribalistic groups, MPLA sought to unite all of the country's nationalities on an anti-imperialist platform.² These two characteristics — revolutionary action and reliance on the masses — have become definitive for the movement and enabled it to consummate the war for independence victoriously and assume power.

The class struggle in Angola grew more intensive after the nation achieved political independence. In that situation, MPLA emphatically stated its adherence to the revolutionary line. The third plenary meeting of the MPLA Central Committee, held in 1976, declared that the movement's end goal was to build socialism. Thus, while it was still a movement, MPLA defined socialism as the only way of winning deliverance from imperialist dependence and putting an end to backwardness.

However, it was virtually impossible to attain these aims under the leadership of the national liberation movement. A contradiction was emerging between the political aim and the organization's character. There was a compelling need for a class party abiding by the positions of the working class and capable of heading the struggle for the building of the new, socialist society. These questions were in the focus of the first congress of the MPLA in 1977.

"MPLA has discharged its historic mission as a national liberation movement," the late President Agostinho Neto said at the congress. "The

building of people's democracy and socialism demands qualitative changes on the political, ideological and organizational levels." But what was the best way of resolving this problem? There were three opinions on this point. The first was to disband MPLA and set up an entirely new party. The second was to form a Marxist-Leninist party while preserving the MPLA as a democratic organization. And the third was to turn MPLA into a vanguard party.

The third view was accepted as best suited to our realities. Indeed, in the course of the national liberation struggle the MPLA was able to unite the people and mobilize them for military resistance to colonialism and imperialism. Then, after independence was won, MPLA responded to the aggravation of the political struggle in Angola by radicalizing its political line and ridding itself of counter-revolutionary elements and factionalists. On the organizational level, the structural foundation began to be laid for the future party based on the territorial-production principle.

The reorganization of a national liberation movement, the MPLA in this case, into a vanguard party was thus not the result of an "administrative resolution." It was the result of a long process and of qualitative changes in the organization itself in the course of two decades of revolutionary struggle. But we do not claim that the road to the creation of a working-class party, which, as was stated at the first congress of the MPLA-PT, "unites workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and other working people devoted to the cause of the proletariat in a coherent and durable alliance," has been covered. Much still remains to be done, and we are aware of it.

A. Ratsifehera. The Congress Party of Independence of Madagascar (AKFM-KDRSM)³ has been in existence for more than 20 years. It was formed during the liberation struggle and on that basis it united proponents of Marxist and other progressive, democratic views. In 1958, after the referendum conducted by the French government in its colonies and overseas territories, five political organizations, including the Marxist League of the Malagasy People (LMP), held a constituent congress and set up the AKFM. Taking realities into account, the party proclaimed the non-violent attainment of national independence as its program slogan.

The long struggle of the Malagasy people, begun at the close of the 19th century,⁴ led to the desired goal in 1960; the island's political independence became a reality. The AKFM hailed this event, assessing it as the consummation of a stage of the national liberation

struggle and, at the same time, advancing the aim of winning economic independence. At the third congress (1962), the party defined its course as non-capitalist development leading to socialism. In foreign policy it proclaimed positive neutrality.

As soon as it was founded, the AKFM received the support of workers, peasants and intellectuals, enlisting into its ranks proponents of a policy of progressive development; these included many believers. We stood firm on our belief that fulfillment of the tasks of the liberation movement required close cooperation between Marxists and adherents of general democratic ideals.

The revolutionary stand mirrored in the joint platform of the organizations that had united in the AKFM and the hard-fought political and ideological battles of the period the social democratic government, puppet of neocolonialism, was in power, logically led the AKFM to proclaim socialism to be the only sure road for our country. Further, we hold that there is only one socialism, namely, scientific socialism. We were the first people in Madagascar to indicate that the class struggle is the motor of social development, that only recognition of the principles and aims of scientific socialism would enable the nation to achieve true independence and social progress.

Political developments on Madagascar after 1975⁵ testify that the AKFM's tireless struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism has yielded positive results. Our party supports the revolutionary leadership of President Didier Ratsiraka. There are AKFM representatives in the Political Bureau of the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution, in the Supreme Revolutionary Council, and in the government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. The AKFM is guided by the Marxist-Leninist tenet that a revolution is accomplished by the people and that it develops successfully if the people see it as their own. We bear in mind Lenin's words that a state is strong when the people know everything and accept everything consciously. Politics cannot be the prerogative of a small group of people.

In its development the AKFM, which emerged as a mass organization pursuing exclusively patriotic aims, has become a revolutionary party committed to scientific socialism. Its role is growing steadily. We therefore attach paramount significance to strengthening the party's social base and enlist into its ranks all who support the aims of our struggle — workers, peasants, intellectuals, and members of the petty bourgeoisie. The party believes that despite the small numerical strength of the

Malagasy working class and the low level of class consciousness of quite a few workers, it is precisely the working class that is the principal force of the revolutionary process and that in future it will be the mainstay of socialism. The broadest strata of our society have united in the party. The foundation of this unity is the determination to safeguard the gains of the Malagasy revolution and Madagascar's socialist option in the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism and reaction.

J. Cauatorze. The formation of the party was not, of course, the result of a voluntaristic decision. The idea of forming it was born as far back as the period of the national liberation struggle, when the central aim of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO)⁶ was to win independence. FRELIMO was joined by all elements opposed to colonialism, by all who wanted an end to foreign rule. As the struggle developed and its anti-imperialist content grew in strength, it became increasingly imperative to unite and organize forces that had the highest level of consciousness and were devoted to the cause of the working classes, to inculcate the scientific ideology of the proletariat among these forces.

The revolutionary line paved the way for itself in the clashes that took place within the Front itself. For instance, in 1965-1966, when entire regions were liberated from the colonial administration as a result of successful military operations, it was found that there were sharp contradictions within FRELIMO. Reactionary elements sought to create in these regions a system of administration that was either a replica of the colonial administration or revived archaic feudal or tribal structures. But the progressive forces considered that the Front was fighting not only to end colonialist exploitation but also to achieve broader aims, namely, the abolition of all forms of exploitation and oppression.

At FRELIMO's second congress in 1968, the revolutionary line gained ascendancy. The congress reaffirmed the anti-imperialist, class character of the struggle for national liberation. The splitters and opportunists suffered a crushing defeat, finding themselves in the minority.

The core of the future party took shape and gained strength in the fire of these clashes. The Front was headed by the most highly trained militants, who were already then able to give FRELIMO — by the character of its activity — some features implicit in a party. The class content of the Front's activity was thus deepened in the struggle for national liberation, and in the class battles.

FRELIMO's reconstitution into a party took

place at its third congress in 1977, in other words almost two years after independence was achieved. We came to the conclusion that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, recorded in the Front's program, had been in the main fulfilled. Mozambique had won national sovereignty, all the land had been turned over to the people, the key sectors of the economy had been nationalized, and education, the health services, the judiciary, and other important spheres of social life had been put under state control and placed at the disposal of the population.

The question arose of the strategy for the nation's further advance and of the commencement of a new stage of development — the people's democratic revolution. Of course, the transition from the national-democratic to the people's democratic revolution cannot be achieved overnight. It had been prepared by preceding practice, which brought us round to the conclusion that for Mozambique the only true road harmonizing with its historical experience was that of socialism founded on Marxist-Leninist theory.

On the eve of FRELIMO's third congress, the party Chairman Samora Moises Machel said: "The congress must decide whether we are to remain a Front or whether we are to become a party. To decide to preserve the Front would be tantamount to formalizing the muddle in our ranks. At the present stage of national construction, more than ever before, we need ideological clarity. For that reason we should begin with the formation of a vanguard party."⁷ Class-conscious working people saw that it would be impossible to build a socialist society without a revolutionary party capable of leading the mass of workers, peasants, and other working people in the economic, political and ideological struggle. Today the FRELIMO Party guides all social processes in Mozambique. It is not an "élite club," but an organization of like-minded persons who have been tested in the revolutionary struggle. It is a Marxist-Leninist party, the party of the Mozambican working classes, who comprise the vast majority of the population.

Q. What is the relationship between the basic and specific features of a revolutionary party, and how is this relationship expressed in its social composition, the character of its links with the people and with mass organizations, and its approach to the formation of its local organizations?

L. Pizarro. In Angola a specific feature of party building is that the Marxist-Leninist party has been formed on the basis of the national liberation movement. Party building is pro-

ceeding against the background of a struggle for a socialist society in an underdeveloped African country. We have to solve problems generated, on the one hand, by imperialism's bellicose actions, by acts of armed aggression on the part of the South African regime and, on the other, by the low level of development. In Angola, in parallel with socialist relations of production there still are precapitalist relations, and this creates considerable difficulties in, among others, the ideological sphere.

In the theses published on the eve of the party's first congress, it was noted that "thousands of MPLA members have no opportunity of mastering dialectical and historical materialism. Their fidelity to scientific socialism is empirical and based on their confidence in the MPLA." Under these conditions it would be a pipe dream and a piece of sectarianism to demand that at the first stage of the party's formation all its members should be dedicated Marxist-Leninists. For that reason, in view of the MPLA-PT's strategic aims, selection into party membership is conducted among activists of the liberation movement by the working people themselves.

The congress passed a resolution to conduct what we call a "rectification movement," or a "movement for the purity of the party's ranks." Its success was largely facilitated by the working people themselves, who stated their judgment on the political and social make-up of candidates and on their attitude to work. Membership in the old MPLA was no guarantee of admission to the vanguard party that was being built up. National and provincial commissions were set up in the movement and special seminars were held once every two months. As a result of the "rectification movement," which lasted three years, the MPLA-PT now has nearly 30,000 members.

It is our view that a Marxist-Leninist party cannot be regarded as an association of people acting independently of its ideological guidelines. The MPLA-PT is a party of the working class. It can only be joined by those who live by their labor and are devoted to the cause of the proletariat. This by no means implies that it is joined exclusively by workers. The party admits all working people who accept its program and constitution. However, it gives close attention to the social composition of its membership. At present approximately 45 per cent of the membership are industrial workers. We regard this indicator as quite satisfactory. To ensure the MPLA-PT's vanguard character, the probation period provided for in the constitution is set depending on the applicant's social origin and contribution to the struggle

for independence: one year for workers and servicemen and two years for members of other classes and groups.

The task we are working on now is to reinforce the party's primary organizations and the structures of the middle echelon, and promote the political consciousness of the membership. The first-ever elections to the MPLA-PT municipal and provincial committees are now being held.

A. Ratsifehera. The Malagasy revolution has some features of its own. For the first time in the history of Madagascar, the task of building socialism is recorded in the nation's constitution. We have a National Front for the Defense of the Revolution, in which the Congress Party of Independence of Madagascar cooperates with other political organizations. We hold that unity among all the Front's parties and the organizations affiliated to them is the guarantee that the new society will be built.

Our attitude to cooperation is clear-cut. A point we make to our allies is that the advance along the chosen path is neither a game nor a festival in which each seeks to gain publicity. There must be firm and consistent discipline and no leaping over stages can be permitted. The AKFM is fulfilling its mission with a high sense of responsibility. This is seen, in particular, in the demands it makes of its representatives in local organs of power. There are over 5,000 AKFM deputies, and their task is, as the party's ninth congress (1980) defined, to crack down on corruption, combat anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, repulse attacks on the AKFM and its members, and help to set up non-party cooperatives and abolish illiteracy. It is the duty of all deputies to remember that they are accountable to the party, that they must overcome passiveness, and refrain from reducing their role to a purely administrative one.

Another distinctive feature of the Malagasy revolution is that the building of the new society started there not immediately after the triumph of the liberation struggle but on the basis of the successes of that struggle, on the basis of the results of a general election. The choice made by the people defined our political line, and it is now necessary to formalize it in legislation and consistently translate it into reality. All this requires immense explanatory work among the people and the maintenance of constant links with them. We give much of our attention to uniting various sections of the population in public organizations. The nation's legislation contains a provision that gives the right to conduct political activity only to member-organizations of the National Front for

the Defense of the Revolution — parties and the revolutionary trade unions, youth movements, and creative associations affiliated to them.

In its work among the people, the AKFM relies on its trade unions and women's and youth organizations. The latter were represented at the party's ninth congress, voting for its resolutions and submitting their own resolutions. As well as approving the AKFM's policies, these resolutions mapped out ideological, educational and organizational tasks. In the efforts to build socialism there can be no neutrality relative either to the trade unions or to the youth movement, or to the women's movement. The experience of many countries shows convincingly that it is vital for the people to recognize the party's leading role in political matters.

The changes that are taking place, the responsibility that devolves on the party in the period of the national-democratic revolution, and the international situation compel us to perfect our organizational structure, to adjust it to the new conditions. The number of AKFM sections is growing (there are roughly 3,000 today, whereas 10 years ago there were 500), and the aim has been set of forming local organizations in all of the nation's 110 districts. But the party's underlying features and its social aims remain immutable.

J. Cauatorze. I would say that some features of our revolution cannot be defined as being purely Mozambican. They are inherent in other countries as well. For instance, the conclusion that the people's democratic revolution is a stage of the revolutionary transition to socialism has been confirmed by the practice of the European people's democracies. But we arrived at that stage under conditions that are indeed unique: a low level of the productive forces, a numerically small working class with little experience of struggle, and a weak economy. For that reason when we characterize FRELIMO, we do not call it a party of the working class, for this would not be consonant with reality. FRELIMO, I repeat, is the vanguard party of the working classes.

As progress is made toward socialism, the working class will develop, grow numerically, acquire a higher level of class consciousness and, consequently, play an ever bigger determining role in the FRELIMO Party. But it is quite clear that a party that calls itself Marxist-Leninist, fights from the very outset for the social aims and interests of the working class, regardless of how strong its influence is at the given time. Being a vanguard party, FRELIMO is already now working on the historical task of the proletariat — building the new society and

leading along this road not only the workers but all the other working classes, the entire people of Mozambique.

The FRELIMO program declares: "The People's Republic of Mozambique is a state of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants . . . It uses power against enemies of the people, the capitalists, against imperialism and its agents, in the interests and defense of revolutionary gains, of territorial sovereignty and integrity." Thus asserting the class substance of the state, the party underscores that it is the main instrument for the implementation of the revolutionary policy of FRELIMO.

While stressing the principle of the party's leading role, we do not identify it with the state. The task of demarcating the spheres of the functions of party and state organs arose in the course of the second stage of the party building campaign, whose purpose was to perfect the structure of the FRELIMO organizations. During the years of struggle for independence, the Front's organs had to assume governmental functions in liberated areas. But this situation was regarded as temporary. Today the party is ensuring the normal functioning of the state power. The attainment of this aim is, in our view, also one of the specifics of the revolutionary process and of the party's status and work in Mozambique.

The admission of new members to FRELIMO is a public process. Candidates are discussed not only by the relevant party organizations and organs but also by work collectives. At meetings, colleagues state their opinion of the candidate's political and social make-up. It is our view that if working people, even if they are not FRELIMO members, raise serious objections to one person or another, that person should not be admitted to FRELIMO membership. The people are a dependable filter. The party may not know some things about a candidate, but the people know everything. We believe the people and consider that this filter is a guarantee against the infiltration of alien elements into the party.

As regards the qualities that a party member must have, the main thing is, of course, his or her attitude to social labor. Needless to say, a party member is also a patriot, a person with a high level of consciousness, a person utterly devoted to the revolution and ready for self-sacrifice. Moreover, we demand unflagging discipline, for we see discipline as the political sentinel.

Q. A distinctive feature of a revolutionary party is that it is guided by advanced theory. Would you say a few words about the orienta-

tions and specifics of theoretical work in your conditions? What is being done in the way of educating party members ideologically?

L. Pizarro. The reconstitution of a liberation movement into a Marxist-Leninist party in an underdeveloped African country divided into tribes and ethnic groups gives rise, of course, to many new and complex problems, both practical and theoretical.

The MPLA-PT appreciates the importance of theoretical work and gives it considerable attention. The research that is being conducted covers the building of the party and a socialist society in Angola and the application of the experience of socialist and communist construction accumulated by other parties.

Research comes under the general guidance of the Political Bureau, and is directed by the Political and Ideological Education Department. One of the latter's principal functions is to ensure the organized, collective study of Marxist-Leninist theory because we regard ideological training as a condition for the creation of a vanguard party.

For the MPLA-PT, Marxism-Leninism is the sole scientific theory clearing the way to society's revolutionary transformation and the conquest of power by the working class. It is our profound belief that this theory is applicable everywhere, be it Europe or Asia, Africa or Latin America. The practice of socialist construction in Angola strikingly illustrates the topicality of Marxism-Leninism and gives the lie to the bourgeois claims that it is alien to our continent. At the same time, experience shows that Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma, that it does not spell out thoughtless application of models. On the contrary, it is a teaching requiring creativity, an all-sided consideration of the concrete conditions obtaining in each country.

A. Ratsifehera. Without a revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement — this Leninist tenet is particularly true today when the ideological struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism is growing increasingly more acute. We, members of the Congress Party of Independence of Madagascar, are united ideologically by scientific socialism. We regard the laws of social development brought to light by this theory to be scientifically correct. This is the foundation that ensures the party's unity.

The AKFM sees the reinvigoration of the theoretical education of its members as one of its most important tasks. The party's ninth congress passed a resolution to set up an ideological education center in order to improve the system of ideologico-political education of

party members. But the dissemination of scientific knowledge cannot be confined to the work of such a center. We have to pass this knowledge on to rank-and-file party members and to secretaries of our grassroots organizations in the localities. This work is conducted chiefly in the form of short-term seminars at which, in addition, people get extensive political information and answers to questions linked to the practical implementation of the resolutions of party congresses.

In order to successfully counter imperialism's ideological offensive and subversive activities it is imperative to unite all of the nation's progressive forces, actively expose reaction's lies, disseminate the great ideas of socialism among the people, and explain the aims of the Malagasy revolution. In the view of the AKFM, workers by brain have an important role to play in this sphere. The National Bureau's report to the congress under the heading "The Intelligentsia and the Malagasy Socialist Revolution" appeals to Malagasy intellectuals to join the AKFM. This is to be facilitated by the projected Center for Marxist Studies, into whose work we intend to enlist, among others, students, young people and party activists. The center will possess a large library, conduct lectures and seminars and engage in research work.

The party gives much of its attention to the mass media, one of whose functions is to help promote the people's level of ideological consciousness and political activity. In short, our guiding principle is that no advance can be made without a clear understanding of the end goal.

J. Cauatorze. The universality of Marxism-Leninism is manifested in the specific conditions of each country, in the inimitable experience of a concrete application of revolutionary theory. For us it is therefore of the utmost importance to analyze and understand our own experience, to ascertain among the many aspects of struggle those that determine our identity and, at the same time, strengthen our ideological commitment. The party says with confidence that Marxism-Leninism will triumph in Mozambique. There is no "African" or "Mozambican" socialism. There is a diversity of experience of building socialism but no diversity of forms of socialism. Of course, the methods of building the new society are dissimilar, for they depend on national features. Practice is the inexhaustible source nourishing revolutionary theory.

As yet we have little experience, but the revolutionary process in Mozambique allows mak-

ing some generalizations, which, it seems to us, enrich Marxist-Leninist thought.

We have come to the conclusion that today, in view of, in particular, the balance of strength in the world, the national liberation movement can achieve its aims if it consistently follows the road of socialism that ensures economic independence, a nation's genuine development. There is no third way between capitalism and socialism.

The revolution confronts many tasks. It has to put an end to economic backwardness, wipe out illiteracy, set about mechanizing agriculture, and lay the foundations of heavy industry. Fulfillment of these tasks requires not only a considerable labor effort but also the relevant knowledge. The economy is increasingly planned on a scientific basis. The party needs cadre — politically knowledgeable, technically informed, highly cultured, and educated.

In the training of such cadre we are getting a large measure of assistance from the fraternal parties of socialist countries. However, we train most of our cadre ourselves. We have a central party school and a network of provincial and inter-provincial schools. At these schools, FRELIMO members and functionaries have the opportunity of improving their political and ideological knowledge and their general education. This is especially important because it allows us to achieve one of our immediate aims, that of abolishing illiteracy in the party itself.

Our revolutionary experience is theoretically generalized by the FRELIMO leadership, the Central Committee. Conclusions are advanced in the form of resolutions or analytical documents, which are circulated among party members. We have the journal, *Voz da Revolucao*, which is an organ of the FRELIMO Central Committee. It was started in the period of the struggle for national liberation. Today its main designation is to develop theoretical studies. Articles are contributed by party leaders and functionaries. The journal deals with our experience, with the various problems of the revolutionary process in Mozambique, and reports on the life of socialist countries and fraternal parties.

Q. What characterizes your party from the standpoint of its international positions and links?

L. Pizarro. As a Marxist-Leninist party, the MPLA-PT does not isolate its drive to build a socialist society in Angola from the general struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress. Our ideological work is oriented entirely on educating the working people in a

spirit of fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The party and government see their duty in supporting the peoples of Namibia and South Africa against colonialism and racism. Although Angola became independent only recently and is constantly subjected to acts of aggression by the South African racists, it is determined to continue doing its utmost to help the peoples of the continent win true freedom. Our solidarity with developing nations also extends to help in establishing a new international economic order.

The MPLA-PT is aware that socialism can only be built in close alliance with the socialist countries and their parties, with the USSR and the CPSU in the first place. "Reality is such," Agostinho Neto said, "that without an alliance with socialist countries, the new independent nations cannot regard themselves secure against political, economic and military pressure from imperialist powers." Concerning relations with socialist countries, let me note that our party supports their effort to preserve and strengthen peace, and also all actions of democratic and progressive forces aimed at relaxing international tension, achieving general disarmament, and extinguishing flashpoints of tension.

The MPLA-PT's internationalism manifests itself also in its striving to cooperate closely with communist and workers' parties of capitalist countries and with national liberation movements. Cohesion of these forces is indispensable for the success of the anti-imperialist struggle. This attitude of the MPLA-PT is, in our view, of great significance in the present international situation, which has been greatly aggravated by U.S. imperialism's aggressive policies.

