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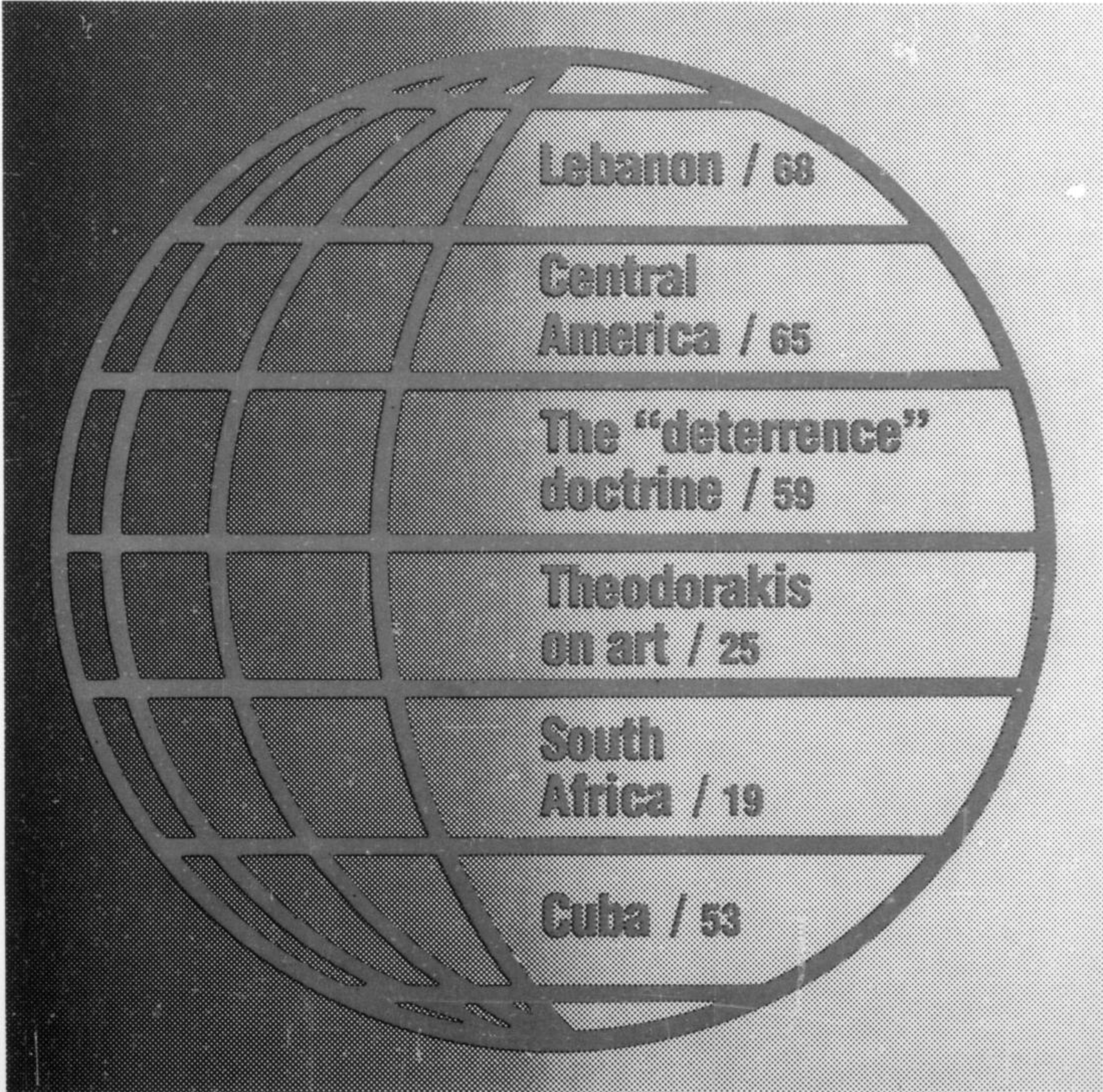
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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The year has begun and the confrontation is intensifying

A POLITICAL SURVEY

The year 1983 is over, and so at least a preliminary review of developments can be made. What was the year like? What, in the context of the events of the past year, can we rightly expect in 1984?