A. Ratsifehera. Lenin's call, "Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" (Coll. Works, Vol. 31, p. 453) was heard in Madagascar as well. Today the general direction of social development is determined by the alliance of the three main forces of modern times — the socialist community, the international working class, and the national liberation movement. Being in the same ranks with the socialist countries and the forces of national liberation and social progress, our party accentuates the importance of strengthening solidarity with them. This was seen clearly at our ninth congress, which exhorted party members to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and show solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of South Africa, Palestine, Guadeloupe, Chile, Haiti, Angola, Reunion, Martinique, and other countries. Spe-

cial emphasis was laid on the significance of the joint struggle and traditional relations of the AKFM and the French Communist Party.

Addressing the Havana conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries, Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, said: "We must solemnly acknowledge that the socialist countries are our objective allies in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, and racism... Without support from the socialist forces it would have been incredibly difficult for the national liberation movements to achieve the victories they have won." We accept this assessment. In particular, the congress resolutions declare our party's support for the Soviet foreign policy of peace, a policy confirmed by important Soviet political initiatives and by the Soviet Union's concrete actions.

Our party considers that peace and development are indivisible. This is its motivation for continuing its efforts on behalf of peace and disarmament and strengthening solidarity with the socialist countries and other forces that determine the development of the world revolutionary process. These are true allies of Madagascar in its efforts to build an independent economy and the new society.

J. Cauatorze. Socialism is today asserting itself and developing in four continents. It is our duty to defend and strengthen it. Mutual internationalist assistance is the dependable foundation of socialist construction. "As regards international cooperation," S. Machel said, "we count, above all, on the support of our natural allies, the socialist countries. We believe that their support will allow us to concentrate all our efforts on ending the legacy of colonialist rule and backwardness."⁸ The very existence of the socialist community exercises a tremendous influence on the struggle for national liberation and helps to deepen the content of that struggle. FRELIMO is constantly concerned with promoting relations with the communist parties in power in socialist countries. These relations, maintained not only on the inter-party but also on a government-to-government level, play an important role in socialist construction in Mozambique and strengthen our party's position.

We are expanding contacts with communist parties and other revolutionary parties and organizations. These relations have lately been given a new impulse and became more active and stable.

Q. How is the experience of other Marxist-Leninist parties used in party building?

L. Pizarro. When we formed our party we drew upon the experience of socialist coun-

tries. Their practical and theoretical achievements in organizational and ideological work, in directing society, and in politics, which ensure economic planning and management of the national economy, in developing the principles of foreign policy, and in the struggle for peace, détente and peaceful coexistence are of inestimable value to us. Close cooperation between our parties and governments and regular exchanges of views on the most diverse issues help us gain a better understanding of this experience.

We hold that the general laws of party building, as of the building of socialism, are applicable in any continent provided national features are taken into account.

A. Ratsifehera. What I have said about our party and its distinctive features shows that much has been drawn from the experience of other parties that, like us, are guided by scientific socialism. In speaking of the forms in which we adopt this experience, mention may be made of, for instance, study by AKFM members in socialist countries. Does not the study of revolutionary theory mean learning what has been discovered and accomplished before us?

J. Cauatorze. The methods and principles underlying FRELIMO's activities do not differ from those that are accepted in communist parties or other parties that have proclaimed Marxism-Leninism as their ideology. As an example, let me mention democratic centralism. It is quite apparent that the communist parties have accumulated vast experience, and we should know and study it. Many of our comrades are studying in socialist countries, acquiring priceless knowledge and then using it in their homeland. Many of the party's major conclusions rest on the arguments and evidence provided by the practice of the socialist countries. We use the experience of the communists of other countries, creatively interpreting and adapting it to the concrete realities of Mozambique. This is a reliable springboard for advance.

1. By starting the series of articles on the character of a communist organization (WMR, January and February 1982) the journal defined its aim as that of extensively presenting the rich experience of party building in different countries and under diverse circumstances. The discussion on these pages amplifies this subject.

2. In Angola there are 11 nationalities and more than 100 tribes. — Ed.

3. The Democratic Committee in Support of the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution (KDRSM) was set up in 1975 on the basis of the then outlawed Congress Party of Independence of Madagascar (AKFM) for participation in the referendum, which approved the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution, the program document of the revolutionary-democratic regime. The party leaders

stress that "the KDRSM is precisely the AKFM". — Ed.

4. In 1895 Madagascar was annexed by France. — Ed.

5. The Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution was adopted in 1975 on the recommendation of President Didier Ratsiraka, who was voted into office by a general election. The National Front for the Defense of the Revolution, consisting of six parties, including the AKFM, and

their affiliated public organizations, was formed a year later. — Ed.

6. Formed in 1962 through a merger of three patriotic organizations and militants of the national liberation movement. — Ed.

7. *Noticias*, November 5, 1976.

8. *L'Unita*, December 5, 1976.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

FIRST ELECTIONS

Muhammed Harmel
CC First Secretary,
Tunisian Communist Party

Q. What significance did the recent parliamentary elections have for the Tunisian Communist Party, considering they were the first in which it participated since its emergence from underground? What program did the communists offer voters and what is your assessment of the political outcome of the elections?

A. These elections were of special significance for us because they were held only five months after the ban imposed on the Tunisian Communist Party in January 1963 was officially lifted. The party took a limited or, as we called it, symbolic part in these elections and nominated candidates in only a few constituencies. The motivation behind this decision is chiefly that the TCP has only begun to readjust itself to what are qualitatively new political conditions for it. Moreover, we had to proceed in this manner because the authorities did not guarantee equal participation for our candidates in all constituencies.

The party entered the election campaign to put its weight behind the democratic process within the framework of which a series of measures have been taken to ameliorate the political situation in Tunisia. For example, all trade union leaders were released from detention; there has been a congress of the General Labor Union of Tunisia, which elected a new trade union leadership democratically; some newspapers have resumed publication; political pluralism has been officially recognized and the ban on the Communist Party has been lifted. Nonetheless, democratization is limited and contradictory. For that reason in our election program the call for support for progressive reforms was combined with condemnation of the negative aspects of the government's policies, notably the practice of political trials and repression against the opposition.

Another important element of our election

campaign was our constructive criticism of the socio-economic policies of the regime, which, despite individual positive achievements, has permitted parasitical capitalism to develop, made social inequality more glaring, and brought about a growth of unemployment. We urged a nationwide discussion with the purpose of determining an alternative pattern for Tunisia's development. For its part, the Communist Party had drawn up, in the early 1970s, i.e., long before its legalization, a program headed *A General Progressive and Democratic Alternative*, which, needless to say, contains no magic recipes for the solution of all problems but can serve as a sound basis for a comprehensive dialogue on the ways and means for the nation's development. One of the aims of the TCP's election campaign was to put this program across.

As I have said, our participation in the elections was symbolic. Communist candidates stood in three of the capital's large constituencies, in Gafsa (a major phosphate-mining center), in Gabes (a center of the petrochemical industry), and the rural constituency of Caban. The Communist Party sought to show its presence in various regions and among different sections of the population.

In our very first election action we made it plain that we had no electoral aims as such, were not seeking seats in the National Assembly, and had no intention of modifying our policy during the elections, of making it rapacious and demagogical. The party told electors that it harbored no illusions about guarantees and realistic possibilities for a free expression of will and therefore regarded the elections as an opportunity to give the people a better understanding of its program. This stand was viewed sympathetically by different sections of society.

Participation in the elections obliged the party to mobilize all its forces and means and to employ diverse forms and methods of struggle creatively. At the initial stage of the campaign the communists used, for instance, 50 cars equipped with loudspeakers. On these we drove virtually all over Tunis and Gabes, stat-

ing our stand, delivering short speeches, and making appeals. It would be hard to overestimate this form of work — after 25 years of one-party rule* and the absence of a legal opposition, the Tunisian electors heard open criticism of the authorities for the first time. Regrettably, we were very soon forbidden to use cars.

We continued the campaign with leaflets, eye-catching placards and posters, and election rallies and meetings. Party activists worked day and night. They distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in residential neighborhoods and at factory gates, spoke to people of all walks of life, and protected party mass undertakings against attacks by hostile elements instigated by the authorities. There were more than enough of such anti-communist actions — from the pasting over of our posters to attempts to stone people attending rallies and even man-handle communists and members of other opposition organizations, notably the Movement of Democrats-Socialists. It was only after we had lodged a strong protest with the authorities and threatened to boycott the elections that the wave of attacks on the Communist Party somewhat subsided.

The TCP's election campaign ended fittingly with a grandiose rally in the Palace of Congresses, the largest closed hall in the Tunisian capital. We were allowed to use this hall on the calculation that we would not fill it, and this would have been seen as a setback for the communists. But the rally upset this calculation. We assess it as an historic event in Tunisia's political life.

Situated quite far from the city center, the Palace of Congresses was filled to capacity: thousands of people came to meet with the TCP candidates, yet several more thousands could not be housed and had to stay outside the hall. I must say that throughout the campaign we were received very warmly by the people. This seemed incredible after all that had been said and written about the Communist Party over the preceding years, after all those torrents of calumny, insults and accusations that were directed against the communists throughout the period the TCP was banned. The closing rally clearly demonstrated that despite the difficulties of underground work, the party had been able to bring the truth to the people, that it had been able to uphold its dignity and good name. All of us, including the foreign journalists present in the hall, were witnesses of the Communist Party's return to the political scene.

*The Neo-Destour Socialist Party has been in power in Tunisia since 1957. — Ed.

Life had shown that the TCP has deep roots among the people and enjoys considerable influence in the nation.

As regards the results of the elections, they were unabashedly rigged and do not reflect the Communist Party's actual standing among Tunisia's political forces. The course of the voting and the procedure of counting the ballots confirmed our worst apprehensions. In contravention of the law the authorities, in order to make it difficult to monitor the elections, set up thousands of small polling stations and made draconic demands of observers. Many representatives of the opposition were in fact denied entry to these stations and the right to be present when the ballot boxes were opened. Together with other opposition parties we collected a mass of evidence, both oral and written, proving that the contents of the ballot boxes were destroyed, that voting papers were replaced, and that the results were faked in the most brazen manner. According to the most modest estimates, in Tunis between 15 and 25 per cent of the votes went to our party and between 30 and 35 per cent went to the Movement of Democrats-Socialists. We have evidence to show that in Gafsa the majority of the people voted for the TCP lists, and that very many voted for our party in Gabes. Such are the actual results and, to one extent or another, they are known to everybody. Consequently, had it not been for flagrant violations of the law, the results would have been entirely different.

The people were outraged by the falsification. In the elections they had articulated their desire for changes, for the consolidation and extension of democratic reforms, and for giving these reforms an anti-capitalist content. But while protesting against the trumped up election results and sharing society's outrage at the actions of the authorities, the Tunisian Communist Party abides by its constructive stand and intends doing all in its power to help gradually surmount the obstacles to a democratic process consistent with national interests and the aspirations of the people.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

James Stewart
Deputy General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ireland

Q. How is political education organized in your party?

A. Our system of political education consists of three independent stages, each of which is designed for people with a definite level of political maturity. The first is for new party members, many of whom have a poor concep-

tion of the party's principles and aims. At this initial stage they receive a knowledge of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory and become clear in their minds about what our party is fighting for and how it acts.

A few words about how study is organized for new members. We form study groups of between 20 and 30 persons, taking into account the fact that the CPI attracts people from the most diverse walks of life, of different professions, and of dissimilar experience of life, to say nothing of their level of political maturity. In one and the same group there may be industrial workers, school leavers, white-collar workers, students of institutions of higher learning, and comrades who had been associated in the past with Protestant or Catholic organizations. All study together. This is a principle that allows new members to generalize their diverse experience for the benefit of the party.

As a rule, classes are held once a fortnight over a period of six months. In party study, which begins with introductory classes, we make use of lectures, and also taped courses on specific subjects; for instance, the history of the CPI or the party's organizational structure. At present we are compiling the first-ever textbook for the first stage of party education.

The second stage consists of courses run by party branches, each of which has its own program for the promotion of the ideological and political level of members. At this stage, party members study various aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory, analyze the social, economic and political situation in Ireland, consider the practical aspects of the day-to-day struggles of the working people, and discuss pressing international problems. Here the purpose is to enhance the general political and theoretical level of both young and more mature communists.

A point I want to stress is that classes of both levels attended by people who do not discontinue their work in production are conducted in the Irish Republic and in Northern Ireland; it must be remembered that there are many serious obstacles to the organization of courses on a national scale. This is one of the specific features of our system of political education, a feature that springs from the country's artificial division by imperialism. The CPI, as you know, functions throughout the territory of Ireland.* In our approach to organizing political study in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic we seek to erase the distinctions brought on by

objective factors. The responsibility for training party cadre nation-wide is borne by the National Education, Propaganda and Research Committee. It draws up general curricula, compiles lists of lecturers and specialists on specific problems, and monitors the work of its education committees in both parts of the country.

Further, we organize national schools which analyze problems in greater depth and are attended by comrades from all parts of Ireland — Dublin, Belfast, Cork and other places. This is the third stage of political education. The school offers a one-week course with classes twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. A small fee is paid for attendance. The lecturers, who offer their services voluntarily and gratuitously, include party leaders, progressive academics, journalists, and trade unionists. Lectures have been delivered by, among others, Brian Roe, editor of *Unity* — the weekly newspaper of the CPI's Northern organization — the economist Tony Moriarty, the psychologist Shay Caffrey, and the trade unionist Joe Bowers.

The school aims to give party cadre a solid and concrete understanding of the most acute issues of Ireland's political development, mold a conscious internationalist approach to international affairs, and improve the level of their knowledge of Marxist theory. In 1981, the program of lectures featured subjects such as "The Strategy of the Communist Party of Ireland," "The Class Nature of British Imperialism," "Planning and Economy," "Science and Technology and Economic Development," "Communism and Human Values," and "Socialism and Democracy." The closing discussion was attended by Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the CPI.

At classes, much attention is given to the international situation, the struggle for peace, disarmament and the preservation and consolidation of détente. All these questions have lately become particularly acute on account of the adventurist policies pursued by the Reagan administration.

However, in our discussions of international problems we encounter some difficulties: in a country like Ireland, which is small and dominated by imperialism, the national question inevitably moves to the forefront. You must understand the Irish situation properly: we try to focus the attention of the classes at the school on the situation in the world but the national question continues to be uppermost in the minds of the communists, CPI supporters, and all sections of our society. The ways and means of uniting the country, the preservation of its

*In 1970 an extraordinary unitary congress of the Irish communists passed a resolution restoring the single Communist Party of Ireland. — Ed.

neutrality, the social and economic development of the future united Irish state — these and other important theoretical and political issues receive prominence in the lectures and discussions at the school.

As the need arises, the CPI holds conferences and meetings devoted to individual topical or specific problems. For example, the party's Women's Committee sponsors seminars that analyze the state of our work among women and the CPI's attitude to the feminist movement in Ireland. This is not a simple issue. People want to know our attitude to that movement, to its ideas and policy. There has been a special seminar on the Provisional Irish Republican Army. It considered the class substance of the IRA and its program and stand on various issues, and brought to light the dangers posed by the Provisional IRA's terrorist activities and its threat as a factor tending to split the working-class movement.

Q. What place is the attitude of the communists to religion accorded in party education?

A. Ireland is a religious country and the Churches are a powerful influence in it. We cannot ignore the Churches and have no right to say: "You must be an atheist before joining the party." This attitude would automatically alienate huge numbers of people from the party. We therefore do not push anybody toward atheism. The party is open to believing Protestants and Catholics. However, a visible evolution takes place in the assessments and world view of religious comrades as they begin to get a more profound understanding of Marxism, of the materialistic basis of our ideology. Therein lies yet another feature of the situation in Ireland, and the party takes it into account when it draws up curricula.

Our system of party education thus functions vigorously — such is the imperative of the day. But the party is not entirely satisfied with what we are able to do. We see our shortcomings and unutilized potentialities, and this allows perfecting all forms of the communists' study of theory and politics.

DOCUMENTS

ARGENTINA

In Support of Multipartidaria

In connection with the publication of the Multipartidaria* program, the Central Com-

*The Multipartidaria alliance, formed in 1981, consists of five organizations: the Civilian Radical Union, the Hustisialista party, the Movement for Integration and

mittee of the Communist Party of Argentina has issued a statement declaring that the formation of this coalition is a positive and successful step on the road to unity among all the democratic forces in the present dramatic situation in the country. The statement expresses the view that if other political, trade union, public, and cultural organizations were to join the coalition, Multipartidaria could become of historic significance in the true sense of the word. It says that the program articulates the demands of the overwhelming majority of the people. Implementation of this program would lead to general changes in the country and help to end the extremely serious crisis in the republic.

The statement notes the need for continuing the advance along the road that has been charted. For this purpose it recommends popularizing the new program, mobilizing the people for action in support of the demands listed in it, and setting up Multipartidaria branches in all provinces. This multiparty alliance should evolve into an organization galvanizing all sections of the population, thereby ensuring the implementation of the program and the formation of a genuinely democratic regime.

The formation of Multipartidaria is an example of a policy so vital to our people — agreement on the main issues and mutual concessions on minor issues. This is precisely why the Communist Party of Argentina, which has contributed much to the formation of the alliance and the elaboration of its program, pledges its unconditional support for Multipartidaria.

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO UNITY

It was gratifying to learn that for the first time in Colombia's history the left-wing forces have united; they have nominated Professor Gerardo Molina as their candidate for the presidential elections next May. I understand that this unity was achieved in large measure through the efforts of the communists. Could your journal ask Colombian comrades to comment on this significant development?

Jesus Santiago Melendes

San José, Costa Rica

The following comment is by Raul Valbuena, CC member, Colombian Communist Party.

The decision to nominate one presidential

Development, the Christian Democratic Federation, and the Party of Intransigence. — Ed.

candidate was adopted at a national meeting of left-wing political organizations on November 28-29, 1981. The platform of democratic unity, approved at that meeting, initially brought together the Colombian Communist Party, the Firmes movement, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Party of Working People. It was then joined by other socio-political forces: the regional peace committees, the Democratic Front, the National Opposition Union, local organizations of the National Popular Alliance, and the Liberal Renewal Front. This high level of unity is the result of persevering effort by the Communist Party and various mass movements that have been working for many years to unite the people.

The left-wing forces did not confine themselves to signing a national platform. In every province and in many towns, townships, and other population centers, members of progressive parties, organizations and popular movements drew up their own programs. These are diverse and rich in content and state the demands of the different strata of the population.

What conditions made it possible to promote joint actions?

First, it must be remembered that the left-wing forces drew correct conclusions from the experience of struggle for the unity of the Colombian working class. Over the recent period the development of unitary processes in the working-class movement has yielded many positive results. I'll only name the most significant of them: the formation in 1977 of a National Trade Union Council uniting all the trade union confederations functioning in the country (in August 1981 it sponsored the first conference, which was attended by representatives of most of the branch trade unions, including autonomous unions, and delegates of the communal and peasants' movements); the successful organization of a second national strike on October 21, 1981 under not only economic but also political slogans (the lifting of the state of siege, a general amnesty for political prisoners, and an extension of trade union rights and freedoms). All these developments had wide-ranging repercussions in the country and were a powerful factor leading to unity among the popular, democratic forces.

Let me add that the allies in the coalition are giving prominence to political issues and aims that concern everybody and help to reinforce cooperation and mutual understanding. Of course, this does not mean that individual organizations are renouncing their views on questions of internal and foreign policy, their own analysis of the economic situation in the country, or their tactics. Each member

organization preserves its political identity but consciously accepts compromises and responds to the opinions of the other members.

The joint platform of democratic unity is the result of collective effort by all the involved parties and other organizations. It spells out the immediate demands of the progressive forces and also their long-term aims, whose attainment is provided for in the event Gerardo Molina wins the presidential elections. To illustrate, I'll quote some of this document's provisions.

Clause one states: "The majority of the Colombian people want the ruling regime to put an end to the bloodshed and repression rending the nation." The Colombian people are unanimous in their opposition to harassment, torture and violations of human rights by the government, which claims it is a model of democracy. Hence they put forward as their primary demands the lifting of the state of siege, respect for human rights and freedom, the withdrawal of troops from agrarian regions that have been turned into a zone of hostilities, an end to the systematic arbitrary actions of the military, and the disbandment of the military councils that persecute the political adversaries of the local monopolies and transnational corporations. Moreover, the democratic, left-wing forces demand that there should be a general amnesty for former guerrillas and for persons imprisoned or harassed for political or trade-union activity.

However, in addition to concrete political demands, the platform contains some other demands. And this is significant.

Among other aims on which there is complete agreement I can name the nationalization of natural resources and the property of monopolies obstructing the independent development of the national economy; an agrarian and an urban reform to improve the condition of landless peasants and marginal strata of the population; eradication of imperialism's influence on culture and the granting of genuine rights to young people and women; the democratization of the armed forces; and an independent foreign policy of peace.

At the national meeting, the presidential candidate Gerardo Molina said that 38 per cent of the urban families and 54 per cent of the peasant families are living below the poverty line. Still lower on this social ladder are 37 per cent of the nation's families living in total poverty. For that reason every vote for the popular unity candidate and left-wing candidates in the elections to local, regional and national organs of power will be, to quote Gerardo Molina, "a vote of protest and hope."

We are fully aware that the road to victory will be thorny and difficult. Alarmed by the scale of the democratic movement, reaction will unquestionably do everything to prevent the election of Gerardo Molina. But we feel that the significance of unity among Colombia's left-wing forces ranges far beyond the present agreements on joint action at the elections and may evolve into a coalition capable of leading the nation to independence, peace and social progress.

How do the communists act under these conditions? What is their role in the struggle for the left perspective?

The innumerable initiatives, demonstrations and protest movements organized in recent years on the suggestion of the communists have been crucial to drawing together the positions of democratic circles and, ultimately, to setting up the coalition. The Communist Party initiated the nationwide movement for the defense of human rights, has been able to organize joint actions by left-wing organizations in a number of municipal councils, and has actively promoted the ideas of the alliance in the press and in leaflets and placards. The communists have done much to work out the unity platform. Most of its provisions are in keeping with the recommendations of the CCP's 13th congress for the nation's democratization. The CCP has been active in helping to form popular unity coordinating committees in 23 departments and 963 municipalities. In short, without the purposefulness and enthusiasm of our comrades the process of uniting the left wing would not have been so successful.

The communists are conducting the struggle for unity creatively, using diverse forms and methods of work among the people, and reject-

ing stereotype patterns, sectarianism and adventurism. We are acting in public organizations, among diverse sections of Colombian society, among people whose way of thinking in many cases differs substantially from ours. But the party does not insist on its views being accepted at once, unconditionally, or in toto. It studies the positions of other forces, compares them with that of its own and, on that basis, maps out a program of joint action. A response to this has become the growing understanding and approval of our struggle by large sections of the people.

The communists see unity evolving out of three basic components.

First, we seek individual agreements aimed at resolving general or specific problems in the interests of the people. Such agreements among progressive forces are concluded on a local, regional or national scale, within the framework of the trade-union movement or a public organization.

Second, the communists attach great significance to coordinating the programs of various democratic parties and groups. In our view, a coincidence of views even on one or a limited number of issues helps to draw their positions together and creates a favorable climate for a joint struggle.

Third, the CCP holds that it is of the utmost importance to form temporary or permanent alliances between advocates of a democratic alternative to the regime's present policy.

The formation of a popular unity coalition in Colombia, strikingly expressed in the signing of a democratic unity program and the nomination of a common presidential candidate, inspires great hope among all Colombians seeking the earliest possible termination of the national crisis and a left prospect.

Expressing the working people's aspirations

ANNALS OF THE STRUGGLE

March 25 is the day when, 60 years ago, the Brazilian Communist Party was founded. All the democratic and patriotic forces of the country join in celebrating this date along with the communists.

Our party came into existence under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, accomplished in Lenin's country. Brazilian capitalism was at an extremely low level at the time. The working class was relatively small; the work force employed in industry fell short

of 300,000 according to the 1920 census. But there were trade unions already and they provided the basis for the rise of the BCP. Ever since then the party has invariably devoted the closest attention to the trade unions and firmly upheld the unity of the labor movement, which it sees as the main prerequisite of the proletariat's success in struggle. This fundamental line is the main factor for our party's influence on the masses.

The pre-war period in the life of the BCP was marked by vigorous activity at both the national

and international level. The party championed industrialization, in particular the setting up of a national metallurgy, and defended state monopoly on oil and other minerals. Being in the vanguard of the patriotic movement, it exposed the nazis' preparations for a second world war and demanded that Brazil should sever all relations with the powers of the fascist "axis." During World War II, the communists campaigned for the dispatch of a Brazilian expeditionary corps to Europe to aid troops of the anti-Hitler coalition. The corps, formed at the insistence of democratic forces, was shipped to Italy, where it took part in fighting against the fascists. Subsequently the party organized extensive public actions, against Brazil's involvement in the Korean war, the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the arms race.

In the 1945-1947 period, when the communists operated in conditions of legality, the BCP became a mass party of about 200,000. It published newspapers in nearly every state of the Union. In the same period it won seats in the National Congress and the legislative assemblies of states and a majority in the municipalities of Rio de Janeiro and Recife. The numerous gains of that period, the working class and the Brazilian people as a whole owed to the communists' assistance. As a result, the BCP gained solid positions in society.

Our party has always combated an incorrect, putschist concept of the revolutionary process. Underlying this notion is petty-bourgeois ideology, which still makes itself felt in many party echelons. As a consequence there are manifestations of political impatience and an underestimation of the role of the working class and the party in the revolutionary movement.

In March 1958, the BCP adopted a declaration criticizing that erroneous concept of the revolution. The declaration pointed out that the main motive force of the Brazilian revolution and its every manifestation was conscious and organized struggle by the masses. It stressed the importance of democracy as the foundation of communist policy and formulated the party's policy line according to national conditions. Complete dissociation from putschism and sectarian views greatly stimulated the fight against dogmatism and made for more active and correct participation of the party in Brazilian politics.*

In 1960 the party held its fifth congress. The line worked out by the congress enabled the communists to make substantial headway in

every sphere of the party's work. They won strong positions in working people's organizations and made an important contribution to the democratic and progressive achievements of the National Front.

The process of democratic reform that began in the early 60s was broken off when, in April 1964, a dictatorial regime was imposed in the wake of a military coup. The BCP policy line, revolutionary in character and content, aroused the hatred of the ruling classes, which resorted to military-fascist repressive measures against the communists, with the result that the party suffered heavy losses. Thousands of communists were jailed; they included 26 Central Committee members, 10 of whom lost their lives. Afterward, stepped-up repression, especially in the 1974-1976 period, compelled the CC to operate abroad.

The communists condemned and exposed the reactionary, anti-national character of the fascist dictatorship. The BCP defined the political tactic of the struggle in the new situation as follows: mobilize, unite and organize the working class, all patriotic and democratic forces to overthrow the dictatorial regime and win democratic freedoms. Life proved this tactic, adopted by the sixth BCP congress (1967), to be correct.

In the broad democratic front formed in Brazil, the working class shows the greatest firmness and consistency in the fight against the dictatorship, for democracy and socio-economic progress. Faced with a growing mass movement, the miscarriage of the so-called Brazilian economic miracle and a series of reverses inflicted by the democratic opposition, particularly in the 1974 and 1978 elections, the authorities had to retreat and revise some aspects of their home and foreign policy in a positive sense. They repealed Institutional Act 5 (the principal component of fascist legislation) and press censorship and announced a partial amnesty for political prisoners.

The working class and other working people and progressive forces have won many political bridgeheads in various spheres of national life. This offers them more favorable conditions in which to continue their struggle for the establishment of a democratic regime. They are frankly dissatisfied with the government's arbitrary practices. They have called hundreds of strikes. Their first national conference, held in Sao Paulo, set out the pressing demands of some 26 million wage workers of every profession. But the concessions that have been wrested cannot be regarded as lasting. The worsening socio-economic crisis and the political instability provoked by the regime may

*Suplemento Especial de Voz da Unidade, May 8, 1981 (tese 44).

provide the government with a pretext for abolishing even the scant freedoms won by the people.

Today the communists openly spell out their position, travelling the country unhampered and deriving a measure of good from the announced amnesty. But the BCP is still denied the right to operate officially as a political organization. It is fighting for recognition, the legalization of its publications and the free functioning of its centers — in short, for a status similar to that of other parties. With this aim in view, there is to be a national discussion on legalization of the BCP, political, social and economic changes and the establishment of a democratic regime.

In May 1981, the BCP circulated theses for a nationwide discussion stating the party's view on numerous aspects of national life. The theses are being discussed in *Voz da Unidade*, the BCP newspaper, in enterprises, offices, universities and residential neighborhoods and wherever else the communists are operating. Preparations for the nationwide debate on legalization are being carried on with enthusiasm, producing positive results.

The party is strengthening its links with the working people of town and countryside and

draws new people into its ranks. It is winning stronger positions in industrial enterprises and improving its social composition. It does much to raise the communists' theoretical and ideological standard and makes a special effort to train industrial workers for leading party jobs.

The task is to have a renewed and really active party by the time the BCP is legalized. Our party must enjoy recognized political prestige, be linked with the working people by inseparable bonds, and function on the Leninist principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism.

The Brazilian Communist Party expresses the thoughts and aspirations of a considerable part of society, primarily the working class. Its ultimate goal is to build a socialist society in Brazil. At this stage of the revolutionary process, the BCP as the political vanguard of the working class advocates broad democratic and anti-imperialist unity to accomplish a national democratic revolution and establish a progressive regime that will pave the way for socialism. In this struggle the communists adhere unfailingly to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Ari dos Santos
BCP representative on the journal

On the results of the meeting

As WMR (No. 1, 1982) already reported, a meeting of representatives of the communist and workers' parties on the work of *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism) was held in Prague in November 1981. The delegates of 90 parties gave their appraisal of the activity of this collective international communist publication, discussed its tasks, and put forward critical remarks and wishes designed to improve the work of the journal further.

In view of the fact that the party representatives recommended that the Editorial Council and Editorial Board should take account of the submitted proposals, the editors have brought them together into a system. All the thematical (problem) and regional commissions of WMR — general problems of theory; exchange of party experience; problems of socialist construction; problems of the class struggle in industrial capitalist countries; problems of the national liberation movement in the Asian and African countries; problems of Latin American and Caribbean countries; problems of peace and democratic movements; problems of science and culture; problems of the commu-

nist press, reviews and bibliography; problems of scientific information, and documentation — have assembled to discuss the results of the meeting and have drawn up plans of work on that basis.

These plans of the commissions have been examined by the International Secretariat of the journal, the new collective working organ set up with the approval of the participants in the meeting, and drawn up by it into an integrated general editorial plan for 1982, which has been approved by the Editorial Council. The plan provides for the following main themes and lines of publication:

General problems of theory. Elaboration by the parties of questions of scientific communism. Problems of the ideological struggle in present-day conditions.

Topical questions in the struggle for peace. The activity of the fraternal parties and problems in the development of the mass anti-war movement.

The policy of the fraternal parties. Experience of the communists' struggle.

Socialist construction. Uniformities,

achievements and problems of existing socialism.

Problems of the class struggle in the industrial capitalist countries. These countries' communist parties in the struggle for democracy and social progress.

The anti-imperialist, national liberation movement in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

A plan of collective measures — theoretical conferences, scientific symposiums, round-

tables, and study groups — has also been approved.

The WMR Editorial Council hopes that the fraternal parties' constant support and concern for their collective publication, their preparation of the basic items, and readers' help will, as in the past, provide a reliable guarantee of fulfillment of the outlined plans and will serve to further enhance the authority and influence of the journal for the good of the cause of peace and socialism.



Developing countries: state power and pattern alternatives

Sarada Mitra

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The map of the modern world has changed dramatically as a result of the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system and the appearance of dozens of new independent nations. Alongside capitalist and socialist states there emerged countries about many of which one could not at first say with certainty what type of socio-economic relations would be established in them. Much was written then about the historical crossroads, about the choice of the development pattern remaining unresolved. Now, with the passage of 20-30 years, the picture has in many ways grown clear. Most of the new nations have chosen their development pattern, and one can speak in general terms of a socialist orientation, of socialist development, on the one hand, and of the capitalist pattern of development, on the other.

However, the question of a choice of a social development pattern has by no means been dropped from the agenda in the countries following the capitalist path. Can it be said, for instance, that a country in which the ruling groups are engrafting bourgeois relations has

once and for all taken the capitalist road? What factors determine the social choice and, in particular, what is the role played here by the state power, which, it is unanimously acknowledged today, is a force of tremendous significance?

This article is chiefly about states following the capitalist road, primarily in Tropical Africa, but also in Asia, notably India. These are two poles, as it were, representing the lowest and the highest levels of capitalist development in the former colonial world. We feel that this approach will help to identify common trends in the development of statehood in these countries. State power in socialist-oriented countries is an independent subject which we shall not deal with in this article.

First a few words about the term "choice of way." It is conditional. Actually, it implies the direction of the social movement determined by the state power, by the superstructural institutions. But there is another tendency determined by the spontaneous development of socio-economic relations, a tendency that in one way or another leads to capitalism, gives rise to capitalist patterns.

In point of fact, colonialism had itself "cho-

We continue our series of articles, begun in WMR, February 1982, analyzing statehood in present-day societies.

sen" the socio-economic pattern for the countries it had been exploiting, without asking for the consent of their peoples. This was the capitalist pattern, even if it was "outlying," dependent, and third-rate, but nonetheless a pattern of capitalism that emerged in colonial times and had been left as a legacy to the nation-states that have won liberation. Spontaneous development is precisely capitalist development adapted — in various proportions and not without contradictions — to the interests of neocolonialism and the local privileged, mainly bourgeois-bureaucratic elements that in some countries had been trained and educated by the colonialists before their departure. What we have here is the continuation of processes that, in principle, began in the colonial epoch, and in this case there can be no question of a "choice." Socialism is the only alternative to spontaneous development. And whoever makes a conscious effort to end capitalist development has made a choice in the full sense of the word, hurled a challenge, gone against the stream.

Only people with no links to the interests of the colonial-bourgeois elite can consciously choose a way that breaks with capitalist practices, with the spontaneous processes germinating in a colonial society, and such people can decide to break up the old, in other words, to take what essentially spells out the road of revolutionary decisions. Precisely this kind of progressive political leader proclaimed the course toward the building of a socialist society. And their choice was inseparable from revolution.

Initially, most of these people professed not Marxist but left-wing views. They were revolutionary nationalists (in Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Burma, Tanzania and other countries). But subsequently, as time passed, the turn in state and socio-economic development was more and more made by political forces that had adopted the ideology of scientific socialism (South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and other countries). It is only relative to revolutionary forces that one can rightly speak of a genuine choice of a way.

For the privileged classes in the newly-free nations there was essentially only a question of achieving more or less independence within the world capitalist system. Likewise, those who are not interested, by virtue of their class positions, in going beyond its narrow boundaries, objectively contribute to the promotion of capitalism, even if they avoid using this word (for many reasons it enjoys little popularity in the newly-free countries); or — let us add — even if they pose as proponents of socialism

to deceive the people and bring in a camouflaged variant of social-reformist, essentially the selfsame capitalist development.

What helps to open the possibility of making the revolutionary decision of renouncing the capitalist way? Conviction and awareness of capitalism's vices and deadends are obviously not enough. There must be objective factors allowing for a turn in real terms. This brings us to the question of the extremely important role of the state power.

The success of the national liberation revolution and the establishment of a national government meant, properly speaking, the beginning of a sort of period of transition from colonial rule to something new, to independent existence. But what form can this existence take? Only one thing has emerged more or less clearly, and it is that bourgeois political institutions in their traditional Western form, beginning with parliamentary democracy of the "Westminster type," are unacceptable for most Asian and African countries. Today it may be stated that the bourgeois-liberal representative system has not taken root in most of the newly-free nations.

A shift of socio-political forces took place with the passage of time, and it in fact spelled out a "second transition" within the framework of the post-colonialist period. In some countries this led to a system of "guided democracy" of an authoritarian type, and in others it brought military regimes to power; as a matter of fact, with time "guided democracy" was replaced by military dictatorship. A characteristic feature of this process was the conspicuous growth of the role of the state power. This was linked to the switch to authoritarian or even totalitarian forms of government. But in these countries there was no break with spontaneous, capitalist development. The only thing was that the weak and incapable "national" bourgeoisie, which endeavored to plant bourgeois parliamentarism of the European type, was replaced by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in whose interests military-authoritarian and despotic regimes were established in the first place.

It is only in countries (which we have already mentioned) where the revolutionary forces were sufficiently strong and prestigious that the "second transition" acquired the character of a determined break with capitalist spontaneity. There the revolutionary parties or groups used the gains and unexhausted impulses of the national liberation revolution and the desire of the people for change to make a real choice, to choose the way of non-capitalist development. In this they were helped by the

still unstable and indeterminate, "transitional" character of the state power.

Thus, in the decision of a key issue determining the destiny of a nation for many decades in advance we clearly see, first, the immense role of the state power and of the superstructural institutions generally in newly-free nations and, second, the contradictory nature and dissimilarity of the state power's functions.

In these countries the state power has a specific feature. What is it?

When Marx analyzed the historical features of the development of Eastern societies he noted that on account of communal property in land and the closed, self-contained subsistence economy the central power was the "upper most or sole owner" and the state was "directly opposed to the direct producer."¹ The weakness or even absence of a class of private landowners in a preponderantly agrarian country led to the elevation of the state power. In showing the state power's exploitative nature, the founders of Marxism drew attention also to the fact that it has specific interests, particularly those of the bureaucracy and the army, which are capable of opposing even an economically strong class, especially in periods of transition in society's development, when there is a relative equilibrium among its main classes and these classes are relatively weak.

This is exactly the kind of period to be observed now in most of the developing nations: colonialist and feudal foundations have crumbled, but the various classes have not consolidated themselves to the extent of being in a position to establish their domination. In particular, this concerns the bourgeoisie. Whereas in Europe the rising bourgeoisie gained control of the means of production and subordinated the state power, in the newly-free countries this has not happened. A society in which the process of class differentiation has not ended, a society that has no clearly defined economically and politically dominant class, a society of mainly small producers who are hardly or not at all involved in the system of capitalist production, such a society continues to nourish a relatively autonomous state power.

The basis is usually slower to change than the superstructure. In the developing countries the new, no longer colonial but national superstructure "draws" the basis to itself, as it were, adapting it to its needs, and directly influences the process of class-formation. In a backward country and, on top of that, in an epoch witnessing a scientific and technological revolution, private capital is, as a rule, unable to become the motor of economic growth, organize the break-up of the colonial economic

structure, and proceed with industrialization, much less in the face of opposition from imperialism.² However, this can be accomplished by the state power. Hence the universal growth of the public sector of the economy. The state power becomes the motor of economic development and, because of this actively intervenes in the processes of social, political and ideological development.

Needless to say, the state power is never and cannot be non-class or supra-class. Its policies reflect the interests of the most influential social forces. This is what underlies the seeming contradiction of socio-economic processes in newly-free countries: the strengthening of the state power's position in the economy does not lead to a fold-up or restriction of the capitalist element. In these countries the bourgeois and bourgeois-bureaucratic forces are unable, by themselves, to build capitalism on the basis of an unhindered growth of private enterprise, of the free play of the market. Here the private sector is protected by the state power, which creates favorable and, sometimes, hot-house conditions for private enterprise, that may wilt without its energetic support. Moreover, on the political level the bourgeois and quasi-bourgeois strata need an authoritarian power to suppress democratic currents and put down the revolutionary people's movement that, by the logic of things, advances a socialist alternative.

In other words, life shows the untenability of the allegation that any active state intervention in the processes of social and economic development spells out socialism. On the contrary, in the developing nations this intervention often facilitates an advance along the road of capitalism, and this is determined by the class nature of the state power. One can speak of a dual function of the state power: on the one hand, it is the spokesman of the general organizing factor and represents national interests.³ On the other hand, it is the instrument of the most influential, privileged and, more often than not, economically strongest forces.

In its first function the state power, even if it is essentially pro-bourgeois, cannot help pursuing, albeit inconsistently or half-heartedly, a policy in keeping with the general line of struggle of the developing nations for economic independence and for equality in international affairs. In these countries, the actions of the state power, since it objectively retains the heritage of the national liberation revolution, mirror the fact that developing society is in a state of antagonism and confrontation with imperialism. That is why we observe even reactionary regimes participating in the

non-aligned movement and advocating the establishment of a new international economic order.

Yet another feature of the state power in newly-free countries is that it comes forward as a "state of development," in other words, it initiates processes of economic reform and growth. Here, too, it has to reckon with the objective dependence on imperialism and the need to end this dependence and carry out the vital tasks of surmounting backwardness.

This explains the seemingly internally contradictory phenomenon where a country with a clearly capitalist pattern of development in some cases adopts a progressive, anti-imperialist stand in international affairs or pursues an economic policy harmful to the interests of foreign monopolies.

This can only be understood if one takes a number of factors into account. First, a distinction must be drawn between the organic, structural dependence of developing countries on international finance capital, on the one hand, and their ability to adopt independent political and, especially, economic decisions on specific issues, on the other.⁴ Further, there is the changing world balance of strength. The existence of the world socialist system and its growing positive role in international affairs are enabling developing nations of different orientation to oppose imperialism in many areas. Lastly, the mass struggle is the key factor of the anti-imperialist posture of a state power.

But in its second function the state power quite distinctly reveals its class essence. In countries where development follows the capitalist pattern, the state power, as we have already noted, adapts the economy to the interests of the *élite* which is being embourgeoisified. It is increasingly becoming an instrument of domination of this *élite*. Even where there is as yet not even a hint of a bourgeois class in the true meaning of the word, the privileged groups facilitate the creation of a fundamentally bourgeois society spontaneously. Further, antagonism with world imperialism does not prevent the state power in some capitalist-oriented countries from meeting the interests of transnational corporations. The state power helps to draw the nation into a changing but persistently inequitable international division of labor and objectively contributes to the institutionalization of a new system of the "periphery's" dependence on the imperialist "center." This sort of deal with imperialism is made at the expense of the people's interests and lays bare the state power's pro-capitalist nature.

The more backward a country, the easier it is

for an aggressive group (even if it is numerically small) to take the key positions in the government and the more difficult it becomes to carry out the tasks of socio-economic development. The superstructure is only seemingly omnipotent. At the beginning it seems that the road is open in any direction. But subsequently, when the state power has to be consolidated and a stable system created, within which urgent and extremely difficult economic and social tasks have to be tackled from the class position, it is found that the objective conditions neither harmonize with intentions, nor facilitate the willful decisions of the persons at the helm of that power.

This situation is to be observed in countries that adopted the capitalist pattern of development after achieving independence. It is now growing increasingly evident that in most of the countries of this category, the capitalist model is not working. At any rate it is not working as was hoped by those imperialist ideologues who saw in the appearance of new contingents of the local bourgeoisie following the collapse of colonialism a chance to rejuvenate the capitalist world. Their associates in Africa and Asia (one of whom was the shah of Iran) also counted on economic and technical aid from the industrialized capitalist world taking them at a relatively rapid pace along the route travelled by the latter under different historical conditions.

Hardly anybody will now deny that as it strikes root in developing nations, capitalism brings with it its worst features. It is unable to provide jobs and the contrasts between the rich and the poor grow steadily more glaring. Superimposing themselves on the poverty and backwardness inherited from the colonial past, on the economic structure deformed by dependent development, capitalism's vices accentuate the old imbalances and contradictions and generate and aggravate the new antagonisms in society. In particular, on the capitalist road nobody can suggest a solution to the problem of job-creation or give anything close to a satisfactory answer to the question of what is to be done with the economy's traditional sector where most of the population is concentrated and which does not lend itself to transformation or "digestion" by the capitalist sector, and for that reason decays, degenerates and, like a heavy weight, pulls the whole of society down.