These questions are asked by many. And, of course, everyone answers them in his own way, above all because everyone assesses the past according to his personal interest and the experience of his people, its hopes and aspirations. Naturally, this assessment also depends to an enormous degree on which pole of the social struggle one is at in today's world.

But for all the diversity of specific realities which largely determine the diversity of views and assessments, there are wide areas of international developments affecting the vital interests of all people on earth. It is the global confrontation between the forces of peace and war, a sphere on which it depends whether humanity will survive or perish.

In the 1970s, the peoples pinned great hopes on a further deepening of international détente. They associated détente with the removal of the nuclear threat, with the possibility of living in peace, of solving their pressing social and everyday problems, which were extremely acute already. Regrettably, the evolution of international relations in the subsequent period, particularly in 1983, followed a different direction. It brought humankind an aggravation of the danger of finding itself in a world torn by military conflicts, the danger of suffocating under the burden of lethal arms. The year 1983 witnessed a sharp deterioration of the international climate. At the same time, however, it was a year which saw a marked upturn in the struggle on all continents against the threat of a thermonuclear holocaust, a year in which the peace forces grew stronger and so did the unity of action of the masses in resisting imperialist aggressiveness.

A policy of undisguised aggression

What are the causes and roots of the negative changes in foreign policy that the peoples note with deep apprehension? These changes are

due above all to the undisguised bid of ultra-reactionary imperialist forces, primarily U.S. imperialism, its military-industrial complex, to solve the problem of the confrontation between the bourgeois system and socialism, the problem of regaining the positions lost by capitalism in the course of history by the means of pushing the world to the brink of war.

By banking on military power as an instrument of extending their domination and by opposing socialism and liberation movements, these forces want to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries and upset the military strategic balance, which prevents imperialism from imposing its political and economic domination. The year 1983 was to have special significance in the fulfillment of this design.

It will be recalled that the forces which secured the election of Ronald Reagan to the U.S. Presidency embarked on achieving "military superiority, the main goal of U.S. policy with respect to the Soviet Union." At the same time they adopted a wide-ranging program of specific political, economic, and military measures to "establish order" in the world the American way.

Washington's expenditures on the arms race, already enormous, soared at once. In fiscal 1981 they amounted to 160 billion dollars, in 1982, to 187 billion dollars and in 1983, to 245 billion dollars; lastly, on September 15, 1983, the Senate and House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress approved the record sum of 280 billion dollars for the 1984 military budget.

These huge funds for military purposes provide for the build-up of material resources with a view to fighting a "protracted" nuclear war, with U.S. reactionaries cherishing the illusion that a final "victory" can be won. To ensure this "victory," the USA has drawn up a specific program for "rearming" itself, which envisages the creation of new anti-missile defense systems and space weapons as well as the modernization and re-equipment of all armed services, primarily the modernization of strategic armaments, with the accent being laid on "first-strike" weapons. With the same end in view it

is planned to develop, test and deploy a hundred MX missiles capable of carrying a thousand highly accurate warheads, to build 20 Trident submarines, hundreds of bombers, and so on. A "first strike" by these sophisticated weapons is expected to make the USA "invulnerable," enable it to commit aggression against socialist countries with impunity, and reduce the world to the condition of a hostage whose fate will depend on imperialism's self-will.

Last year these calculations of Washington gave pride of place to beginning the deployment of nearly 600 medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. This was plainly an attempt to achieve strategic superiority over the Soviet Union, for U.S. medium-range missiles can reach deep into Soviet territory while Soviet missiles of a similar class do not carry as far as U.S. territory. Thus the Pentagon intends these U.S. missiles, as well as the forward-based weapons already existing plus the nuclear forces of Britain and France, to play the role of a "first-strike" weapon entirely in conformity with the U.S. concept of a nuclear war "limited" to Europe and leaving the USA outside the area of conflict.

Therefore the Reagan administration virtually set out to torpedo the negotiations with the Soviet Union on curbing the arms race in Europe that were conducted from 1981 to 1983. The USA rejected SALT-2, which it had signed earlier, is carrying on negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons with the greatest reluctance and with delays, and refuses to return to the negotiations on a complete and general banning of nuclear arms tests, on limiting sales and deliveries of conventional weapons to other countries, on restricting military activity in the Indian Ocean, and on a number of other problems.