Here the reservation must be made that in developing countries capitalism is highly heterogeneous: differentiation has gone quite far in diverse areas. Alongside political dis-

tinctions there are arresting differences in the level of economic development.

For instance, India's economic successes are indisputable. The nation has the foundation of a modern industry and much has been achieved in agriculture. However, headway has been slow and contradictory. "But, the main thing is that the capitalist path along which the bourgeoisie has been taking the country has triggered a crisis of Indian society."⁵ Precisely in India capitalism strikingly demonstrates its potentialities and limitations, reveals the ineradicable limits and vices of the capitalist pattern of development. The nation's progressive forces are raising the question of dispossessing the bourgeoisie of its monopoly of power and replacing the state's class leadership, of setting up a government in which power would be shared by the parties and forces representing the working class, the peasants, the radical middle sections, and the non-monopolistic circles of the national bourgeoisie. Of course, in a country with a relatively high level of capitalist development (for a newly-free nation), there can be no question of non-capitalist development in the sense of "circumventing" or "bypassing" capitalism. Here it is possible to shorten or cut off the capitalist stage that commenced long ago. But even in India the struggle to reshape society along progressive lines passes not only through the mass movement, but indispensably presupposes an active influence on the state power, which under no circumstances should be regarded as irrevocably programmed on capitalism. On the contrary, it is possible to put an end to bureaucratic practices and reorganize administration and services, subordinating them to organs of state elected by the people; this would create the conditions for progress toward socialist changes.⁶

The example of India, which is among the newly-free nations with bourgeois relations on a relatively high level of development, shows the instability of the capitalist pattern as a whole. Much more, then, is the capitalist pattern unstable and the greater is the possibility of turns and changes in the stand of the state power in countries that are less permeated with bourgeois relations. In the group of the least developed nations, the vast majority of the population is engaged in primitive subsistence husbandry. In many regions of Tropical Africa, for instance, the proportion of persons working for wages does not exceed 1.5-2 per cent of the able-bodied population (Upper Volta, Chad, Central African Republic, Mauritania and others). Here capitalism is indeed weak and for that reason there sometimes is the temptation not to notice it

at all, to consider that these nations have not yet defined their pattern of social and economic development. But this is only a seeming indeterminateness.

Even in the least developed nations the state power does not stand helplessly at the historical crossroads, pondering in what direction to move. It is a profoundly pragmatic power concerned with the specific problems of averting catastrophe, preventing the disintegration of its poverty-stricken country, and maintaining the predominant position of the privileged groups, whose interests it articulates above all. These groups cannot as yet be considered capitalist. They are often called only "pro-bourgeois," thereby underscoring their inherent tendency to eventually become a class of capitalist entrepreneurs. This is their aim and their orientation, regardless of whether they are aware of it or not, and therefore the way followed by the state power representing their interests may justifiably be regarded as capitalist.

The fact that in countries of this kind capitalism has not as yet sunk real roots is what sharply distinguishes them from other groups of newly-free nations that have adopted the capitalist pattern of development. It also distinguishes them from the "new industrialized nations," which now have a sort of "neo-compradore" bourgeoisie that has organized a capitalist-type economy on the basis of an alliance with foreign capital, with transnational corporations,⁷ and from the rich oil-producing nations where the oil bourgeoisie — a new and ever-stronger contingent of international finance capital that has evolved directly out of feudalism — is the motive force of capitalist development.

In the poorest of the newly-free nations there is no sizable class producing capitalist relations in the true sense of the word. Neither is there a serious foundation for the development of these relations, not even a foreign foundation — foreign capital does not find these countries attractive. The capitalism growing there has its base chiefly in the petty bourgeoisie, as well as in the embourgeoisifying sections of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia, a section of the officer corps, tribal chiefs, and so on. This politically and economically weak and loose social entity, which is in the process of formation, allows using the main achievement of the national liberation revolutions — state power — to establish capitalist orders, and in this process the state power is itself increasingly acquiring bourgeois features. Here the interests of the ruling circles are determined not by production but by consumer models of the capitalist world, in other words, by the force of "demonstration

effect." This results in surrogate development void of strong material incentives — both internal and external — which leads to the backwaters and dead-ends of the periphery of the world capitalist system.

There are some new factors that in this group of countries are acquiring growing significance and will probably influence the posture and actions of the progressive forces.

First and foremost, these include the rising social tensions in the traditional sectors of the economy to which the livelihood of approximately nine-tenths of the population is linked. This growth of tensions is generated by the actual deterioration of the people's condition and by the unfulfillment of the hopes aroused by liberation from colonial tyranny and by the rise to power of national governments. The inability and reluctance of these governments to enforce a radical change in the relations of property and, correspondingly, in the system of distribution in favor of the disinherited working masses generate acute social problems. The further aggravation of these problems may, in fact, confront these countries with having to reconsider their pattern of development.

Differentiation in the traditional commune has worsened the condition of the majority of its members. The established relations of commodity-exchange have disintegrated and now there is an unproductive, small-commodity sector and a parasitical and corrupt bureaucratic stratum. The state exchequer is being embezzled by the élite that has come to power and is chiefly concerned with making its own fortunes; taxes, levies and mandatory supplies of various products are growing, and the practice of forced labor for the state is spreading. Combined with national-ethnic factors, all this — sooner or later, in one form or another — will inevitably evoke social protests from the working masses, protests that may become a strong precondition for cutting short the spontaneous development of capitalist relations. The soil is thus created for serious political convulsions, in the course of which the question of "alternative development" inevitably arises.

The term "alternative development" gained political currency long ago and proved to be meaningful. It derived from the awareness that for most of the newly-free nations an imitation of the path traversed by industrialized capitalist powers, a reproduction of the bourgeois model of development, is as unrealistic as it is undesirable.⁸ It is unrealistic because in these countries, particularly in those that are overpopulated, have scarce resources, and do not possess the sources of initial capitalist accumu-

lation, it is practically impossible in the foreseeable future to create a modern industrial society through capitalist development. It is undesirable because in a backward society this model inescapably leads to a deepening of the already existing division into a numerically tiny privileged élite and the dispossessed majority and to the imposition of alien cultural and social patterns that come into conflict with national traditions.

Consequently, the very term "alternative development" appeared as the antithesis of "overtaking development," or growth based on quantitative indicators (output, income and so on). In evolving concepts of this kind, concepts springing from society's disenchantment with the scanty results of the experiment of reproducing traditional capitalist development in newly-free countries, many researchers have thrown the baby out with the bathwater. "Alternative development" began to be understood as abandonment of the development of modern productive forces, as a negation of industrialization, as a return to primitive agrarian society.

The Marxists reject such anti-industrial utopias. Their contention is that true progress presupposes the promotion of the productive forces, the building of a large-scale machine industry, the mechanization of agriculture, and the utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. In practice, alternative development, the refusal to copy faulted bourgeois patterns of a socio-economic system can only spell out socialist development.

The alternative way is the way to socialism. The preliminary condition for this is the revolutionary reshaping of the character of the state power. Of course, this reshaping can take place in various ways. Either pressured by the struggle of the masses and as the outcome of bitter experience, the state power sees the need for looking for new possibilities, or the leadership of the state is taken over by representatives of the social forces that see the futility of attempts to follow the pattern adopted by the present industrialized capitalist powers in a different epoch. Needless to say, the very prospect for reorientation is dissimilar in the various groups of countries we have considered. It may prove to be more difficult (although realistic) in countries with a higher level of capitalist relations, with a stronger bourgeoisie that has struck root. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that precisely countries of this type are the immediate object of attention and effort by imperialism, which seeks to reinforce capitalism in them as its mainstay. On the other hand, in countries

with a low level of capitalist development it is evidently easier to imagine that finding itself in an impasse and seeing no prospect of resolving the snowballing problems within the framework of a capitalist model the state power will be compelled to abandon the malfunctioning pattern of social development.

The prerequisite for such a swing is a much smaller "social conditionality" of the state power, which leans not on a capitalist class gathering strength and receiving sops from without but on small-holding and bureaucratic strata. Some of them can see — on the basis of their own negative experience — that for them the capitalist model is unrealistic and hopeless. Since, as we have noted, the state power in countries of this type is generally still inadequately defined and consolidated and lacks firm links to any definite classes but enjoys a large measure of autonomy, it may be assumed that in this case, under pressure from below, from the people and under the influence of

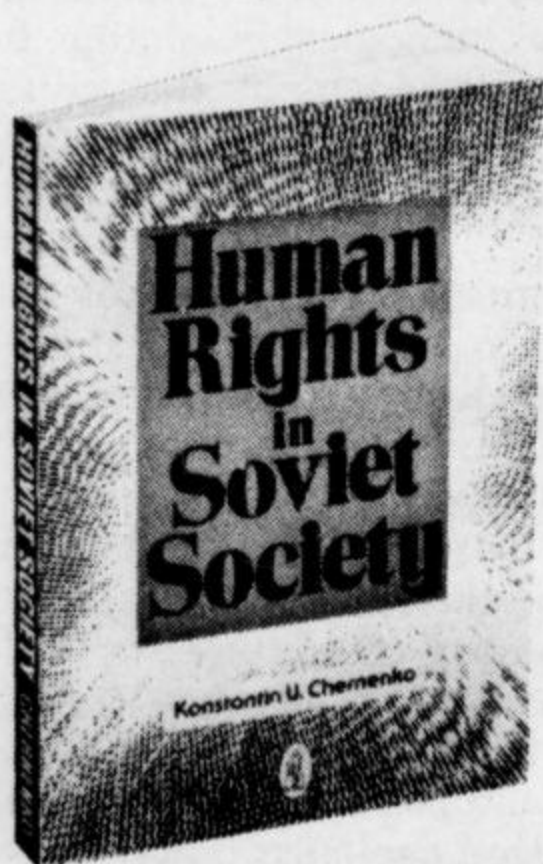
their revolutionary actions it may be able to "turn the helm" steeply.

Of course, the turn to "alternative development" cannot take place spontaneously, of itself. The state power is itself an arena of class struggle. In the countries that have recently won liberation, much in their political and social relations remains to be consolidated, and these relations cannot be regarded as final and set once and for all. Understanding this, the communists are working not only among their mainstay — the workers and peasants — but also among civil servants and among the middle and petty-bourgeois strata, steadfastly winning them to the side of the people. They are explaining to the people the hopelessness and impasse-fraught character of the capitalist pattern, the organic link of that pattern with the tendency to reinforce dependence on imperialism.

In the newly-free nations, the struggle for the progressive restructuring of society is the continuation and development, under new conditions, of the anti-imperialist national liberation revolution. This is a struggle to consolidate and consummate the great historic process of the total social liberation of the colonial slaves of yesteryear.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOVIET SOCIETY

by Konstantin U. Chernenko



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1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Works, Vol. 46, Part I, p. 463 (in Russian); K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 771.

2. A document adopted by communist and workers' parties of Africa says that "the dominant position of foreign capital, the financial weakness and other limitations of the domestic bourgeoisie virtually confine the activity of this class to the service industry, real estate and commodity speculation" (*Communist Call to Africa*, p. 10).

3. This refers to countries that are mostly multinational or, in any case, have a heterogeneous ethnic structure, to countries rent by tribal, religious, caste, and clan contradictions. In this situation only the state power is seen as the force able to unite society or even bring about the fusion of ethnic groups and tribes into an integral nation, to counter centrifugal tendencies.

4. For example, the OPEC countries pursue an oil policy that in many cases comes into conflict with the interests of countries of the capitalist West.

5. WMR, November 1981.

6. *Program of the Communist Party of India*, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 47, 57-59.

7. Unlike the traditional compradores, this class operates not so much in trade as in industry, and the term "neocompradore" indicates no more than that it objectively serves the interests of imperialist capital and reinforces its country's dependence within the framework of the capitalist international division of labor.

8. This view is now shared even by some bourgeois scholars. For instance, the well-known French Afri-cologist René Dumont writes that in order to put an end to dependence and underdevelopment "it is necessary to question the entire model of Western development, the consumer society, the predominance of the urban and industrial type of development" (René Dumont, Marie-France Mottin, *L'Afrique étranglée*, Paris, 1980, p. 242).



One world, common responsibility

Carlos Andres Perez

COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The struggle for peace and the defense of the peoples' right to have security and to choose their own way bring closer together broad progressive public circles and create the basis for cooperation between communists and other political forces. This is also evidenced by the stand taken by many leaders of the social democratic movement. Below is an interview (here slightly abridged) with Carlos Andres Perez, a leader of the Venezuelan Democratic Action Party prominent in the Socialist International, taken by Jeronimo Carrera, the CP Venezuela representative on the *WMR* Editorial Council.

Q. What is your appraisal of the present international situation, and what do you see as the main danger facing mankind?

A. Following the vigorous efforts taken in the 1970s to ease international tensions which culminated in the Helsinki Conference and which gave the world great hope, we are once again in a period of trial and face the threat of a nuclear confrontation. The second — Madrid — stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe may not have ended as a fiasco, but it has yet to justify humankind's expectations. We have been for all practical purposes, hurled back to the "cold war" period. World peace is once again being jeopardized. The resulting situation daily poses the threat of a third world war, a war which this time will destroy the Earth's civilization.

Once again the arms race has been stepped up, and this includes the most sinister weapons. I must speak of a fact which fills one with real horror and provokes special indignation. It is the development of a bomb "only against people."¹ This formula is in itself anti-humanistic. The loss of human life is war's greatest evil and inflicts unbearable pain. And when we are being advised not to worry because the bombs showered down on us will destroy nothing but people, we regard this as a brazen mockery of the human race. For an intelligent being, no aberration is more egregious.

We oppose the manufacture of the neutron bomb most emphatically.

But it is not only the nuclear arsenals that have been growing. There is an escalation in the stockpiling of non-nuclear, conventional means of warfare. Take our continent. The United States has removed the barriers to the supply of the most modern weapons to countries in Latin America. As a result, there is on-going rivalry for the possession of the latest types of weapons in this field as well. In this way, we waste billions of dollars, while millions upon millions of Latin Americans are further doomed to poverty.

Q. Do you mean also the U.S.-Venezuelan agreement on the delivery to our country of F-16 fighter-bombers, one of the most modern and costly models?

A. Venezuela does, of course, provide an example. Here, an effort is being made to implement the absurd idea that the state can afford the luxury of buying planes it does not need. They are superfluous, even in the light of the hypothetical armed conflicts (as military specialists say) in which the country could be involved.

Q. This deal apparently reflects the government's overall orientation. How do you appraise it as a whole?

A. The international line of the incumbent Venezuelan authorities² in the Caribbean and the world arena has, on the whole, taken a regrettable turn. The government's foreign-policy line is informed by sectarian interests. What we have before us is not a state policy, but a narrow Christian Democratic party policy.

I want to say most frankly that I am profoundly saddened by this. After all, the Christian Democrats, like the social democrats, have a historical duty to work for the democratization of our countries. Call this process what you will, we have a duty to assure the peoples delivered from tyranny of the possibility of self-determination, of an independent choice of the ideology by which they want to be guided. I had the pleasure of doing just that when I was President of the Republic.³ But now the Christ-

ian Democrats are unfortunately engrossed in regional-scale political plans, in schemes that have nothing to do with Latin America's true interests. They have thrown in their lot with the U.S. administration, which now takes the most retrograde stand, relapsing into imperialist practices of the past — virtually a century old — and trying to direct the Latin American peoples and act as their ward.

A most eloquent example is the policy pursued by Venezuela's Social Christian government in Central America, notably with respect to El Salvador. It could have used its influence, and the potentialities of kindred parties and democratic governments in the region for the sake of a dialogue opening up the prospect for a truly peaceful solution guaranteeing all the political forces in El Salvador participation in deciding on the country's future. Instead, the Venezuelan government has supported the Salvadoran military dictatorship, which has given no guarantees of switching the country to democracy.

Q. The political leaders of the United States and other countries have claimed that it is the communists, the Soviet Union and Cuba that are to blame for the burgeoning of armed popular struggle against the dictatorships in Central America. What is your view?

A. Although by political conviction, philosophy and experience I am not an advocate of guerrilla tactics, I do recognize that the use of force is the ultimate resort of those who are deprived of any other way of winning freedom and dignity. That is just what is happening in Central America. Take El Salvador. The people of that country have no option but to resort to the use of force. They are being forcibly saddled with a dictatorship copying the practices of tyrannical regimes standing on guard for the interests of oligarchic groups and exploiting and humiliating the people.

Some argue that the guerrillas have no popular support and that their appearance is a manifestation of the Soviet-Cuban presence in Latin America. That is a big lie.

The communists' participation in guerrilla operations is not the cause of the violence either. The violence springs from the despotism, the savagery of the dictatorial regimes trying to drown in blood, in the maelstrom of genocide the people's right to freedom and dignity. That is why under no circumstances can one agree with those who ascribe the goings-on to a clash between communism and anti-communism.

Even those who do not want to see the communists have access to the government are not entitled to assert that in Latin America our ills

spring from communism.⁴ The root cause of the ills, of the backwardness, and of the preservation of despotic regimes in Latin American countries lies in the ultra-right-wing militarism, the watchdog of the oligarchy's interests, which helps the transnationals stay in command.

Q. You were one of the first among the heads of Latin American states to establish direct contacts with the Soviet leaders. On the strength of your own experience, how do you assess the importance of cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries in the present complicated international situation?

A. My experience in visiting the Soviet Union was exceptionally useful.⁵ I was given the opportunity to converse with the country's most senior leaders, including Leonid Brezhnev. I met people who were sophisticated and with a rare ability to carry on a dialogue. They did not sidestep a single issue. They replied to everything frankly and exhaustively.

I had occasion to acquaint myself with those realities of the modern world which had earlier been unknown and frequently also prohibited to us. I had occasion to look at the realities through another window remote from us and to hear interesting considerations and critical appraisals. And I discovered a sincere desire to find a way to effective control of the arms race in the modern world, an urge to contain the escalation of nuclear might.

Ideologically, we are divided, we have different political ideologies. But one has to admit: the Soviet Union represents a world which undoubtedly deserves a high appreciation, a world which is of great importance for the destinies of humankind. While in that country, I was convinced that relations with the USSR, with the socialist states of Eastern Europe are a necessity. Such ties enhance our countries' capability of taking an active part in international affairs and in taking global decisions.

Today, I can declare: no one is more convinced than I am that the thesis of isolating the so-called Soviet, or communist world is a grave mistake. Ultimately, we all belong to one humankind, and all the inhabitants of the Earth have one common responsibility.

Q. What do you think of the immediate and long-term prospects for improving the international climate?

A. As I have already said, there is a real danger of war, and it has even increased. But there is also another way, the way of a return to détente and to recognition of pluralism as a constant norm of inter-state relations. I think it

would be ideal and most reasonable if the forces that have the greatest weight in their countries and bear the main responsibility for the future of their peoples would bury their ideological differences and draw up a broad program for joint action for the sake of peace.

Unfortunately, the policy of blocs has divided the planet into two parts,⁶ and this division is becoming a dangerous one. Even while it has not led to war (since we have, at any rate, learned to avoid it), it nevertheless hinders the people's striving for solidarity in combatting the dangers besetting them. The bloc policy is becoming a formidable obstacle to agreements that could consolidate the world, engender a feeling of common concern for justice and prosperity, and so rule out the very possibility of new armed conflicts.

I want to see the world turned into one peaceful community. It is necessary to do this so as to improve the people's well-being and increase the global responsibility of states for their use of natural resources, for economic progress, for the situation in the developing countries. Such is precisely the goal of the United Nations. Today, our real potentialities fall far short of this goal. This does not mean, however, that it should be abandoned. The great ideals of the whole of humankind, including the historic tasks of the non-aligned states, call, I believe, for continued struggle to integrate the peoples into a community that will promote general well-being and security.

1. Meaning the neutron bomb developed by the United States. President Reagan ordered its full-scale production on August 6, 1981, 36 years — to the day — after the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima by U.S. Air Force men (footnotes supplied by Jeronimo Carrera).

2. The government of C.A. Perez' Democratic Action Party was replaced in 1979 by the Social Christian Party (COPEI), which belongs to the international Christian Democratic movement.

3. Carlos Andres Perez was head of the Venezuelan state from 1974 to 1979. His government on the whole pursued a progressive foreign policy, and in particular, supported the Sandinistas in their struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. It nationalized the main branches of the Venezuelan economy — oil, gas and iron ore — which had been controlled by the U.S. monopolies. In that period, local monopoly groups were entrenched in the country, and this, says the program of the CP Venezuela, creates the conditions for the emergence of "an ever more pronounced trend toward state-monopoly capitalism."

4. In an interview with a journal published by the Socialist International, Perez said: "Marxist-Leninist parties have a full right to operate within our countries. And more than that: we believe that their presence contributes toward creating a balance of political forces which is positive for the democratic progress of our peoples." (*Socialist Affairs*, No. 6, 1981, p. 214).

5. Perez paid an official visit to the USSR in November 1976.

6. The responsibility for the division of the world into opposed blocs lies with the USA and other imperialist powers. After the Second World War, they initiated the formation of NATO, CENTO, the Inter-American Mutual Aid Pact and other military-political groupings directed against the USSR, the whole socialist community, and the peoples fighting for their liberation. The Warsaw Treaty Organization was only a forced response to these moves. The USSR and all its other participants have repeatedly put forward proposals (which are still effective) for the total elimination of military blocs and bases on foreign territory, but these proposals have been ignored.

From global programs to "market economy" methods

An Analysis by the Institute of Marxist Studies (FRG)

The ever more acute social and economic problems which the imperialist powers have had to face in the recent period are symptoms of the deepening all-round crisis of the capitalist system. Their ruling circles have been trying to find a way out by modifying the capitalist state's policy and adjusting the mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism. Diverse recipes for improving the economy and overcoming the crisis phenomena have been proposed and applied. Below is an analysis of the changes in the FRG government coalition's policy and their effect on the working people's condition and struggle.

The shifts in the economy of the Federal Republic of Germany are of undoubted interest for an analysis of present-day state-monopoly capitalism. They are a reflection not only of the specific features of West German imperialism, but also of the problems which are characteristic of many other industrial capitalist states and which bear on important aspects of the evolution of the world capitalist economic system as a whole.

Marxists in the FRG have accepted the view of state-monopoly capitalism not as a feature, however fundamental, of present-day imperialism, but as phase of the imperialist stage in the

capitalist socio-economic formation. That is our starting point in analyzing its current features in our country in order to bring out the main trends and prospects for the 1980s.

Line of reform: illusions and reality

To gain a better understanding of the content and meaning of the on-going changes, let us recall some of the milestones in the FRG's economic development over the past decade.

Upon its assumption of power in 1969, the ruling SDPG/FDP coalition initially set its course toward social reforms at home and détente in the international arena. Rather, it continued the line, because some of its essential elements had been formulated within the framework of the earlier CDU/CSU/SDPG "grand coalition." Its idea was to adapt state-monopoly policy to the new internal socio-economic situation and to have its foreign-policy activity reckon with the changed balance of forces in the world arena.

In that period, the crisis of over-production (1966/67) gave way to an unprecedentedly high level of business activity, a growth of exports and an investment boom. The concentration and centralization of production was accelerated, and the FRG monopolies expanded their operations abroad. Meanwhile, by the early 1970s, a great many problems requiring solution had accumulated in the country's economy. The policy of reform sprang from a number of concrete causes, among them there were the following:

- the conditions for the reproduction of labor-power had changed; the role of state-provided or supported services, i.e., education, public health, social security, improvement of working conditions, employment, etc., had increased;

- there was a need for the state to extend the range of its economic, financial and political instruments which it used to regulate economic life, so as to compensate for the snags in the market mechanism, as the saying then went;

- there was a need to do away with the anachronisms within the system of state administration and legislation: the traditions of the old "bureaucratic state" which had been revived under the Adenauer government and which had become an impediment to the development of state-monopoly capitalism.

All these factors, together with the mounting working-class struggle and the strikes which rocked the country in September 1969, determined the changes in the ruling circles' policy.

The line of reform was expressed above all in the extension and intensification of state

socio-economic activity, or activity stimulated and organized by the state. From 1970 to 1975, government spending went up from 15.9 per cent to 18.8 per cent of the Gross Social Product.¹ This policy of the social democrats and liberals was a prerequisite for effecting the monopoly strategy of modernizing the economy and adapting it to the competition on the world market against the background of rapid scientific and technical progress.

The need to increase labor productivity called for a higher level of education and occupational training among the working people, with some opportunities for having a say in production, and a better system of social security designed to tone down their sense of uncertainty in the future. That is why the social-liberal coalition had, to some extent, to reckon with the interests of the working class, which had intensified the struggle for its rights. But as soon as the economic expansion slowed down, the development of social processes produced by this policy was bound to run — and did run — into a sharp contradiction with the economic interests of monopoly capital.

The fact is that the state's broader intervention in the redistribution of incomes tended somewhat to limit the monopolies' freedom in disposing of the mass of the necessary and surplus-product they held, and whenever the market outlook worsened, this also acted as a constraint on the growth of private monopoly profit, hemmed in the accumulation of capital and hampered its expansion. This was resisted by the monopolies. The 1974-1975 crisis sped up the re-orientation of the ruling coalition's policy.

Let us recall that in the 1969 electoral campaign, the SDPG leadership proclaimed the goals of its policy in the following propaganda slogan: "We shall build a modern Germany." After three years of social democratic government, the slogan was changed: "We can be proud of our country." In 1976, in view of the effects of the crisis, the talk was confined to some "German model" of development. This formula acquired an increasingly conservative and nationalistic content. It was used by those who were the pillars of the Bonn state to describe the FRG's constitutional system, its capitalist market economy, the practice of "social partnership" with few strikes, the bellicose anti-communism of the predominant ideology and so on.

The social democrats' "long-term program" initially set forth concrete goals for economic growth as the starting point for the assumptions concerning increases in government spending as the material basis for reforms. But even as

this document was being discussed in 1974 and 1975, such plans were shown to be totally groundless. Economic development took a different turn. The program was amended and the data concerning prospects for economic expansion were expunged.

This process was paralleled by the collapse of illusions (widespread even within the working class in the early 1970s) that reforms could do away with the contradictions and crises of capitalism and mark a start on the elimination of economic and social privileges. The ruling coalition's line toward state-monopoly reforms was replaced by a program for reviving the "market economy," and that was the most pronounced distinction between its policy of the early and late 1970s. The euphoria over the planning and projection of socio-economic development gave way to scepticism. At the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, the FRG press had virtually no forecasts to make for the decade ahead.

Under the stabilization slogan

The collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system and the OPEC countries' increase of oil prices — followed by the staging of an "oil crisis" by the oil companies — were factors deepening the economic recession in the imperialist countries. The growing inflation turned out to be a grave disease. It did not subside even in conditions of reduced production: the FRG, like the other capitalist countries, was hit by stagflation, that is, inflation coupled with economic stagnation. The economic growth rates dropped from 8 per cent a year in the first postwar decade to 5 per cent in the second decade, and to 3 per cent in the third, while inflation went up from 2 per cent a year in the first decade, to 3 per cent in the second, and to 6.5 per cent in the third. These processes stand out in bolder relief when viewed over shorter periods. The "export of inflation" from the United States and the policy of high government spending had an effect on the growth of prices.² But the drive for profit and the policy of monopoly prices conducted by big capital were the main factors fuelling the inflation.

The depth and duration of the crisis and all the developments in the latter half of the 1970s made it perfectly obvious that the West German economic mechanism had run into a long-term worsening of conditions for the realization of capital. Since external markets functioned in accordance with the same rhythm as internal markets, the boosting of exports as a way to overcome the recession turned out to be largely unavailable.

Today people in the FRG say with good reason that state-monopoly regulation in the FRG is in a state of crisis. Stagflation has most visually demonstrated the ineffectiveness of such regulation as a means for combating the crisis and inflation.

The West German monopoly bourgeoisie responded to the new situation by shifting the center of gravity in state-monopoly activity from reforms to "stabilization" and "strengthening" of the economy, meaning above all a reduction in the rate of inflation and government spending.

In order to present a synthetic description of the process, we make use of the concept of "private monopoly variant" of the development of state-monopoly capitalism. Even in the reform-policy period, the whole point was, of course, ultimately to safeguard the interests of the monopolies. Thus, centralization and monopolization of capital were encouraged in every possible way. The crisis merely intensified these, resulting in an unprecedented tide of mergers and a record number of bankruptcies (in the late 1970s, there were almost 500 mergers a year, as compared with about 60 in the late 1960s. The number of bankruptcies went up from 3,000 to 9,000 a year).

However, the new line signalled the ruling circles' use of other techniques to increase monopoly profits: not the broader and more intense state-administrative activity, but a revival of the "self-healing" forces of the market. The state programming and regulation were substituted by efforts to stimulate the market economy and curtail social spending. This "private monopoly variant" of the development of state-monopoly capitalism signifies an offensive on the working people's social gains and on the levels of wages and social security they have attained.

This anti-labor orientation has gone hand in hand with vigorous efforts by the bourgeoisie to bolster the state repression apparatus and with a growth of authoritarian tendencies. The bourgeoisie needs a "strong state" so as to guarantee the policy of stimulating the market economy. When "market economy" ideologists complain about "excessive" interference by the state, about the "state bureaucracy" and the "Moloch state," they do not mean either the apparatus for suppressing the masses and defending the power of the bourgeoisie, or the build-up of armaments and militarization of social life. It is only the concessions to the working people and government social programs that they criticize.

When considering the "stabilization" policy, it is also important to stress that it should not be

regarded as a conservative petty-bourgeois response to the crisis and state-monopoly regulation, although such attitudes will also be found. This policy reflected the interests of the monopolies at a time when the internationalization of capitalism's economic ties rose to a new stage and external expansion became even more important for accumulations and profits — something that was especially characteristic of the FRG.

The country's "super-industrialization" and the resultant overweight of exports in the economy were sometimes declared to be the product of incorrect monetary policies which led to the over-valuation of the West German mark's exchange rate. But that is a topsy-turvy view to take of things. It is, after all, big capital's profit drive and its urge for expansion that made for that kind of development. Despite the recessions, the FRG has become contemporary capitalism's second-ranking economic power (or third-ranking, depending on the criteria). Its growing export surplus, active balance of payments, and large foreign-exchange reserves³ have enabled FRG imperialism to act as a "paymaster," with access to external markets and spheres of capital investments, and opportunities for encouraging the expansion of capitalist relations in developing countries. Finally, these instruments were used to safeguard the interests of FRG imperialism in the process of West European integration. As a result, the FRG monopolies were relatively more successful in "coping" with the higher raw material and energy prices, and further consolidated their positions in international economic relations. In the 1970s, they were able to start a big capital-export drive, above all in the United States and other industrial capitalist countries. In 1965, their direct investments totalled only DM1 billion, after 1974 they went up to more than DM5 billion annually, and in 1980 reached DM7 billion. In the second half of the 1970s, this put the FRG among the leaders in the export of capital and so turned it into one of the most expansionist imperialist powers in economic terms.

During the 1974-1975 crisis and after it, the government strove above all to stimulate investments at home in an effort to revive economic activity, but the results were insignificant. The sectoral and general programs (for instance, in building and the infrastructure) were not broad enough or had to face resistance, and did not have any stable influence on the course of production.

But one must add that these programs were not altogether without result. They did not create any new jobs, but they did induce

rationalization of production, installation of modern technology and renewal of the product-mix, all of which brought about intensive and rapid modernization of the production and administrative apparatus and the sphere of circulation. In the key sectors of the economy, labor productivity went up and costs went down.

It is true that the "stabilization" policy started in the crisis period did not accelerate the FRG's economic growth. The growth of production and employment indicators dropped to the average West European level. But price increases stayed below that level, while external expansion was making a tremendous leap forward. The country's positions in the world market were not just maintained, but even strengthened. Consequently, in the light of the interests of monopoly and finance capital, the "stabilization" strategy was an unquestionable success.

Who bears the burden

The main goal of the new line in the sphere of social policy was to combat the "inflation of demands," that is, the policy's demands for higher living standards. Here, two tasks were set:

1. The socio-psychological impact of mass unemployment was to induce "a tightening up of discipline," a reduction in the working people's demands, a freeze on real wages,⁴ and more intense pressure on the trade unions. The bargaining for new labor agreements was to result in lower wage-rates and encouragement of competition on the labor market.

2. There was an intention to reduce employment in the state sector and to lower the level of government spending by cutting back outlays on social needs,⁵ including appropriations for education, social insurance, etc.

But the line taken by the social-democrat and liberal government met with resistance from the working people. It proved to be impossible to wipe out all the gains of the class struggle, the gains of broad masses of people, as enacted in legislation. That is why there was a graduated drive against the working people's rights, through curbs on spending under various items of the budget.

Let us note that the "stabilization" policy did not help to reduce the state debt. It is impossible, for instance, to abolish — without a breach of constitutional laws — payments from the state budget to the social insurance funds. That is why the spread of unemployment tends almost automatically to increase the state debt and to tighten up the budget, something that is also compounded by the dwindling tax rev-

enues in crisis periods. The authorities' references to the "state debt ceiling" and the need to keep it low are designed to put the people into a frame of mind for accepting cutbacks in budget spending on social needs. Thus, the budget deficit is to be cut from DM33.8 billion in 1981 to DM 26.5 billion in 1982. This is to be done through cutbacks in family benefits and appropriations for the retraining of unemployed, and an increase in the working people's charges for medical services.

Meanwhile, the policy being pursued is designed to lower taxes on private enterprises and higher and middle-bracket incomes, all of which tends to decrease budget revenues. By contrast, the emphasis in "mass" taxation is being switched from direct taxes, which arouse strong resistance from tax-payers⁶ to indirect taxes, in the sphere of consumption. In other words, the tax burden is being shifted onto the shoulders of the working people.

The monetary and credit policy of the Federal Bank and the government is becoming one of the main instruments for effecting "stabilization." Here, the Bank, which has an autonomous status within the system of governmental institutions, has the crucial role to play, for it regulates the money supply and the volume of bank credits. The theorists of the "monetarist" policy, which is the basis for the "stabilization" measures, regard this kind of regulation as the main instrument for exerting an influence on economic development. But this policy has failed to attain the announced goals — stimulation of business activity and restraint of inflation — while the shortage of money in circulation and the high bank-interest rate have hit small business and non-monopoly enterprises.

All these processes have important social consequences. The "stabilization," which is designed to benefit monopoly capital, has given scope to growing right-wing political trends in West German society. It was on the crest of this wave that Franz Josef Strauss ran as the CDU/CSU candidate for the post of Chancellor in 1979-1980. But the specific feature of the situation in the FRG is that whereas in Britain, for instance, such a strategy is being carried out by bourgeois conservative forces, in our country it is being conducted by a coalition of social democrats and liberals. The social democrats' capability of ruling the country depends, primarily, on their ability to involve masses of workers and trade-union organizations in the system of state-monopoly capitalism. This calls for dexterity in reaching social compromises, and it has largely determined the Federal Republic's specific

development, inducing the authorities to display some circumspection in the sphere of social policy. Nevertheless, the results of the "stabilization" have proved to be very grave for the working class.

The slow revival after the crisis downturn testified to a radical change in the economic situation: employment continued to be stagnant, the market outlook remained unstable, and in the final third of 1980 there were fresh signs of overproduction. On the labor market there was clear evidence of a trend to its "Americanization," that is, the emergence of numerous groups being ousted from an active labor life: the low-skilled, the aged, the sick, and the disabled. The declassing and impoverishment of some sections — phenomena which the advocates of capitalism claimed the FRG had overcome — were once again in evidence in old and new forms. Unemployment became massive and chronic.

Among the causes of the slow economic growth in that period, an important role was played by the change in the type of reproduction, which was largely determined by the specific development of modern productive forces. The extensive introduction of new hardware, microprocessors, computers and automation, on the one hand, leads to greater labor efficiency (above all, in manufacturing). But in the existing market conditions, it forces the release of capital, "super-accumulation," which does not help to expand the scale of production or to create new jobs.

On the other hand, changes in the economic sectoral structure tend to aggravate the old disproportions and to create new ones. Of primary importance are the shifts in key sectors of the economy, like the power industry. This also applies to environmental protection. These capital-intensive sectors could absorb virtually the whole of the relative surplus-capital. But that has not happened, because the concerns do not want to be involved in structural transformations requiring major investments and increasing costs. That is why the capitalist state undertakes to cover the costs of research, development and engineering, investment risks, and so on, and this results in the formation of mixed forms of property under which the development of private capitalist enterprise proceeds at the expense of the state. However, the accent here is on the development of private business.⁷

In the key spheres of production, the interests of private capital (banks and industry), various economic and other social alliances and the state (as those in nuclear engineering or coal mining) are closely interlaced, leading to the

formation of state-monopoly complexes.

The private-monopoly variant of economic development involves more active state intervention in spheres like science and technology, and the financing and coordination of the relevant projects.⁸ At the same time, state activity is being cut back in areas like housing construction.⁹

Behind the "social partnership" screen

The implantation of "social partnership" in class relations has been a characteristic feature of the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the FRG in the postwar period.

In conducting its reform policy, the ruling coalition promised the working class to "humanize labor" and produce a new "quality of life." Much importance is attached to public control, economic planning, and information for the working people, i.e., problems affecting the competence of employers. Such demands were made by the trade unions in negotiations with their employers, and partial successes were achieved here as a result of strikes (for instance, by metal workers in Baden-Württemberg or by printers). This policy was slowed down in the 1970s, and it did undergo substantial changes.

A most important purpose of state-monopoly regulation of the economy was to freeze the wages by means of official cooperation among "social groups" within the framework of so-called "concerted action." However, during the crisis and immediately after it, the decisions hammered out within the framework of "concerted action" became impediments for the entrepreneurs and in their old form these practices were stopped. Employers were no longer satisfied with the existing "social partnership" system. Having switched to the "stabilization policy," the ruling circles began to put ever greater emphasis on the disciplinary effect of the market forces (unemployment) and political pressure and repression (lockouts, "job bans" for "radicals," i.e., primarily the communists and socialists).

These factors, like the emergence in the second half of the 1970s of new problems, generated not only by the crisis, but also by the capitalist application of advanced hardware and technology (which changed the conditions in production and had an effect on employment, and also on the duration of the labor of workers and employees), naturally had an effect on the development of the class struggle.

The policy of confrontation with the trade unions pursued by the employers led to a weakening of the positions of that trade-union wing which advocated "social partnership,"

and helped to invigorate the activity of the forces standing up for the union's class independence. That is why, in the late 1970s, the associations of entrepreneurs somewhat modified their line and returned, within a definite framework, to the "social partnership" practice, but on a lower level. The ruling circles had apparently become aware of the advantages to be gained by FRG imperialism from the social "accord" system, which made it possible to reduce the number of strikes. That is what determined the positions of the associations of entrepreneurs, which in the main supported the ruling coalition in the 1980 Bundestag elections. Monopoly capital's leading spokesmen decided that some inclusion of the working class within the existing system — however formal — was preferable to direct confrontation with it, and that the capability of the social-liberal coalition to influence the trade unions was more in line with their interests than any possible line to be pursued by a conservative right-wing government headed by F.J. Strauss.

The sharpening symptoms of the overproduction crisis which appeared in the FRG in late 1980 and early 1981 have left their imprint on the social-economic situation in the country. The deepening of the crisis leads to a growth of massive unemployment and mounting pressure on wages and social policy. The balance-of-payments deficit and the temporary depreciation of the West German mark indicate that there are limits to the strategy of external economic expansion. The government seeks to extend it by toughening up its economic policy at home, but this entails considerable difficulties in view of the sharpening of class contradictions.

What has been said suggests a number of conclusions. Whereas in 1973-1974, the swing in the development of West German state-monopoly capitalism (the accent on encouraging private monopoly activity and orientation toward "market economy" instruments) may have still appeared to be a specific phenomenon arising from the FRG's special position, it is now quite obvious that those were processes largely characteristic of the other capitalist countries as well, say, Britain and the United States. But our country is peculiar in that the change of course was effected under one and the same government coalition, within the framework of the same arrangement of political forces.

The government's capability of reaching a "consensus," to act as a mediator and to subordinate the working people's interests to those of the monopoly bourgeoisie largely depends on its financial potentialities. However, the

"stabilization" strategy tends to narrow down its field of maneuver. Subsidies to the monopolies and increases in military expenditures go to deepen the financial crisis and force the authorities to make further cutbacks in appropriations for social needs, something that worsens the condition of broad masses of people.

The deepening concentration, centralization and monopolization of production is a process which leads to the ousting of non-monopoly enterprise and the middle strata, to a polarization of social forces, and to a clash between the interests of the majority of the population, on the one hand, and of the monopoly bourgeoisie, on the other, although in the FRG these processes have yet to be given a clear-cut political expression.

The measures being taken by the ruling circles to tighten up internal "security" signify a growth of the state's repression function and suppression of any opposition movements. There is a revival of authoritarian and reactionary trends which are not strong enough, however, to put the CDU/CSU in power.

Although things have not come to the point at which the established "social partnership" system is about to collapse it has been markedly subjected to erosion. The trade unions' militant spirit has grown in some important sectors of the economy, while the strikes staged in that period have shown the increasing potential of the working people's struggle.

The new social movements which take a critical attitude to the system, even while frequently lacking any clear-cut program and not being connected with the working class, will be of much importance for the prospects of the class battles in the FRG. There are, for instance, the various civic initiative groups demanding environmental protection, improvement of housing conditions, better operation of transport, etc. Recent developments also show that the movement against the build-up of armaments and militarization could become a factor working for the unification of the democratic and objectively anti-monopoly forces in the FRG. Should these movements tie in their goals with the social and economic problems of the working class, of the masses, this could help to extend and deepen the struggle against the system of state-monopoly capitalism and some of its gravest consequences, and to put on the agenda the question of changing the policy which has been pursued up to now.

The situation in the FRG in the early 1980s makes for the complexity of working-class

problems. With growing signs of an over-production crisis, with chronic unemployment, which has already involved more than one million people, there is a need for concerted efforts by trade unions and working people's political organizations. That is the only way to prevent a sharp drop in employment, a reduction of real wages and cutbacks in appropriations for social needs, and a spread among the masses — especially among young people — of the mood of despair which helps to create the breeding ground for anti-democratic, neo-fascist or authoritarian movements. Success in the struggle to defend the working people's vital rights and interests will depend on how effective these efforts are.

1. The term used in the FRG to denote the Gross National Product.

2. The prices of manufactured goods grew as follows: 1970 — 5.1 per cent, 1973 — 6.6 per cent, 1974 — 13.4 per cent (following the increase in oil prices), 1975 — 4.7 per cent, 1976 — 3.9 per cent, 1978 — about 1 per cent, and 1980 — 7.3 per cent. These and other statistical data (end of 1980) were the latest the authors had at their disposal. — Ed.

3. Its export surplus in 1970 came to DM22.4 billion, in 1973 to DM40.7 billion, in 1974 to DM58.7 billion, in 1975 to DM44.5 billion, and in 1977 to DM45.9 billion. Its foreign exchange reserves went up from DM55 billion in 1971 to DM86.3 billion in 1973. Owing to the new oil prices, they dropped to DM69.6 billion in 1974, but went up again to DM81.2 billion in 1978.

4. In 1973, net wages in the national income accounted for 43.1 per cent, and in 1976 and 1977, for only 41 per cent. Since then, the figure has been steadily declining.

5. The share of social services in the Gross Social Product went down from 32.1 per cent in 1975 to 30.5 per cent in 1979 (in 1979, 1 per cent of the GSP was worth DM14 billion).

6. A skilled average-wage earner had to make the following tax deductions (an income tax and a social insurance contribution): 1960 — 24.3 per cent, 1970 — 28.5 per cent, 1975 — 33.4 per cent and 1979 — 34.4 per cent.