All of Washington's foreign policy activities last year were aimed at tying the NATO allies of the USA more tightly by the bonds of "Atlanticism," at involving them more deeply in the anti-Soviet, anti-communist "crusade" and mobilizing their resources to build up the bloc's military potential.

Indicative in this respect was the latest summit of seven major capitalist powers (Williamsburg, USA, May 28-30, 1983). Unlike previous conferences, which dealt mainly with economic problems, this meeting adopted a special statement on military policy. The statement advanced a falsely formulated alternative saying that if the Geneva talks (sabotaged by the U.S. side) failed to produce agreement "the countries concerned will proceed with the planned deployment of the U.S.

systems in Europe at the end of 1983."

U.S. imperialist interests also found reflection in the statement that the capitalist countries represented at the meeting should approach the issue of their "security" on a "global basis." It is the USA that is extending its military presence all over the world, setting up more and more new bridgeheads for aggressive ventures and interference in the internal affairs of other nations, under the pretext of defending its "security." And now it wants this "global" approach to be adopted not only by its NATO allies but also by Japan and South Korea. Taking shape is a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul political axis that will heighten the danger of destabilization in Southeast Asian and Pacific areas.

The strategy of the leading capitalist powers is not restricted to drawing up joint declarations. In 1983, prominence was gained by what militarists describe as directly "projecting military power" to places where the trend of development does not suit them. The U.S. invasion of revolutionary Grenada revealed to the world the true face of the Washington "peacemakers." Their arrogant behavior, which flouts international norms and the sovereignty of independent countries, caused universal indignation and met with disapproval among the closest allies of the USA. We are in the presence of an unjustifiable, cynical U.S. claim to worldwide violence and brigandage. The use of armed force, which the Reagan team has elevated to the rank of government policy, is a threat to world peace, to every country arbitrarily included by U.S. imperialism in the sphere of its "vital interests." And it is this team that has its fingers on the buttons of the missiles now being deployed in Europe.

Everyone knows that bandit armies of mercenaries are formed of counter-revolutionary scum with the military support of Washington and its allies. The objects of their attacks include Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The Pentagon's militarist activity is growing. In 1983 it massed dozens of warships off the Nicaraguan coast, threatening that country and El Salvador with a direct invasion by U.S. troops. Aggressive moves in Central America, the occupation of Grenada and threats against socialist Cuba are all inter-linked. Washington is set on forming a South Atlantic military alliance that would include the fascist regimes of Chile and South Africa and would be assigned extensive police functions in the region. The projected NATO atomic base on the Malvinas is part of the plan.

The range of imperialist military activities

affecting the interests of nearly a score of developing countries of northeastern Africa and southern Asia has widened. Early in 1983, Washington announced the formation of Centcom, or military Central Command, for these regions thousands of kilometers away from the USA. The threat to use nuclear weapons against countries that do not "suit" Washington is revealing in this respect; it was made by General Edward Meyer, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, during a visit to South Korea.

Power is also being "projected" through the U.S. military "presence" in the Far East, and in the form of joint military pressure on Syria by imperialist powers and of open armed intervention in Lebanon by the USA and other NATO countries. It was not accidental that, referring to the case of Chad and Lebanon, Dominique Moisi, director of the French Institute of International Relations, stated that "France has never been more involved militarily on the international scene since the end of the colonial era."¹

These facts are evidence that despite the deep contradictions dividing the capitalist world, the more reactionary groups in the USA are seeking unity on a class basis with similar forces in other imperialist countries. The new "holy alliance" is trying to foment hatred for socialism, for social and national liberation movements. These groups' aspiration to stop historical processes by force of arms and to preserve and consolidate an order based on exploitation induces them to take their cue from the strategy of Washington and to proceed as its yesmen.

Bourgeois propaganda presents the aggressive militarist policy of the USA as a "response" to the mythical "threat" from the Soviet Union, as removing the "windows of vulnerability" in the defenses of NATO, and so forth. One can certainly distort or ignore the facts as much as one pleases but this will not make them any less real. "Pax Americana" implies the use of force, diktat and activity pushing the world to a nuclear war.