7. A characteristic example is provided by the inglorious collapse of the scheme to set up a national oil concern (1975), which originated in response to the oil crisis. The government has not only abandoned the idea, but has even sold off the government holdings in the various important spheres of energy supply on the plea that private oil concerns would do a better job in supplying the country with sources of energy.

8. Government outlays on research and development went up from DM21 billion in 1974 to DM27.5 billion in 1979.

9. While the old urban centers, buildings and monuments have been renewed and restored, hundreds of thousands of young families are now homeless. In 1978, only 90,200 flats were built within the framework of public housing construction, and this is the lowest figure for the whole of the postwar period, and only half as large as it was 10 years before.

Acts of foolhardiness

THE POLISH PEOPLE REJECT IMPERIALIST "LECTURING"

At the close of last year the U.S. President let loose a strident anti-Polish campaign. To "punish" Poland he proclaimed a series of discriminatory measures such as a halt to food supplies, an embargo on credits, the closure of U.S. airports to Polish civilian aircraft, and the annulment of the fishing quota in the 200-mile offshore waters of the USA.

Washington gave frenzy full rein.

At the outset, the foolhardiness of these acts caused no little surprise. "In the long run we have been embarrassed so many times," responded Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Federal Chancellor, "that this time we could have been on our guard."¹ The Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun* commented that the "sanctions" would have "no more effect than a dog barking in the distance."² Many sober-minded political and business leaders of the NATO countries preferred to dissociate themselves from the antics of the U.S. President. All the more eloquent than were subsequent developments that demonstrated how fragile the notorious independence of judgment is in the capitalist world when the "big policy" stick comes into play.

The USA brought undisguised pressure to bear on its West European partners, peremptorily showing them their proper place in the wash of its policies. President Reagan personally brainwashed the FRG Chancellor, while U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig went to Europe to pump his West European counterparts. Within days the tone, initially uncomplimentary to the USA, underwent a 180-degree change. A NATO foreign ministers' conference brought forth a statement preaching how Poland should act in its own home and threatening punishment if it disobeyed. Then followed a string of speeches demanding a debate of the "Polish question" at the Madrid meeting of representatives of the countries that had participated in the Conference on European Security and thereby a magnification of the issue to global dimensions. Lastly, the U.S. President proclaimed January 30 "a day of solidarity with the Polish people" featuring a TV spectacle villifying Poland. Actors were drawn in from the NATO troupe with Haig as the producer and U.S. ambassadors conducting the rehearsals.

In short, relative to its allies, the USA's new fit of a "positions of strength" policy unquestionably yielded results. Of course, the loud-mouthed speeches in support of the U.S. posture were still a far cry from signifying wholehearted West European approval of this posture: the contradictions between the West Europeans and the USA remain, as does their desire for economic relations with socialist countries. Nevertheless, by demonstrating their obedience, the USA's NATO allies gave the world another opportunity to see that where capital rules, the "policy of strength" continues to play the decisive role.

But only there, nowhere else.

Let nobody harbor the illusion that one can speak to a socialist country in the language of blackmail and threats.

The Polish people, government, and communists, the patriots of our free socialist country emphatically denounce the police manners of the U.S. politicians and of their partners and flunkies. Sovereign Poland's internal and foreign policy is made in Warsaw and nowhere else, neither in Washington, nor in Brussels, nor in any other capital in the world.

We have no two opinions about the actions taken by imperialism. In January General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation and head of government, told the Polish Sejm: "The attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland are in contravention of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. We will not permit ourselves to be judged by any self-appointed tribunal."³ "The anti-Polish campaign unleashed by the USA and the other NATO countries," says a statement issued by the Polish Press Agency, "as well as the so-called financial-economic sanctions are directed against Poland's national interests, against Polish society." The calculations linked to them, the statement declares, "will not help to achieve the aims pursued by NATO, but they will remain in the memory of the Polish people as a particularly striking display of ill will."⁴

Polish public opinion was outraged by the uncereceremonious methods of interference used by the White House. Polish newspapers wrote that Reagan's policy toward Poland is unworthy of a world power.

The indignation and protests of the Poles are all the greater because for its part the Polish

People's Republic had given no cause for discrimination of this sort. It did not depart one iota from its international commitments following the introduction of emergency measures to ensure internal stabilization. This was stated officially by the nation's leaders. The Sejm reiterated the immutability of the principles of Poland's foreign policy, whose aim is to consolidate world peace and promote all-sided cooperation, mutual understanding, and the drawing together of nations.

Then what is it all about?

One need not go far for an answer. The direction which Poland's internal development followed after December 13, 1981, was not to the taste of imperialism's spokesmen.

As everybody knows, the proclamation of martial law was dictated by *internal reasons*. Also as everybody knows, it was invoked *exclusively by internal forces*. Lastly, the emergency measures were taken in accordance with the nation's *internal legislation*, on the basis of the Polish constitution. They were forced and necessary because they alone could halt the tide of destruction and anarchy that was inundating the economy, shaking the state structure, and leading to a growth of crime. Attempts to take advantage of these negative processes were made by anti-socialist forces, who, with open support from foreign reactionary circles, were bent on overthrowing the lawful government and restoring the bourgeois system in Poland. Any unbiased examination of the documents prepared in the various counter-revolutionary headquarters⁵ will show how real that danger was, how the plans for an armed rising were laid and assault forces were formed, and how the physical extermination of the communists was contemplated. The introduction of emergency measures saved the nation from a devastating civil war at virtually the eleventh hour.

This act of salvation was what drove the patrons of the Polish counter-revolution out of their wits. They refused to believe their eyes and ears. How else does one explain the short but eloquent pause between December 13 and the day the Americans announced their sanctions? With bated breath they waited for bloodshed to break out in Poland. They were hoping for it — it was not for nothing that bourgeois propaganda maintained that the anti-socialist forces were the "entire Polish people," who would rise "as one man."

Then the pause ended. What followed? An outburst of hysteria orchestrated by Washington.

We are far from belittling the significance of this act in international relations or seeing it

solely as a case of bad nerves. Policy, even where it is hysterical and ultra-reactionary, remains policy. We in the first place, and also our friends and all who cherish common sense and justice in international affairs, cannot close our eyes to the fact that the course steered by the USA and NATO is fraught with innumerable consequences. Nor can the danger of its far-reaching aims be ignored.

In the first place it pursues, of course, the aim of making the process of normalization in Poland as difficult as possible. To the enemies of our people, said General Wojciech Jaruzelski, "it is advantageous for Poland to remain a nation in chaos, an insolvent debtor, a sick organism of the continent."⁶ This is the direct objective of the discriminatory sanctions. At the same time, their purpose is to encourage anti-communism, to continue the efforts to destabilize the socialist system, to shatter relations between countries with different political systems, to stamp out the atmosphere of détente and cooperation on the international scene, and replace this atmosphere with tension, suspicion and confrontation.

Fearing that the "Polish card" may prove to be not enough to achieve these ends, they have thrown on the table a crudely marked "Soviet trump." The USSR is groundlessly charged with responsibility for the developments in Poland, and sanctions have been taken against it as well. This still further poisons the international situation, undermines what has been achieved in the way of détente, and increases the chances of getting Western Europe to accept new American missiles rather than the gas pipeline from Siberia.

In raising the voltage of international tension and pushing nations toward hostility and another arms race, the USA is intransigently pursuing its strategic aim of achieving nuclear superiority and, with it, the dream of an "American age," of getting into a position of ruling the destinies of nations. Matters have reached a point where the U.S. President himself promised to write off communism as an alien, unnatural phenomenon in the history of mankind. This insolence makes public the simple and sinister fact that today anti-communism and misanthropy are one and the same thing.

However, history knows best what to consign to the waste heap. The new campaign started by the USA and NATO has not made capitalism more attractive to anybody. Socialism continues on its course confidently. Week after week passes after the adoption of the "sanctions" but the policy of threats and

"punishments" does not yield the desired results for its orchestrators. Overcoming the consequences of crisis development and the additional hardships created by their enemies, the Polish people are successfully normalizing life in their own home.

Because their choice — the socialist choice — was made independently and is irrevocable.

Because Poland feels it has the dependable support of friends — the Soviet Union and all the other countries of the socialist community.

Because throughout the world one increasingly hears the voice of the people of good will, who know that the policy of discrimination and

dictation is hopelessly outworn and there is a need for a reasonable alternative, namely, a policy of mutual respect, equality, non-interference in each other's affairs, cooperation, and peace.

Wieslaw Klimczak
PUWP representative on WMR

1. *Arbeiter Zeitung*, January 8, 1982.
2. *Mainichi Shimbun*, January 1, 1982.
3. *Trybuna Ludu*, January 26, 1982.
4. *Trybuna Ludu*, January 15, 1982.
5. The "Od 'Olivii' do Radomia" series of articles begun in *Trybuna Ludu*, December 30, 1981.
6. *Trybuna Ludu*, December 28, 1981.



Different destinies

WOMEN'S CONDITION UNDER THE TWO SYSTEMS

Progressive opinion the world over observes March 8 every year as the day of women's international solidarity in the struggle for equal economic, social and political rights. The character of the social system has a decisive effect on women's condition. The following survey cites some facts showing how their life shapes under capitalism and under socialism. It has been compiled by the journal's Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation.

Declared but not guaranteed

The constitutions of most capitalist countries include articles containing positive declarations. "All people shall be equal before the law," says the constitution of Federal Germany. "Men and women shall have equal rights. No one may be caused damage or given preference on account of sex, origin, race . . ." "All citizens have identical social dignity and shall be equal before the law without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political convictions, personal or social standing," says the Italian constitution. The preamble to the French constitution declares men and women to be equal. There is a law stipulating that collective agreements shall include a provision assuring

equal pay. Similar provisions can be found in the constitutions of many other capitalist states but not in all. The U.S. constitution does not even declare women's equality. Repeated attempts to introduce an amendment to the constitution granting men and women equal rights have proved fruitless for many years now.*

However, it is admittedly one thing to declare a principle and another to guarantee its application. Bourgeois declarations about equal rights for men and women are far from corresponding to reality. There is direct discrimination against women in capitalist society. It is most marked in labor, the decisive sphere of life. In the United States, women's wages are 40 per cent lower on the average than men's, according to official statistics. In France and Federal Germany the difference is 30 per cent. In Canada women get only 61 per cent of what is paid to men for the same work, in Japan 56.2 per cent on the average and in Britain 55 per cent.

Bourgeois ideologists attribute this inequality to the lower skills of women. Indeed, many

*In 1972 the U.S. Congress approved an amendment to the constitution granting women equal rights. But the amendment has not become law as yet because the legislative assemblies of certain states of the Union are against its ratification. At least 38 states must accept it by June 30, 1982 if it is to become effective.

women in West European countries, the United States, Canada and Japan hold unskilled jobs or jobs requiring little skill. But why? One reason is the low standard of their general education and vocational training. Capitalist schools still insist on girls choosing so-called traditional professions, or a sphere in which it is now hard for them to find work. In Federal Germany this situation explains the fact that three-fourths of school leavers have a choice of only 16 professions out of 500.

In France, only 39 per cent of working women have received a specialized education; in Federal Germany their proportion is 38 per cent, in the Netherlands 25 per cent, in Belgium 20 per cent and in Italy 12 per cent. In Switzerland half of women have had no vocational training at all. And here is a further tell-tale figure: of the women living in the non-socialist part of the world, 500 million are illiterate. ILO statistics for 1978 indicate that there are very few women engineers in some capitalist countries: 4.7 per cent in Austria, 1.2 per cent in Britain, 4.4 per cent in Denmark, 2.5 per cent in Norway, 0.33 per cent in Canada, 1.3 per cent in the United States, 6.7 per cent in France and 2.5 per cent in West Germany.

The blame for this state of affairs must be borne entirely by the capitalist system, which cannot provide conditions for women to receive vocational training and to acquire skills meeting modern exigencies. But even women who are as skilled as men earn less. The income of American women graduates of universities and colleges averages 65 per cent of men's, nor does this gap tend to close. In France, women engineers are paid 22.4 per cent less than men.

Pay discrimination against women brings extra profit to monopolies. In the United States this profit amounts to \$63 billion a year, according to some sources. In Britain it adds up to 1.2 billion pounds. In Federal Germany underpaid female labor enables the employers to pocket an extra 10 billion marks. The situation is much the same in other capitalist countries.

Discrimination against women also expresses itself in their being last hired and first fired. Unemployment among women is particularly great in the capitalist world. There are fewer working women in the EEC countries than men, and yet the number of women looking for work in 1980 was close to three million, or half of the total number of jobless persons. These statistics do not include women who are employed partially. Yet their proportion is growing. In Western Europe 8 million of the 9.2 million part-time job holders in 1980 were women.

One of the reasons for women's partial

employment is the low capacity or lack (as in the USA) of pre-school institutions. In Britain only one per cent of working mothers have an opportunity to put their children in a nursery school and in Austria only two per cent of children between two and three years of age get access to creches. Besides, fees are so high in some countries that many mothers prefer to renounce employment because they would have to give away all of their earnings to put their child in a creche or nursery. Speaking generally, maternity and child protection is one of the weakest points of bourgeois legislation. In Switzerland, women's organizations have been campaigning for years to win working women the right to paid maternity leave. In Britain, the law grants mothers an 18-month leave but then the leave is unpaid and, secondly, the law does not guarantee reinstatement after leave. In Japan women get only 60 per cent of their pay during a 12-week maternity leave. True, a mother is paid a lump sum allowance of 2,000 yen which is supposed to help her put her child in a creche, but with the current level of prices all she can buy with this money is a small silk handkerchief.

These facts reveal women's social-economic inequality in capitalist society. There is also outspoken political discrimination, which finds expression in the very small proportion of women in parliaments. In the United States, the past quarter of a century has never seen the number of Congresswomen exceed four per cent. In Austria's National Council, or parliament, women account for a mere six per cent of the total number of deputies. In the Lower Chamber of the French parliament, women deputies hold only 1.8 per cent of the seats and in other bourgeois parliaments their proportion is as follows: 3.5 per cent in Ireland, 3.8 per cent in Italy, 4.3 per cent in Britain, 5.8 per cent in Federal Germany and 6.1 per cent in Belgium. This is what women's constitutional "equality" turns out to be under bourgeois democracy.

Declared and guaranteed

The situation is fundamentally different in the socialist countries, where women have every opportunity to combine socially useful work with family duties.

Immediately after the victory of the October Revolution, the worker-peasant state granted women equal political and civil rights with men. "Soviet power," Lenin wrote, "has implemented democracy to a greater degree than any of the other, most advanced countries because it has not left in its laws any trace of the inequality of women" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 42).

The very first Soviet constitution, adopted in July 1918, declared the equality of men and women in every political, economic, cultural and social sphere. Care of women became state policy and a moral law of socialist society. "Women and men shall have equal rights in the USSR," says Article 35 of the Soviet constitution adopted on October 7, 1977. The constitutions of other socialist countries contain similar provisions. Under the constitution of the GDR, men and women enjoy equal rights and an identical legal status in every sphere of public, state, as well as private life (Article 20).

In socialist countries, the right to work is not only declared but guaranteed socially, economically and legally. Women's participation in socially organized labor is exemplified by the following figures: 87.6 per cent of all able-bodied women in the GDR and 93.6 per cent in the Soviet Union are employed; 51.5 per cent of Soviet job-holders are women. Among specialists who have received a secondary or higher education, the proportion of women is as follows: 59 per cent in the Soviet Union, 51 per cent in Bulgaria and 47 per cent in the GDR. Whereas women make up about 2 per cent of U.S. engineers and 9 per cent of scientists, in the Soviet Union they account for 40 and 45 per cent respectively.

The proportion of highly skilled female workers is steadily increasing in socialist countries. In the Soviet Union, women account for

40 per cent of machine operators and motor mechanics in charge of automatic equipment. One in two skilled workers in the GDR is a woman. Women form a large contingent of economic executives. In the Soviet Union there are over 500,000 women managers of enterprises, heads of office, managers of agricultural entities, shop superintendents, heads of construction projects, and so on. In the GDR 40 per cent of leading personnel at all levels are women. In some socialist countries women make up the majority of teachers and medical personnel, including doctors. On the other hand, labor legislation prohibits the employment of women on laborious or unhealthy jobs. In Hungary the list of jobs of this nature comprises nearly 200 items.

Much attention is given in socialist countries to maternity and child protection. During pregnancy, expectant mothers in the Soviet Union are assigned easier work without pay cuts. Fully paid maternity leaves, grants to large families, longer paid leave to look after sick children, an expanding network of creches and nurseries, extended-day groups at schools and free medical aid are all standards of the socialist state's attitude to maternity and the education of children. Soviet creches and nurseries have accommodations for more than 15 million children and by 1985 their capacity is to exceed 17 million. What is more, over four-fifths of the expenses, or roughly 500 rubles a year per child, are paid by the state and only 18 per cent is charged to the parents. As for children from large families, they are maintained in pre-school institutions at state expense.

The situation in other socialist community countries is comparable. Creches and nurseries there accommodate 50 per cent to 80 per cent of children between one and six years of age and their number is growing.

Socialism and socialist democracy guarantee women real and not nominal political and social equality. One of the numerous indications of this is women's presence in the central elected bodies of socialist countries. In Bulgaria, women constitute 19 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly and in Mongolia, 23 per cent of the deputies to the Great People's Khural. In the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or the highest organ of state power, 32 per cent of the deputies are women. In the GDR one in three deputies is a woman.

These facts illustrate women's social condition under the two systems. They indicate where the state and entire society see to it that women enjoy equal rights with men and where the equality of sexes is a mere phrase.

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How an aggressive bloc works

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is central to the entire system of imperialist military and political alliances. That is an accepted fact. Imperialism's increasingly aggressive policy and the build-up of war preparations are seen in, among other things, the activities of that bloc, a tool of U.S. militarist quarters. The following article reviews NATO's military and political mechanism.

Established in the late 1940s, at the height of the cold war, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization today comprises 15 nations with a total of over 22 million square kilometers and over 550 million people.* Over the years, NATO has acquired quite a ramified system of agencies, and its member-countries have been entangled in a heavy web of political, military, military-economic and other commitments. Today, the bloc's structure is as follows.

The *North Atlantic Council* is the highest political body. It is convened, as a rule, at the foreign ministers' level, with defense, finance and economics ministers participating; on occasions of particular importance it works at the level of heads of government and even of state. Its decisions take the form of recommendations to the governments of the member-countries. Between NATO Council sessions, the member-countries' permanent representatives holding the rank of ambassador are in charge.

The highest body dealing with military-political and general military matters is the *Defense Planning Committee*, consisting of the defense ministers of the member-countries, except France, which has withdrawn from NATO's military organization, and Iceland, which has no armed forces.

The North Atlantic Council and the Defense Planning Committee have subordinate organizations: an *International Secretariat* under a Secretary-General and over 200 standing executive and advisory committees for coordinating the bloc's military-political, military-economic, and propaganda activities.

NATO's highest military body is the *Military Committee*, made up of commanders-in-chief of the armed forces (or chiefs of staff) of 13 member-countries (except France and Iceland).

The NATO forces have two *Supreme Commands*, European and Atlantic, the Channel Command and the Canada-United States Regional Planning Group.

The Supreme Allied Command of Europe is the most important. Deployed practically on the borders of the socialist countries, its forces comprise up to 70 integrated divisions with a total strength of over two million effectives. About 70 per cent of these are directly under the Supreme Allied Commander of Europe, a U.S. general. NATO's European forces are equipped with more than 11,000 tanks, over 3,000 combat planes, over 8,000 nuclear charges, and more than 3,000 delivery vehicles for them. Mobile contingents are an important element in the structure of the Allied Forces in Europe; their task is to support national armies and to police NATO's member states.

The United States controls the process of supplying the Allied Forces with major weapons — strategic offensive armaments and theater nuclear missiles. That gives added weight to the Pentagon within the alliance. The other members are responsible mostly for land troops, the tactical air force, and a part of the naval forces.

Initially, the principle of military integration, in force since the early 1950s, applied to the organization of NATO's armed forces only, but it gradually expanded. Today, the bloc is a highly complex military system spread over a vast territory and having an infrastructure, the NATO Air Defense Ground Environment System, Advanced Warning Airborne Control Systems, etc. The fact that the United States controls the entire military machine and its various components is an important link in the chain that binds NATO members to the Pentagon's aggressive strategy..

In order to tighten its grip on the North Atlantic Alliance, the United States is doing its utmost to further accelerate military integration within the NATO framework. It is viewed as a most important form of military partnership, which ensures effective U.S. pressure on the Allies and creates conditions in which they could be drawn into possible conflicts serving U.S. interests both in Europe and in other re-

*Its members are the USA, Canada, Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey. Recently, the Spanish government decided to join NATO. This touched off a powerful wave of public protest throughout Spain. The protocol admitting this country to NATO was signed by the member-countries at the December 1981 session of the organization and is subject to ratification by the parliaments of the NATO countries.

gions. That is why Washington is trying to project military integration to new spheres (specifically, to the naval forces in the Atlantic and the Eastern Mediterranean). U.S. strategists act on the assumption that if a war is started against the socialist countries, the NATO member-countries' armed forces under national command in peacetime will also be drawn into the hostilities.

The total strength of the NATO member-countries' armed forces is 5,300,000 effectives, of whom three million are in the armies of the bloc's West European members. Further, there is a trained reserve of over 4,800,000. This means that together with this reserve, the NATO war machine is over 10 million strong. Nevertheless, both the short-term and the long-term armed forces development programs, adopted at the 1977 London and 1978 Washington sessions of the North Atlantic Council, envisage a further growth and strengthening of these forces.

The United States widely uses the NATO military-political mechanism to step up the arms race. The thinking behind the current U.S. and NATO policy toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is that there must be a continuous build-up of military capabilities. Symptomatically, the Declaration on Atlantic Relations, signed by the NATO heads of state and government in 1974, said that the development of the allied armed forces *could not be changed* in the course of current or future negotiations with the socialist countries.* In other words, even when détente was becoming increasingly tangible under the impact of the foreign policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, the NATO states were aiming to stiffen confrontation in Europe and, consequently, speed the handwheel of armaments production.

Moreover, one clearly observes a leaning to make the arms race an enduring and ever more long-term process. It is significant that while in the early years of the North Atlantic Alliance its members had adopted three-year and later, five-year rearmament programs, the Washington session of the NATO Council (involving heads of state and government), acting on U.S. initiative and amid strident propaganda about a "Soviet military threat," endorsed in May 1978 a "defense program" for a period of 15 years, i.e., up to 1994. This program envisages over 120 specific projects to give NATO a larger capability in areas such as raising overall combat readiness, movement of

reinforcements, mobilization of reservists, buttressing naval strength, air defense, communications, administration and command, electronic warfare, and logistical support.

To implement these massive war preparations, it was decided, under U.S. pressure, that each member of the bloc would increase the defense appropriations during 1979-1984 by an annual three per cent in real terms (i.e., with adjustments for inflation). Subsequently, the period was extended to 1986.

The NATO countries went on increasing their defense appropriations rapidly even as détente was progressing. From 104 billion dollars in 1970 they went up to about 240 billion in 1980. Over the 1970s the bloc spent a total of more than 1.6 trillion dollars for military purposes. Still, the United States is insisting on a further increase in the military budgets of its allies (up to 4.5 per cent a year in real terms). And, according to General Bernard Rogers, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, these are not "symbolic" figures but specific obligations. For its part, the U.S. administration has announced that in the next five years it will have to raise its military appropriations annual growth rate by almost 7 per cent in real terms.

The USA widely uses the NATO military-political mechanism to implement its nuclear policy and strategy. The relevant agencies were set up as early as the mid-1960s: the Nuclear Defense Affairs Committee composed of the defense ministers of 12 countries (except France, Iceland and Luxembourg) and, within the framework of the committee, the Nuclear Planning Group which draws up the bloc's policy concerning nuclear weapons and elaborates the general principles of their use.

Since its inception, the group has adopted several very dangerous decisions, especially the decision to lower NATO's nuclear threshold in Europe, in other words, to give the green light for the first use of tactical nuclear weapons against the Warsaw Treaty countries. Simultaneously, the decision-making procedure for the use of these weapons was simplified. Now this requires agreement of the countries possessing nuclear ammunition (the United States and Great Britain), the countries where the nuclear weapons are deployed, and the countries from whose territory they would be used. The other members of the bloc are supposed to be consulted "at the earliest opportunity," but they no longer have a veto. These decisions have aggravated the danger of a nuclear conflict. Significantly, NATO peremptorily rejected the Warsaw Treaty Organization's well-known proposal that the nations

*The Department of State Bulletin, July 8, 1974, p. 44.

which attended the European Conference should renounce the first use of nuclear weapons against one another. Further, it should be noted that the USA uses the Nuclear Planning Group not only as a major instrument for coordinating the bloc's policy but also as a channel for getting its strategic concepts through to NATO. These include its "new nuclear strategy," which asserts the possibility of a "limited nuclear war" and nuclear first strikes against military and other targets in the Soviet Union and other countries.

In December 1979, the North Atlantic Council passed its extremely dangerous decision to manufacture and deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Despite the wide-ranging protest movement which this decision triggered in Europe, it was reaffirmed at the Rome session of the North Atlantic Council in May 1981. Simultaneously, the session rejected the proposal advanced at the 26th congress of the CPSU to place a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new nuclear missiles by the NATO countries and by the Soviet Union.

A program of new militarist preparations for 1983-1988 was announced at the Rome session and at meetings of other leading NATO agencies in Brussels, specifically, at a session of the Defense Planning Committee. A special committee was set up to study NATO's manpower requirements. This may become another step toward increasing the numerical strength of NATO armies. The bloc's defense ministers also mapped out major "guidelines" of long-term military planning, including the development of new weapons systems. The Rome and Brussels sessions were further proof of the trend toward asserting the "right" of the USA and NATO to interfere in the affairs of nations outside the bloc's geographical area if what are designated as the "vital interests" of

the imperialist countries are threatened.

All this is a continuation of other actions that have long ago revealed NATO's aggressive, militarist nature. Throughout its history the U.S.-controlled North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been a factor fostering international tensions and the arms race. The bloc's military-political mechanism also reflects that role. And it is necessary to know this. For the task, formulated by Lenin, of revealing to the masses that "war is hatched in the greatest secrecy," has in effect grown into the task of revealing to the masses the "secrecy" in which the threat to the existence of the peoples originates (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 447). It springs from the concrete plans and scenarios being painstakingly elaborated in the general staffs of the NATO powers for delivering a preventive strike that could supposedly pre-empt a retaliatory strike. Life shows that the bosses of the military-industrial complex and their representatives in the U.S. administration refuse to reckon with the people's will for peace. They refuse to notice the mammoth anti-war movement, the thousands of rallies and meetings, resolutions and appeals, and other expressions of public opinion. Intoxicated with the power they have laid their hands on, and putting their stake on force, on weapons designed to annihilate human beings, they are not conscious of their responsibility for this sinister line.

That is why these war-mongers should be made to understand that they bear stern responsibility for the calamities which threaten mankind. The time has passed when the powers that be, whether emperors, presidents, chancellors or *führers*, used to start wars and doom millions of people to destruction, while themselves getting away scot-free. A resolute reminder of this should be given to the demons of war in the contemporary world.

Boris Halosha

The Pentagon reaches out into space

THE PRESS

A resolution calling for a treaty banning the stationing of any type of weapon in outer space was passed by an overwhelming majority of votes in the UN General Assembly's First Committee at the close of last year. The draft of this document was submitted by the Soviet Union.

A noteworthy fact is that the USA and some of its allies abstained from voting on this important proposal. They thereby reiterated their obvious lack of interest in working out depend-

able legal guarantees against turning outer space into a theater of the arms race and a source aggravating relations between nations.

What motivates this attitude? Evidently the fact that with the consent of its NATO partners, the USA is going forward with a military-space program, which it has no intention of abandoning.

French evidence of this was the second flight of the spaceship *Columbia* while the General Assembly was in session. In their comments on this launching, U.S. newspapers and journals

drew attention to its scientific and technical aspects, to the malfunctions that made it necessary to cut the flight short. However, no convincing explanation is given of why the development of this costly shuttle is to be continued while most of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration's projects have come under the axe of the Reagan's administration's budget cuts. Only a few publications (one of them was the weekly *Time*) named the Pentagon as the secret agency that averted the danger from the space shuttle program.

Before the *Columbia* was launched, much was openly written about the military edge of this program. The vow of silence that many newspapers and journals surprisingly undertook bespeaks a desire to diminish the effect of an "undesirable comparison" between the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and the USA's bellicose preparations in outer space. In this context it would evidently be worth recalling some facts that the bourgeois press wrote of before, but has now "forgotten."

According to information published by *Business Week* before the first launching of *Columbia*, at least half of the payload taken into outer space by shuttles was to be of a military nature. The *Journal of Commerce* reported that of the 68 planned launchings of shuttles, at least one-third would be in fulfillment of assignments from the War Department. Under pressure from the Pentagon, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times* noted, the volume of the spaceship's compartments was enlarged to enable them to carry bigger military hardware.

These are only some of the facts. When fuel batteries broke down and the second flight of *Columbia* had to be terminated, scientific and technical experiments were sacrificed. On the Pentagon's insistence, the tasks of astronauts Joe Engle and Richard Truly, the *U.S. News and World Report* write, were reduced chiefly to testing the 50-foot "mechanical arm," in other words, the distance manipulator for placing various, including military, devices in orbit.

What functions, according to the Pentagon, should space shuttles perform? Transport and intelligence, in the first place. Nearly 100 U.S. military vehicles, chiefly spy satellites, are currently hurtling through outer space. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Chicago Tribune*, the Pentagon plans to use shuttles, within the next decade, to double the number of these military vehicles and have military orbiting stations with permanent crews of between 10 to 14 persons monitoring outer space and the surface of the earth. Moreover, shuttles could be used to "inspect" space

devices belonging to other countries, to displace them from their orbits or destroy them.

Circles linked to the military-industrial complex are, in addition, examining the possibility of using these spaceships to carry weapons of mass destruction into circumterrestrial space. To judge from data carried by the weekly *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, the Pentagon has not relinquished its hopes of getting space-based nuclear systems: according to a plan leaked to the media, 125 updated Minutemen-2 intercontinental missiles with nuclear warheads are to be deployed in orbits 200 miles above the surface of the earth.

In parallel, large-scale preparations are under way for the possible combat use of space shuttles. *Aviation Week and Space Technology* writes that these spaceships are regarded as crucial to the program for deploying laser weapons, whose development is being pushed at the Los Alamos (New Mexico) and Lawrence Livermore (California) laboratories. The Reagan administration, writes the *Boston Globe*, is prepared to allocate the money needed to give the USA the edge in space-based laser weapons. The media are forecasting that the approved systems will be launched into orbit around the earth by means of space shuttles as early as at the close of the current or in the middle of the next decade.

The view is stated that space shuttles may become carriers of laser weapons. The reality of this prospect is supported by facts. In the first *Columbia* launching John Young, a veteran of space flights in the first Gemini spaceships, was accompanied by Robert Crippen, whom Associated Press called a member of a new profession, a military astronaut. He tested the laser targetting device. The laser itself is to be tested during the fourth flight of the shuttle. Further, it is reported that the shuttle could be used to carry nuclear weapons, in other words, that it could be used as a space bomber.

In preparing to give effect to its sinister plans, the Pentagon is gradually taking over the space shuttle program. The Air Force Department, writes *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, now has its own space agency. According to *The New York Times*, the Defense Department is setting up a military-space center at the Vandenberg air base for the launching of shuttles. It is to be completed by 1984, i.e., when the last of the four planned shuttles is to come off the assembly line. Lastly, Associated Press reports that the Peterson air base in Colorado is to have a center for the direction of all military operations in outer space. In other words, the Pentagon strategists plan to have all the material prerequisites for the massive militarization

of outer space in readiness by the mid-1980s.

With its plans the U.S. military is already today transgressing international law and acting in contravention of the USA's commitments. The Treaty Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space (1967) and the Agreement on the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (1979) prohibit the use of celestial bodies for military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any types of weapons, and military exercises. Moreover, the 1967 treaty forbids the launching into orbit around the earth or the stationing in outer space by other means of any systems with nuclear weapons or other types of weapons of mass destruction. Lastly, under the Treaty on Limiting Anti-Missile Defense Systems, the USA, like the Soviet Union, pledged not to develop, test or deploy such systems or their components in outer space.

While giving the arms race a new, space dimension and flouting the legal principles formulated by the community of nations, the USA seeks to give the impression that its actions are a forced measure to prevent lagging behind the USSR in this area.

There neither is nor can be evidence in support of such a "lag," for having opened the

space era a quarter of a century ago with the launching of the first man-made earth satellite, the Soviet Union is doing everything to prevent outer space from becoming an arena of an arms race and confrontation. As early as 1958 it proposed, in the UN, banning the use of outer space for military purposes. Measures to limit military activity in outer space were also outlined in the Soviet draft for a treaty on general and complete disarmament (1962). Under pressure from the USA and other imperialist powers, these vital international documents were not adopted. However, the partial nuclear test ban treaty (1963), signed on the initiative and through the efforts of the USSR, did not permit military circles to turn outer space into a proving ground. The Soviet Union played a major role in the drawing up and signing of the 1967 treaty and initiated the agreement on the moon in the United Nations. A treaty banning the stationing of any type of weapon in outer space would be a continuation of this fundamental line.

It is not hard to see how terribly humankind will be threatened if outer space is turned into a theater of the arms race and military conflicts. The prohibition of the stationing of any weapons in outer space is an imperative of our day.

Walter Young

Is it possible to "sit out" a nuclear strike in a bunker?

To the Editors,

Ever more frequent efforts have been made in Western Europe lately to convince people that it is possible to survive a nuclear war. All one needs to do, it is claimed, is to get oneself a good shelter, to stock up enough food and to sit out the terrible minutes, days and even months, so as to "start a new life" later on. Samuel Cohen, the notorious "father of the neutron bomb," has flatly declared in a television interview for Europeans that while war rages on the surface, people could calmly sit it out in underground shelters. And it won't take a lot of money to do so: only about \$100 per head . . . I don't know how much truth there is in all this, but I have heard that such shelters are already being built in the United States.

Can you help sort this out? But, please, do not tell me the story of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These two cities have, after all, survived, although their losses were very heavy.

A.S.
Norway

Very well, let us not recall Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Let us not do so, despite the fact that in those two cities 300,000 people were killed by only two nuclear bombs (weak and imperfect, by present standards) and will always be a reminder to humankind of the horrors held in store for it by a nuclear holocaust. Assuming even that such a war will be a "limited" one, as the administration of Norway's ally in NATO loves to put it.

No, we shall not speak of these first two nuclear blasts. Let us consider a different set of facts, as reported in eye-witness accounts.

Twenty-eight years ago, on the night of March 1, 1954, a remarkable rain fell on the tiny Pacific island of Rongelap, which lies over a hundred kilometers east of the well-known Bikini Atoll. From the clouds above did not fall drops of water but a strange kind of yellowish-white dust which looked more like a drizzle of snow. When the inhabitants of the islet woke up the following morning, everything around was covered with that strange dust.

At first no one was alarmed over the unusual happening. The dust looked like the anti-insect powder the Americans had used there during the war and after. But within just a few hours, terrible things began to happen in Rongelap. The children were the first to feel the ill effects. They got headaches and their skin was covered with a gray rash which caused them to scratch till the blood ran. By nightfall, the adults also developed symptoms of illness: diarrhoea, vomiting, splitting headaches, and bubbles on their skin. The household animals were equally affected. By the evening of the following day, all of the pigs and goats had died, while the people, in accordance with an ancestral tradition, lay down in their huts to wait for the hour of death.

What was it that had hit the inhabitants of Rongelap? What was the cause of that strange disease?

To answer these questions, one has to go back more than three decades. It all began in the mid-1940s, when the U.S. Congress appropriated more billions of dollars for improving weapons — despite the fact that the war had ended. The arms industry and research laboratories, having been given a strong financial injection, stepped up their development of new nuclear weapons, but there was no place to test them. The generals and scientists involved in the project already had some notion of the dangerous effects of penetrating radiation. Let us recall that soon after the war, U.S. hospitals were set up in Nagasaki and Hiroshima. U.S. specialists were not only — and not so much — engaged in helping the victims, as in studying the effects of nuclear blast on the human organism. That is why in this case the tests were to be staged on more distant territories: the atolls of Eniwetok and Bikini, two chains of small islands known to seamen as a Pacific paradise.

The U.S. military authorities were not too worried about the fact that the islands were inhabited. The several hundred native inhabitants were herded on ships and taken to a neighboring archipelago where, incidentally, next to nothing was done to provide conditions for their existence.

From then on, nuclear blasts began to mushroom regularly over Eniwetok and Bikini. The tests went on for over 10 years. It is no oversight at all that present-day marine maps no longer show two of the then existing islands of the Eniwetok chain and three of the Bikini chain: they were simply wiped off the face of the earth by the powerful bomb blasts.

Let us now return to the events which occurred on Rongelap. On March 1, 1954, a nuclear

bomb code-named "Bravo" and many times more powerful than the first nuclear device exploded over the Nevada desert was exploded over Bikini. It was equivalent to about 15 megatons of trotyl and left a crater 2.5 kilometers wide. The nuclear mushroom rose to a height of 45 kilometers. Ten thousand square kilometers of territory was instantly hit by penetrating radiation. That is exactly how it was all planned. After all, it was supposed to be a "conventional nuclear test." But this time, the weather played havoc with the schemes of the "researchers." Within a few minutes of the blast, the north wind gave way to an east wind, and this was duly noted on the weather maps. That is all. They simply ignored the fact that a radioactive cloud would sail over Rongelap. After all, was it worth worrying about some tiny island?

That was the beginning of the Rongelap tragedy, which continues to this very day. When an American ship sailed into the Rongelap lagoon 36 hours after the blast, the inhabitants of the island were already down with all the symptoms of a grave case of radiation disease. Of course, they were at once evacuated. They were not allowed to take anything along with them. For a start, the victims were given five thorough baths, but to no avail. The headaches, diarrhoea and vomiting continued. Their skin peeled off, leaving the raw flesh exposed. The doctors then got down to treating them in all earnest. Was that an expression of humanism? For the doctors there it perhaps was, but in broader terms — hardly. Had humanism been a part of the researchers' make-up, it would not have allowed them to forget about the dangers that the sudden change of wind direction meant to the inhabitants of the tiny island. It is more logical to assume that they simply continued their experiment. It was a windfall for the "researchers" in the form of dozens of two-legged "guinea pigs." Why miss the chance?

The inhabitants of Rongelap were under medical supervision for 10 years. Many had died. Those who survived had offspring — some of the babies were still-born. Within 10 years, the specialists decided that the island was once again "fit to live on." The inhabitants of Rongelap and their children, those who had survived and those born in exile, were sent home.

However, there was nothing good in store for them on the island either. The people continued to die. Even a decade later, the yellowish-grey dust which had fallen from the sky continued to cause malignant growths and leukemia. Most of the islanders had to have

their thyroid completely or partially removed, because it tended to accumulate radioactive iodine. Let us bear in mind that Rongelap had never been a target of nuclear bombing. It had merely been side-swiped by a cloud of radioactive dust.

Not only rain but bombs fell on Eniwetok and Bikini: 23 on Bikini and 43 on Eniwetok. No wonder then that up until 1980, U.S. military and civilian specialists had to land on some of the islands of that chain only with special protective clothing and had to have a medical examination every day. Here, everything was radioactive: the soil, the stones, the stunted trees and grass which grew up after the bombing. Specialists believed that the only way to return life to the islands was to remove everything that had undergone radioactive irradiation. The idea was, in particular, to remove even the upper layers of the soil. These operations were started on Bikini in the early 1970s. After that, new trees and other plants were brought to the island, and these took root. It seemed that the islands had once again become the paradise they had once been. But in that paradise lurked all the horrors of the radioactive inferno: when the coco palms and the bread trees bore their first fruit in the mid-1970s, it turned out to be inedible. It was so radioactive, that not only the crop but the trees themselves had to be destroyed at once.

On Eniwetok, where the "recultivation" experiment was staged later, the soil removed was a meter thick. One gets an idea of the scale of the operation from the fact that 25,000 cub.m. of humus, built up over the centuries, was removed from only one Eniwetok island. This most fertile soil, in which a stick would grow into a tree, as the saying goes, was moved to the neighboring island of Runit, where deep craters had been left by 20 nuclear-bomb blasts. These craters were filled with radioactive soil and covered up with a layer of concrete 1.5 meters thick. Runit was declared out of bounds. Scientists estimated that it would be fit to live on in about 125,000 years.

I think that this story contains an answer to your question about whether it is possible to survive a nuclear war by staying down in a bunker. But let us look at a few more details.

According to news-agency reports (I myself am using a Czechoslovak News Agency report), a tide of hysteria is indeed sweeping across the United States, as more and more Americans (now estimated at several millions) are stocking up food and building underground shelters. They are preparing for a nuclear holocaust.

Fortunes are being made on this by the authors of various projects and by businessmen.

And of course, the cost of going underground comes to a lot more than the \$100 mentioned by Samuel Cohen, as you said. Thus, anyone who has \$39,000 can order an underground "flat" with doors that will "withstand a nuclear blast," the firm claims, and a four-year stock of food. Something tantalizing called "Survive Tomorrow, Inc." (La Verkin, Utah) is simultaneously building 240 such shelters. Those who have less money must apply to Storm-master Tornado Shelter in Texas, which offers a concrete shelter with a floor space of 12. sq.m. for only \$3,495. Of course, fancier shelters are available for those who are accustomed to ostentatious living up on top: Survival Homes Corp., Oregon, has now designed 20 types of underground shelters ranging in price from \$100,000 to \$180,000 each.

When you come to think of it, all these dollars are simply being wasted, aren't they? There is no point in considering the fact here that serious scientists doubt very much that the 20-30 cm. thick concrete slabs in such shelters will provide protection from a nuclear explosion. Let us assume that they will. But who is going to "clean up" the soil — by then contaminated with radioactive debris and dust? Who is going to remove it, where, and by what means? Let us recall that 25,000 cub.m. of radioactive soil had to be scraped off a single tiny island. Who is going to provide medical treatment for the people as they emerge on the surface, even after a long stay underground in their bunkers, to find contaminated fields and meadows, contaminated water, contaminated fruits on the trees?

A special bureau of the U.S. Congress once estimated that in the event of a nuclear war, about 80 per cent of the U.S. population would be killed, and the rest hurled back into the Middle Ages. At an international conference held a year ago by "Physicians of the World for Averting a Nuclear War" (attended by more than 100 well-known medical people from 11 countries),¹ the need was stressed to draw a distinction between the immediate and remote consequences of nuclear war. In the first hours, days and weeks after the blast, people are bound to die in large masses under the simultaneous impact of the shock wave, the heat radiation and heavy doses of penetrating radiation. The number of deaths will grow catastrophically as a result of the destruction of buildings, the resultant fires, the disruption of life-support systems, including electric power, communications and transport, and also the destruction and contamination of the water supply and foodstocks. The radioactive fallout from the numerous nuclear blasts will make

extensive areas of the Earth unfit for life and will make it impossible to grow any food over a protracted period.