But while the negative phenomena of 1983 are viewed with justified concern by all who treasure peace and life, they cannot serve as a reason for losing confidence in the feasibility of preventing a new world conflagration. To assess the outlook accurately, it is important to see the principal balance in the confrontation between the two policy lines — those of war and peace. The former has on its side a close handful of monopolists and military and political "hawks" lacking a historical future. Supporting the latter are millions of people on all continents, who enjoy powerful and firm sup-

port from the socialist countries. Objectively, the vital interests of these millions fully coincide with the goals of socialism. But this is by no means realized by all people of good will. If all peace forces arrive at mutual understanding and unity of action (the year 1983 showed this to be the trend of development) world peace will certainly be preserved.

Peace supporters have no reason for pessimism, primarily because a most important aspect of 1983 — a very difficult year — was that the community of socialist countries grew stronger, that it pursued a more active policy in the struggle to preserve peace, and that the worldwide movement against war demonstrated its might and showed itself to possess a potential which is far from being exhausted.

Socialism is the main peace force

Last year the USA failed to make progress toward attaining its main objective in the international sphere, that is, achieving military superiority over socialism. It failed despite an unrestrained build-up of its military strength and despite its policy of economic, psychological and diplomatic blackmail and pressure toward the socialist world. The economic, scientific and technological potential of the Soviet Union and its allies is such that they can ensure military strategic parity in any circumstances.

However, competition in the production and stockpiling of more and more new weapons of mass destruction is disastrous. It only leads to a greater burden of senseless expenditure of manpower and material resources and to an increased threat of global catastrophe. This policy conflicts with the interests of the peoples of the socialist community and the rest of the world. Therefore the governments of the socialist countries are bending every effort to stop the trend toward war and begin disarmament.

The socialist countries opened the year 1983 with vigorous actions for peace and disarmament that went on throughout the year. In early January the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which met in Prague, explicitly stated in its Political Declaration that its line was aimed at achieving a breakthrough in international relations and strengthening peace and international security.

The Declaration says that "it is folly to hope to unleash and win a nuclear war. There can be no winners in a nuclear war once it breaks out. It is bound to lead to the annihilation of whole peoples, to colossal destruction and to catastrophic consequences for civilization and for life on Earth as a whole."²

This invites the highly important political conclusion that all countries should be interested in averting a nuclear war. Accordingly, the Prague Political Declaration of 1983 contains an offer to sign a treaty on the mutual non-use of armed force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and those of the North Atlantic bloc.

This is an initiative of historic significance that should pave the way for an atmosphere of confidence making for fruitful negotiations. Its purpose is to secure the consent of all governments to renounce nuclear war, include this renunciation in the entire system of international relations, and support and guarantee it materially, by disarming. This is a highly important line of struggle against imperialism's policy of aggression, a line following directly from the Peace Program of the CPSU and actively backed by the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries.

However, the clash between the lines of socialist and imperialist countries in international relations brought to light in 1983 a specific feature relating to the ways and means of settling disputed issues. On the one hand, the bid of the U.S. government and its allies to secure unilateral advantages at the negotiating table precludes the possibility of agreement. On the other hand, there is the flexibility of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and their readiness to compromise on specific issues, which is by no means a sign of weakness but evidence of their recognizing the present-day political realities.

Every compromise admittedly implies a mutual concession. If a concession is not mutual but unilateral there can be no agreement acceptable to both sides. And where there are no concessions there is no reconciling divergent, let alone opposed, interests.

The end goals of mutual concessions in international politics have been defined by the socialist community countries explicitly and in what any unbiased person will see as reasonable terms. They are the maintenance of world peace, equality and equal security. It is from these fundamental positions that the socialist countries are searching for mutually acceptable international solutions. They are prepared for a prompt and comprehensive settlement of questions relating to general disarmament, the renunciation of nuclear weapons, an immediate ban on them and the destruction of their stockpiles. However, these problems are such that they cannot be solved unilaterally. Hence the only thing that can be done is to seek agreements that, while not leading to a complete

solution of the problem, would help reduce the nuclear and military danger even if they represented a partial, phased, and not always straight advance to the objective.

Last year's events showed that the settlement of outstanding issues by diplomatic means cannot be regarded as hopeless even in conditions of sharp confrontation. The positive outcome of the Madrid meeting in September 1983 was a noteworthy achievement of the line toward dialogue and mutual understanding.

This is precisely what the socialist community countries proceed from in carrying on an intensive quest for mutually acceptable agreements. Last year the Soviet Union, coordinating its steps with the other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, took several major new initiatives intended to ease military confrontation and limit the arms race.³

Regrettably, the Soviet Union's constructive proposals failed to bring an equally constructive response from the other side. Washington, Bonn, London and Rome refused to heed the voice of reason; there began the siting of U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of the FRG, Britain and Italy. Thus the appearance of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles on the European continent became a fait accompli.

After carefully weighing every aspect of the situation, as Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet pointed out in his Statement, the Soviet leadership adopted a number of necessary measures.⁴

Inasmuch as the USA had by its actions frustrated the possibility of achieving a mutually acceptable agreement at the Geneva talks on limiting nuclear armaments in Europe and their continuation in the circumstances would merely have served as a cover for actions by the USA and a number of other NATO countries directed toward undermining European and international security, the Soviet Union found it impossible to participate in these talks any longer.

The moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR was revoked.

By agreement with the governments of the GDR and CSSR, steps were taken to accelerate preparations for the deployment of longer-range operational tactical missiles on the territory of these countries.

As the USA is increasing the nuclear threat to the Soviet Union by stationing its missiles in Europe, corresponding Soviet weapons will be deployed with due regard to this circumstance in oceanic areas and in seas. These weapons will be adequate in their characteristics to the

threat which the U.S. missiles being stationed in Europe are posing to the Soviet Union and its allies.

Of course, other measures aimed at safeguarding the security of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community will likewise be adopted, the Statement said.⁵

The peoples judge the policies of this or that government primarily by its actions. Those who at the start of 1983 had entertained the illusion that the policies of the U.S. administration would evolve for the better had to look soberly at the actual state of affairs in the light of the developments. An unprecedented arms race, barefaced acts of aggression, refined provocations, criminal subversion, and rabid anti-communism are components of Washington's people-hating policy today. The latter-day pretenders to the role of rulers of the destinies of peoples have gone so far as to declare openly that, speaking generally, socialism has no place in the world.

The monstrous provocation carried out by the U.S. intelligence services with the aid of a South Korean plane sent into Soviet air space on the night of September 1 showed only too well that Washington, blinded by anti-Sovietism, has no normal or political scruples. Small wonder that on the heels of the provocation it railroaded through Congress an unprecedented military budget providing for huge allocations to add new weapons to the already colossal U.S. arsenal.

Imperialism's current policy encourages increased spending on armaments in both economically developed and many developing countries. Emerging in the latter group of countries are military industrial spheres of their own that swallow huge resources which could be used for social development. This policy makes for the increasing dependence of developing countries on imperialism and is a threat to their security and sovereignty. It is designed to exhaust not only the socialist countries but also the developing countries through the arms race and has the insidious aim of stopping socialism's internationalist aid to developing countries.

Fortunately, the desires of the imperialists are a far cry from their potentialities. Nobody can turn back the march of history. Existing socialism will live and perfect itself in accordance with its own laws, the laws of the most advanced and most peace-loving social system. And this is a guarantee of the hope and confidence that all fighters for peace will ultimately succeed.

The anti-war movement is gathering strength

The socialist community countries are convinced that competition in the production and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction cannot lead to the settlement of any of the problems confronting humankind. What can unite people and should determine the policies of governments is the release of material resources being senselessly wasted on the arms race and the utilization of people's inexhaustible creative potentialities. The forces of militarism must be stopped, and by concerted efforts the world must be prevented from sliding into an abyss. Ever larger numbers of people are coming to realize this, as the scale of the movement for peace under way on all continents demonstrates.