It is a mistake to think, as the advocates of a "limited" nuclear war suggest, that a nuclear disaster can be contained within the framework of one region or continent. With more than 50,000 nuclear warheads stockpiled in the arsenals, one should reckon with the prospect of hundreds and thousands of bombs being exploded, with a large part of these being very much more powerful than those tested at Bikini and Eniwetok. If a massive nuclear war should break out between the USSR and the United States, the participants in the above-mentioned conference estimated, the population of both countries would probably suffer tremendous losses — more than 200 million people would be killed and over 60 million crippled.² Medical resources would be inadequate to help the victims of the shock wave, the heat radiation and the radioactive irradiation; 80 per cent of the doctors would not survive the tragedy, 80 per cent of the hospital beds would be destroyed, the stocks of blood, antibiotics and drugs would perish or would remain in insignificant quantities. The food and water would be subjected to intensive contamination, and radioactive fallout would be a permanent problem for the survivors. They would suffer from malnutrition, lack of hygiene and an acute shortage of housing. Because of a weakening of

their immunity, they would suffer from diverse infections. All kinds of hereditary diseases caused by damage to the genetic code, cancer, leukemia and other calamities would be the lot of generations.³

That is why the realistic way to ward off the threat of nuclear annihilation is not building shelters or going underground. In this case, hiding one's head in the sand in face of a looming danger will not do as a policy. There is only one way to avert and remove the impending threat, and it is to oppose the nuclear arms race. That is being done in Europe by those who oppose the siting of new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons on the continent. That is also the way chosen by the fighters for peace in Scandinavia, who propose that Nordic Europe should be turned into a nuclear-free zone. That is also advocated by the peace fighters in the United States, Canada and Japan — in fact, throughout the world — to say nothing of the purposeful efforts of the socialist community countries.

I hope that my letter will help you, dear reader, also to choose this way.

Miroslav Pavlik
Czechoslovak journalist

1. For details see WMR, December 1981. — Ed.

2. Ibid.

3. Samuel Cohen says the USA is working on the even more lethal "gamma-bomb": it will take only 100 kg of uranium to spread a "radioactive carpet" from Poland to Portugal and from Denmark to the Alps.

Save the lives of patriots! Demand their release!

AGAINST REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION

In Turkey repression has reached a high point. Thousands of patriots — communists, socialists, and people expounding religious views — have already fallen victim. The most recent outrage is the trial in Istanbul of 52 leaders of the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions (DISK), who are facing the threat of execution.

The indictment framed against the DISK leaders is hundreds of pages long. The junta and its minions in the court describe the DISK-led democratic actions of the working people as a threat to the existing social system. One pack of lies has been piled on another. The military prosecutor Colonel Suleyman Takkeci alleges that DISK is "associated" with the Communist Party. There never have been links of any kind. The communists are committed to the organ-

izational independence of the trade unions. The organizers of this mock trial are out to trample trade-union and democratic freedoms and give the reactionary bourgeois state unlimited power over the working people.

A draconic bill has been submitted to the rubber-stamp Consultative Assembly. The sole motivation of this bill, to quote the "Justice" Minister Cevdet Montes, is that "present punishments are not severe enough to meet the needs of the day." It is directed above all against the outlawed Communist Party.

The repressive machinery is operating in top gear. In the course of the past 16 months the authorities have detained 200,000 persons, of whom 80,000 are still imprisoned. Hundreds have been tortured to death in dungeons. The victims are workers, intellectuals and members of other segments of society. Membership in

the Communist Party is the charge against 230 patriots in Golcuk, 205 in Ankara, and 86 in Adana: all are facing a prison term of up to 20 years. Sentences ranging from one to nine years have been passed on 50 leaders of the Teachers' Union. A growing number of Turkish journalists charged with "disseminating communist propaganda" are being imprisoned. Among them are Tamer Kayas of *Politika*, Candemir Ozler of *Savas Yoly* (Path of Struggle), Erhan Tuskan of *Genclik Dunyasi* (World of Youth), and Berrin Uyar of *Kadinlarin Sesi* (Women's Voice). Thus, summary treatment is meted out in Turkey today to those who speak up for

democracy, for the rights of the working people.

But whatever it does, reaction will not bring devoted sons and daughters of the people down to their knees. Millions of hearts have been reached by their appeal for the release of the 52 DISK leaders and for the release of the democrats and communists held in prison. The movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Turkish patriots is gathering momentum worldwide.

Kemal Kervan
Representative of the
Communist Party of Turkey on WMR



Humanism: deeds, not words

K.U. Chernenko. *KPSS i Prava Cheloveka* (The CPSU and Human Rights). Moscow, Novosti Press Agency, 1981, 208 pp. Published in English by International Publishers as *Human Rights in Soviet Society*.

The author, a member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and a Secretary of the CPSU CC, deals with an issue which is of growing importance both for communist construction in the Soviet Union and for the ideological contest between the two socio-political systems in the international arena. His book has been published in Russian, English, French, Spanish and German.

The free and all-round development of the individual is an organic part of the on-going process in the USSR in which the Soviet state system is gradually developing into communist social self-government. In international terms, the Soviet citizen's exercise of rights and freedoms increasingly acts as a generalizing, complex indicator of the course of the competition between socialism and capitalism, reflecting the advantages of the new social system.

The CPSU's historical experience in the theoretical substantiation and translation into life of the principles of the freedom of the individual and democracy, human rights, equality and humanism is being closely studied by the progressive forces of the whole world. At

the same time, the ideologists of imperialism are disturbed by the successes of the USSR, because one of the main reasons for widespread socialist ideas is that existing socialism exemplifies the just social organization and holds out — not on paper, but in fact — equal opportunities for all those who work.

Consequently, from the theoretical, ideological and political standpoint, the book under review is a highly relevant work. The author considers the Soviet citizen's rights and freedoms in a profound, comprehensive and convincing manner.

He writes: "In the West, the concept of human rights is frequently narrowed down through the exclusion of socio-economic rights. Everyone knows that the right to work, free higher education, and free qualified medical care are not even written into most bourgeois constitutions. There is good reason, therefore, why imperialist propaganda has kept silent about these rights.

"We in the USSR include in the concept of the citizen's rights socio-economic rights alongside his political and individual rights. It is characteristic of socialist democracy to regard human rights as a single complex constituting the content of the juridical status of the individual in society. Our starting point is that it is socio-economic rights and freedoms that constitute the real foundation for the exercise of

people's political and individual rights and freedoms" (p. 6.).

The author considers the shaping of democracy in Russia since the Great October Socialist Revolution and analyzes the uniformities underlying the development of socialist society, showing the crucial role of Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, and of the Communist Party in working out and implementing the new conception of democracy. Through this book, the reader will acquaint himself or herself with the fundamental material on this question: Lenin's works, the programmatic documents of the CPSU and the decisions of its congresses, resolutions of the CPSU CC and, finally, the practical implementation of the provisions of the Soviet constitutions.

The whole of the Soviet Union's experience shows that the new social system and democracy are indivisible. Socialism is inconceivable without human rights and freedoms, while genuine human rights and freedoms are inconceivable without socialism. While taking a justifiable pride in their achievements in this field, the Soviet communists do not at all regard these as the ultimate limit. That is why virtually every section of the book ends with an exposition of the tasks formulated by the party for the period ahead, especially in the light of the decisions of its 26th congress. The author writes: "Socialist democracy is constantly perfected. As the programs of socio-economic and cultural development are fulfilled, the socialist system ensures the extension of guarantees for the rights and freedoms and a steady improvement in the working people's life. And the main guarantee of this progressive development is provided by Lenin's party" (pp. 207-208).

The author draws a clear distinction between the Marxist-Leninist and the bourgeois approach to the problem of democracy and freedom of the individual, showing very well that this is a problem that cannot be considered outside the class context. The author shows the total futility of the attempts by the ideologists of

imperialism to present the bourgeois order as some kind of standard for the whole human race and one to which socialist democracy must allegedly look in its development. Actually, however, the plenitude of human rights and freedoms offered by socialism carries it well ahead of all the hitherto known forms of human community living. The author says: "It is necessary specifically to emphasize that the Soviet citizen's rights and freedoms are not only proclaimed by the constitution, but are also ensured by economic, political, juridical and other means" (p. 5).

In socialist reality, the exercise of human rights and freedoms is inseparable from civic duties. The author says: "Our party has steadfastly pursued the following line: Soviet people's performance of their duties is as necessary an element of democracy as the exercise of their rights and freedoms" (p. 8). That is something the bourgeois ideologists especially dislike, for they cannot reconcile themselves with the fact that the socialist system not only puts at people's disposal all the material and spiritual values but also educates them in a consciousness of the need to multiply the social gains by their labor effort, and to safeguard and protect them from any encroachments.

The humanism, integrity and consistency of the CPSU's approach to the question of individual rights and freedoms is most vividly expressed in the Soviet Union's tireless struggle in defense of peace and security, the people's priceless asset. Indeed, any talk about human rights turns out to be no more than hypocrisy if the right to life, the most important of these rights, is trampled. But that is precisely the daily practice of imperialism, which ruthlessly tramples human dignity, be it in the United States or racist South Africa, in Chile or El Salvador, in the Arab territories occupied by Israel, or in the long-suffering land of Northern Ireland.

In 1982, it will be 60 years since the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a significant anniversary which will give a fresh impetus to millions of men and women throughout the world in deepening their knowledge about the world's first workers' and peasants' state. This book is of great value in this respect, for it not only shows the abiding importance of the Soviet people's historic accomplishments, but also deals a powerful blow at "Kremlinologists" and "Sovietologists" of every stripe, who deal in lies and misinformation as they try to cover up the truth about the land of Lenin and the October Revolution.

I. Biryukov, Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

Human Rights in Soviet Society

Konstantin Chernenko
International Publishers

Road to decline and fall

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON MILITARISM

U.S. foreign policy throughout the whole period since the Second World War has been marked by the simmering conflict between two main tendencies: the aggressive, great-power, militaristic tendency of reliance on armed might as the key political instrument in relations with other states, and the realistic trend based on an understanding of the objective changes in the world and efforts at accommodation to these changes.

Since the second half of the 1970s, the militaristic trend of U.S. policy has once again been intensified. The most reckless representatives of the military-industrial complex, the reactionary militarists, and the racist-jingoists — those who have never abandoned the great-power ideology and the fantasy of U.S. world domination by military might, have come to the fore. These forces mounted a crusade against détente and SALT-2 with the aid of the Committee on the Present Danger, set up in 1976, the ultra-reactionary Heritage Foundation (Reagan's "think tank"), the American Security Council, the American Conservative Union and other right-wing outfits. Their conceptions, generated at the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Washington, Georgetown University, and the journal *Commentary*, among others, have actively influenced the shaping of the foreign-policy line of the present U.S. administration.

In the most concentrated form the "neo-conservative" views are expressed in a book by N. Podhoretz, the publisher of *Commentary*.¹ He admits, as a fact, that the postwar U.S. strategy of "containing" and "rolling back" communism has failed. He believes that this is due not to the changing balance of forces in the world arena nor to the successes of the active peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but to the "hesitation" on the part of the White House to resort to U.S. military strength. He advises the United States to get rid of the fear of war because "something is more important than peace" (let us note that U.S. Secretary of Haig merely borrowed that expression). According to Podhoretz, peaceful relations with the USSR would amount to a U.S. surrender. What is more, he declares that "surrender" is also involved in steps to eliminate the threat of nuclear war.

Another nest of war hawks, the Institute for

Contemporary Studies at San Francisco issued a compendium² among whose authors are notorious war-hawkers like P. Nitze, W. Van Cleave and E. Luttwak. They keep plugging the idea that the United States should demonstrate its military might more convincingly and make more active use of it. The previous administration is criticized for allegedly failing to resort to force as a political instrument. The keynote of the book is the claim that U.S. leadership has abandoned the consideration even of the "cautious use of force" in foreign policy. The authors present all kinds of arguments to prove that whereas there is evidence of an allegedly unprecedented build-up of military might by the Soviet Union, the United States is allowing itself to be outstripped and, it is claimed, no longer has the means to "command respect." Their conclusion is that all types of armaments must be built up so as to regain "this respect" by military superiority.

The hoarse voices of retired warriors ring louder in the anvil chorus intoning a unilateral dirge for détente. One of them belongs to General William C. Westmoreland, the author of a book, the second edition of which appeared in 1980.³ Here the militaristic tendency stands out in sharp relief, shod, one could say, in iron-heeled boots. The retired general's book abounds in self-glorification but, contrary to Henry Kissinger's enthusiastic comment imprinted on the dust jacket ("a thoughtful and valuable record of an era unique in our history"), it reflects an extremely poor grasp of world reality.

Westmoreland sharply criticizes the Johnston administration for not having dared to use atomic weapons against the Vietnamese, as he had proposed: "I felt at the time, and even more so now, that to fail to consider this alternative was a mistake" (p. 445).

In his effort to help overcome the "Vietnam syndrome," he claims that in Indochina the USA was engaged in a "just and noble" war. That is what he said when his officers ordered the burning of Vietnamese villages, and that is what his book reiterates.

Subscribing to General Douglas MacArthur's dictum, "There is no substitute for victory", Westmoreland maintains that anything goes to gain military victory. The militarist mentality is clearly expressed in his "improvement" on Clausewitz's classical tenet that war is an ex-

tension of politics. "Politics," says Westmoreland, "is also an extension of war" (p. 296).

It looks as though this "aphorism" is an expression not only of his own views. Former President Richard Nixon, for instance, believes that World War III has already begun, and that is what he declares in his book⁴ when propounding a primitive formulation of the ideology of militarism, but with an ingredient of mysticism. He writes: "It may seem melodramatic to treat the twin poles of human experiences as represented by the United States and the Soviet Union as the equivalent of Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, God and the Devil; yet if we allow ourselves to think of them that way, even hypothetically, it can help clarify our perspective on the world struggle . . . If we determine to win, if we resolve to accept no substitute for victory (see MacArthur's words. — J.W.) then victory becomes possible. Then the spirit gives edge to the sword, the sword preserves the spirit, and freedom will prevail."⁵

Many facts from the country's history since 1945 confirm that high-ranking U.S. leaders believe politics to be an extension of war. The barbarous atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki sanctioned by President Truman was mainly intended as a political warning to the USSR. Truman also considered nuclear strikes at some major Soviet cities, "if Moscow did not settle quickly in Korea" (naturally on Washington's terms). In his book of memoirs entitled *Crusade to Europe* (first published in 1948 and then re-issued in several editions) Eisenhower expressed admiration for the courage of Soviet soldiers in the war against fascism. But he took an active part in working out Dropshot, the plan for an atomic attack on the Soviet Union. President Kennedy discussed the possible use of nuclear weapons with his aides as a way of resolving the 1961 Berlin crisis. Indeed, Washington has repeatedly considered the possibility of using the most barbaric, genocidal means of warfare against the Soviet Union, and liberation struggles.⁶

The perverse thinking of many U.S. politicians and their assumption that their business is an extension of war was recently voiced with a cynicism that shocked people around the world in President Reagan's statement about the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. Actually, the idea was adopted by the White House for practical guidance in war strategy back in 1974, but it was only with Reagan's installation that the question of nuclear war was, one could say, placed on the agenda for implementation.

The men who are now in the top echelons of

power in the United States have got down to "re-ideologizing" foreign policy on the basis of the old "save the world from communism" cry. Bellicose, diehard anti-Sovietism has once again been brought to the fore, because they claim that "the Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on . . . in the world" (as Reagan declared during his electoral campaign).⁷

While realizing that the foreign-policy line of the U.S. administration is being toughened up, one should neither exaggerate nor oversimplify the picture by assuming that there is no opposition in the establishment of this highly dangerous political line, or that the advocates of the realistic tendency have been finally beaten in the fight against the "hawks." Even among the retired generals, not all are inclined to engage in nuclear rattling. For instance, General Maxwell D. Taylor, Army Chief of Staff under President Eisenhower, declared in the *Washington Post* that with the amount of destruction already in U.S. hands, "it would be folly to race the Russians further in number of weapons or to waste the finite resources available for national defense."⁸ In contrast to Westmoreland and his like, Taylor realizes that Clausewitz' tenet is unfit for the nuclear age. He says: "We are not dealing with war in any rational Clausewitzian sense."⁹

Artur Katz, American scientist and one-time consultant for the Joint U.S. Congressional Committee for Defense Production (now defunct) says in a recent book that the strategy of nuclear war, including a "limited" one, is totally irrational and absurd.¹⁰ His work abounds in graphs, mathematical calculations and statistical data, which enable him to reach the conclusion that any use of nuclear weapons is fraught with tragic consequences. This is not Katz' first book on the consequences of nuclear war. In the early 1970s, he dealt with it within the framework of a standing seminar on arms control problems at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1979, he published an extensive paper on which his latest book is largely based. It is addressed not only to those who formulate his country's policy, but also to the public at large who are daily subjected to brainwashing by the monopolized mass media in an anti-Soviet and militaristic spirit. The consequences of a nuclear war, Katz sums up, are so terrible that it has become imperative to reduce the possibility of it or to eliminate it altogether. He urges a return to the process of establishing control over armaments and efforts to reach agreement — however limited — to keep SALT going.

That the voices of realism continue to sound

in the United States will also be seen from a number of other books written by well-known and authoritative students of international problems. James Chace, managing editor of *Foreign Affairs*, analyzes Washington's foreign policy from the 1960s to our day in his book published last year.¹¹

Chace is concerned with the dangers of stepping up the anti-Soviet hysteria. He writes: "A foreign policy centered simply on anti-Sovietism makes no sense for the United States. We have many other foreign policy problems that profoundly affect our vital interests that either do not involve the Soviets directly or invite cooperation with them" (p. 47). The author believes that confrontation with the USSR has already produced a serious rift in relations between the United States and its West European allies. He warns that the urge to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union will weaken the United States, lower its living standards and fold up the civilian sector of the economy (p. 83). Comparing his country's condition with that of other industrialized capitalist countries (on many points they are ahead of the United States), Chace draws the conclusion that the "solvency" of the United States (by which he means the country's positive authority in the international arena) can be re-established only through a return to the principles of détente in politics, economics and the military sphere.

Similar ideas are expressed by Richard Barnet, another authoritative U.S. analyst.¹² He shows why the Reagan approach to international affairs has gained the upper hand in U.S. society in the past few years, and why the rightists have managed to torpedo détente. It is noteworthy that the publishers recommend his book as a "major salvo fired against the Reagan-Haig military build-up and pugnacious attitude abroad." Indeed, here he shows very well that nuclear superiority does not guarantee peace on the globe. The author believes that the only alternative to the White House's reckless course is a return to SALT-2, its ratification and moving on to the next stages in limiting nuclear weapons. It is high time to understand that the United States is no longer Power No. 1 in the sense in which it fancied itself in the early post-war years. "The United States can neither control political and economical change in the former colonial world nor act as a global policeman" (p. 50). Like Chace, Barnet is convinced that "an international security system based on anti-communism is unrealizable" (p. 92).

These analysts are not the only ones who now sharply criticize the Washington leaders' extremist policy which leads to national de-

cline and fall and who are trying to pull down the whole of mankind with them. Far from all the spokesmen of the U.S. ruling class have refused to think in terms of peaceful co-existence. Not all of them believe that it takes superiority in military muscle, instead of sober recognition of reality, to solve the problems facing the United States.

Now, as never before, our country has need of political wisdom, which is an alloy of statesmanship, experience and an ability to hear the march of history, to understand not only oneself, but others as well. We find that the efforts of the most realistic-minded members of the capitalist class fit into the struggle to secure this wisdom, and straightjacket the atom-maniacs who threaten more to push mankind off the brink.

What motivates these more realistically-minded defenders of U.S. imperialism?

Certainly, knowledge that a nuclear war can wipe out everything, including U.S. imperialism, is a factor. Concern that the very effort to gain military superiority will erode the economic-financial foundations of the United States and further weaken it in its competitive position in relation to Japan, the FRG and other imperialist powers is another factor. Not least of all is the fear that Reagonomics and militarism will evoke such massive anger and action as to topple allied governments abroad and jeopardize the entrenched two-party system of monopoly rule at home.

The mass upsurge in the United States for jobs and peace has already sent the popularity rating of the Reagan administration down to the lowest point after one year in office of any administration in the last 50 years.

Unrelenting mass action for peace and the economic interests of the working class and non-monopoly masses is the decisive factor in changing the perilous course of U.S. imperialism and returning to the road of détente, arms control and reduction and peaceful co-existence.

James West
Member, Political Bureau,
CC, CPUSA

1. N. Podhoretz. *The Present Danger*. New York, 1980.
2. *National Security in the 1980s: from Weakness to Strength*. Ed. by Thompson, Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, 1980.
3. General William C. Westmoreland. *A Soldier Reports*. New York, A Dell Book, 1980. He was the man in command of the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam during the "dirty war."
4. Richard Nixon. *The Real War*, New York, Warner Books, 1980.
5. Quoted in *International Herald Tribune*, June 18, 1980.

6. For details see "The truth about the big lie," WMR, April 1981. — Ed.

7. *The Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 1980.

8. Quoted in *International Herald Tribune*, July 5, 1981.

9. Ibid.

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In memory of Obdulio Barthe

Obdulio Barthe, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party, a selfless fighter for the liberation of his people, for peace on earth, for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, has died in exile. His death is an enormous loss to the revolutionaries and democrats of Paraguay. Their sorrow is shared by the communists of Latin America and the world.

Barthe travelled a long and arduous path. He went through years of privation, persecution and bitter class struggle. He was born on September 5, 1903, in the town of Encarnacion. He was active in politics from early youth and associated closely with groups of advanced workers and intellectuals. Even as a young revolutionary he realized that the victory of the Great October Revolution had opened a new epoch in the history of mankind. And he became a true representative of the epoch.

Barthe's joining the Communist Party was a logical result of his fundamental Marxist convictions. It was clear to him that only under the party's leadership could the working class of Paraguay gain the experience and attain the political maturity it needed. He never forgot that the victory of a democratic, agrarian and

anti-imperialist revolution with a socialist perspective would depend in the final analysis on the unity of communists, consistency in implementing the party program and the party's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

Barthe was repeatedly elected to the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party and was its General Secretary for a number of years. In 1978 a plenary meeting of the CC, noting his great services to the party and his high prestige among the country's communists, elected him Chairman of the PCP.

Barthe was invariably in the forefront in defense of the working people's interests, the 1947 insurrection against the dictatorship or the campaign in support of the Stockholm Appeal. While participating in the organization of this campaign in Buenos Aires, he was arrested — as he had been so many times before — and extradited to the Paraguayan authorities, which held him in prison for four years.

Obdulio Barthe, a staunch, courageous revolutionary, will always be remembered by Paraguay's communists and patriots and his image will do down in the history of the international communist movement.

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