Developments last year indicated an unparalleled expansion of both the social spectrum and the geography of the peace movement. It became obvious that despite the aggressive moves of imperialism, which did a certain but ultimately passing damage to the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa, international reaction had failed to score a decisive success. On the contrary, dictatorial and fascist regimes are losing ground while democratic and anti-imperialist struggles are gaining new dimension. The desire for a peaceful future united the most diverse quarters ranging from the governments of non-aligned states to the participants in the now traditional mass actions of anti-war protest. The call of the most prominent and authoritative personalities of Asian, African and Latin American countries for vigilance in the face of imperialist intrigues resounded all over the world like an alarm bell. Together with other participants in the seventh non-aligned summit (Delhi, 1983), they denounced imperialism's military and political course as greatly endangering peace and national freedom, and condemned the effort to destabilize progressive and anti-imperialist regimes.

Many governments as well as a large body of public opinion are steadily becoming aware that the struggle for regional security is also a contribution to the struggle for global security. This is exemplified by the initiative of the Latin American Contadora Group, which proposes — undoubtedly under the influence of anti-imperialist forces — a peaceful solution of a number of problems existing between Central American countries, which is in keeping with the objective interests of the region and not with the selfish interests of their northern neighbor, the USA.

Even those governments that had made certain military political commitments to imperialism now fear they may be drawn into a military conflict under Washington's pressure. The overwhelming majority of non-aligned countries are resolutely dissociating from the U.S. policy of forming a global reactionary coalition against the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation.

The anti-war movement in Europe is growing. Having gone through the conflagration of two world wars, the peoples of this continent are growing more and more aware of the dangerous character of U.S. policy.

The autumn peace offensive received new impulses, especially where U.S. Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles are to be stationed. In the FRG, 74 per cent of the population are against the deployment of U.S. missiles, for they do not wish the threat of war to come from German soil again. Up to 75 per cent of Britons and 79 per cent of Belgians are opposed to "Euromissiles." Anti-war actions are gaining in dynamism. During Disarmament Action Week and on the initiative of national peace movements late in October 1983 and in further anti-war demonstrations tens of millions participated. They took to the streets in Britain, the Netherlands, the FRG, Denmark, the USA, Portugal, Canada, Austria, Finland, Sweden, Italy, Iceland, France, Belgium, and many other countries.

Faced with the tremendous impact of the anti-war protest movement, the psychological warfare agencies of the USA and NATO are trying to weaken and divide the movement. They suggest to peace fighters in capitalist countries that the USA and the Soviet Union are "equally responsible" for the arms race, that there is no place for an anti-war movement "in the East" (meaning the socialist countries), and that socialism and the worldwide struggle for peace can have no common goals. But life shows that the danger to peace comes from precisely the imperialist policy of the USA.

This explains why growing public attention in capitalist countries to the reasonable proposals of a number of prominent personalities of these countries to negotiate, coexist, and preserve peace is a reality which even the most reactionary governments of imperialist countries are compelled to reckon with.

The facts speak of the immense scale of the peace movement in socialist countries. On September 1, 1983, all Soviet children began their first school day with a Peace Lesson. On October 1 there was an anti-war demonstration by 800,000 people in Moscow. Tens of millions of Soviet people took part in Disarmament Action

Week. Mass demonstrations against war were held in Berlin, Prague, and other cities of the socialist countries.

The year 1983 left no doubt that peace fighters the world over, whatever their nationality, political affiliation, world view or convictions, express, in effect, the chief idea of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, that met in Prague last summer and stated the meaning of the current stage of history as follows: "Humanity stands at a crucial crossroads of history. One step in the wrong direction — and the world could be irrevocably thrown into the abyss of a nuclear war."⁶ Awareness of this induces tens of millions to act, to come out against the war threat.

In spite of the increasingly reckless and dangerous policy of imperialist reaction and the great difficulty of exposing the artful methods of anti-socialist propaganda, world opinion at large is becoming more and more aware of how disastrous the consequences of this policy can be and how important it is to stop its implementation before it is too late.

* * *

Developments in 1983 warrant the conclusion that despite the increased war threat and growing international tension, war is not inevitable. The forces defending peace — the socialist community, most of the developing nations, the working class and other social sectors of the capitalist world, and innumerable people of good will — are more powerful than those who are posing the threat of a global holocaust. Imperialism is coming up against increasing solidarity among the forces of socialism, national liberation, and democratic and anti-war movements in the struggle for peace. Hence the real possibility of tiding over the present dangerous phase in international relations.

On the other hand, last year's events showed that progress toward removing the nuclear threat is not easy. The peace forces may suffer temporary setbacks in resisting the war-mongers' plans for aggression. Drawing on lessons of the past, communists and peace-loving sections of public opinion are coming to realize the need to resist imperialism in a more organized manner and on a larger scale, to link the struggle for democracy and social progress more closely with the struggle against a nuclear holocaust.

The communist parties, which express the interests of the working people, of the masses, are active in the anti-war movement and are making a unique contribution to the struggle to eliminate the threat of war. They identify themselves with all peace forces, work to consoli-

date their ranks and do their utmost to spell out the meaning of international processes and organize the masses in the struggle to maintain peaceful coexistence and avert a nuclear holocaust. The communists make a big contribution to peace by revealing to the masses the falsity of imperialist concepts of the possibility of "winning" a nuclear war, of the admissibility of "limited" nuclear war, refuting the allegation that the USA and the Soviet Union are "equally responsible" for the arms race and exposing the plan to alter military parity in favor of NATO. Anyone who now speaks out against the insensate arms race, for a peaceful future and creative labor, may rest assured that the communists are their most reliable and most consistent comrades-in-arms.

The complex and difficult struggle against imperialism's aggressive actions and plans has shown very clearly that imperialist foreign policy is an expression of the alignment of class and social forces in the country concerned, of the deep-lying contradictions and general crisis of capitalism. Hence the only way to raise a powerful barrier to the realization of imperialist plans for aggression and thwart them is to

achieve closer unity of effort of the socialist and other peace-loving countries coming out in the international arena against the nuclear danger and for disarmament, with the national movements of the masses pursuing the same objectives, and all who cherish the ideal of peace.

The year 1984 has begun. The struggle continues. The great battle for peace must be won, and it shall be won by the peoples.

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the WMR Editorial Council:

Mario Grabivker
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Sandor Szorcsik (HSWP),
James West (CPUSA),
Vusizwe Seme
(South African Communist Party)

1. *International Herald Tribune*, September 21, 1983.
2. *Pravda*, January 7, 1983.
3. For details, see "Common Sense, Realism, a High Sense of Responsibility. 1983: Soviet Proposals on Removing the War Danger" in this issue.
4. See *Pravda*, November 25, 1983.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Rude pravo*, June 27, 1983.

Peace is worth fighting for

Louis Van Geyt

Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium

Below is Louis Van Geyt's reply to questions submitted by *WMR* on the evolution of the anti-missile movement in Belgium and the communists' participation in it.*

In the life of a country like ours, the October demonstration in Brussels, which was held under the slogans of struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat in Europe, is undoubtedly an event of major importance. It involved people representing virtually all the political and ideological trends in Belgium, apart from, perhaps, the most pronounced reactionary ones.

Schematically speaking, one could say that there are three principal trends. The left forces, in the first place. Not all, but the majority of them: the General Federation of Labor of Belgium (its leaders and very many of its activists), the two socialist parties (the Flemish, which has reaffirmed its non-acceptance of missiles, and the French-speaking which has to some extent stopped its vacillation), some small re-

gional left or left-inclined organizations and, of course, the Communist Party.

The second — and, in terms of numerical strength, it, perhaps, should be put in the first place — a great number of people representing the militant forces of the Christian popular movement. The Catholic Church, particularly in Flanders, has a broad and powerful mass base, notably among young people, the working class, and other social groups and strata. Even a large section of the Church itself — priests and nuns — took part in or supported the demonstration. It will not be an exaggeration to say that it is in Flanders that the anti-missile movement first won the majority of the Christian community. True, this is still not a solid majority, because there are differing levels of participation and understanding of the aims of the peace struggle among those involved in it.

The third trend, which could, in a simplified way, be described as "non-politicized." In other words, it consists of people who are in no way affiliated to any established political force or structure — for instance, a large segment of

*This reply was received in early December 1983. —Ed.

unorganized youth and also quite a few people who belong to no party, trade union or public organization but are involved in the work of one or another broad grass-roots peace committee. To one extent or another they are showing their strength in the new social movements that have appeared over the past 15 years in a number of industrialized capitalist countries: some are preoccupied with ecological, environmental problems, while others are motivated by a desire to see more honesty in social and political life, etc. This trend has not yet crystallized in political terms. But together with the two other trends it has in the recent period fostered the growth of a wide-ranging movement against the nuclear arms race.

These three streams merged in the Brussels demonstration, in which more than 350,000 people participated.¹ This was the largest demonstration in Belgium since the Second World War. There had been individual actions of this kind in the past, but they were of a much smaller magnitude.

Mass movements and political groups

Moreover, and perhaps above all, it must be noted that the organized political forces that partly showed their own initiative in participating in the demonstration and partly were forced by the logic of circumstances to take part in it, were very impressive indeed. In the first place, of course, this applies to those who have been taking part in the anti-missile movement from the beginning and, in particular, acted jointly with the Communist Party of Belgium and the ecologists — I am referring to the Flemish Socialist Party (if we discount its apostasy at the close of 1979) and largely the Volksunie. I would say that the latter is a regionalist nationalistic Flemish party. But its ultra-right wing broke away and formed the Vlaams Blok (Flemish Bloc).

It may be said that the Volksunie unites relatively the most democratic and centrist forces of the nationalistic Flemish movement. It has the support chiefly of the Christian middle classes opposed to the prevalence of the traditional structures of the Catholic Church and the Christian People's Party, a mass party dominating the political scene in Flanders.

As I have already mentioned, the October demonstration was also more resolutely supported than any other before by the French-speaking Socialist Party, the main political group in Wallonia enjoying considerable influence in Brussels as well. This support was so great that the former Foreign Minister Henri Simonet publicly dissociated himself from the party.

However, the newest and most indicative fact was that a whole wing of the Christian People's Party, including several tens of its MPs, took part in the demonstration. I should like to re-state that this is a large political party, whose members include the Prime Minister Wilfried Martens and the Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans.

The mass peace movement thereby brought direct pressure to bear not only on the principal opposition political forces but also on the main governing party. To a lesser extent its impact was felt by the Social Christian Party, the analogue of the Christian People's Party and its French-speaking ally, and ultimately the government.

Little wonder that immediately after the demonstration the Christian People's Party likewise demanded a resumption of the debates in the Chamber of Representatives so that they would be held before the government gave its support to the NATO decision and Belgium dissociated itself from the stand adopted by the Netherlands² and declared itself in favor, before the end of 1983 (following the suspension of the Geneva talks on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons), of the deployment of 48 Cruise missiles on its territory.

Significance of restraint

Unquestionably, the missile debate in parliament on November 8 and 9 fell far below the expectations of the people who participated in the October demonstration. They had demanded that Belgium should at least officially postpone for six months or a year its own decision and urge a similar NATO postponement of the deployment of American Euromissiles in Britain, Italy and, chiefly, the FRG. The door would thus have been left wide open for negotiations in 1984. However, the proposals for a postponement of the Belgian decision, advanced by many, including communist MPs and supported by all the other opposition groups were rejected by the majority, and unanimously at that, of the MPs belonging to the Christian People's Party.

At the same time, while the government arrogated to itself the monopoly to decide the question of stationing missiles, its main mouthpieces made it clear that it would refrain from passing an official decision as long as there was some chance, however small, of an agreement at the East-West talks within the framework of which it would be stipulated that no missiles would be stationed in Belgium. The press associated with the Christian People's Party noted that as long as there was such a chance the decision would be put off, as in the

Netherlands, until the elections to the Euro-parliament scheduled for June, and possibly longer.

In this situation it was of the utmost importance that the strength and influence of the mass anti-missile movement should grow. Together with the Netherlands, Belgium continued "to keep its foot" in the negotiations door and thereby prevented the dangerous turn that developments immediately took as a result of the decisions adopted in London, Rome, and Bonn. Upon the heels of these decisions components of the first Cruise missiles began arriving in Greenham Common (Britain) and Comiso (Sicily), and components of the first nine Pershing-2s arrived for deployment in Mutlangen.

In this connection the Belgian communists, of course, share the legitimate disappointment and anxiety of all the participants in the October demonstration over the results of the parliamentary debates, which yielded no hard-and-fast decision, and especially in regard to the arrival of the first U.S. missiles in Europe which was followed at once by the announcement of Soviet counter-measures. Nonetheless, the Belgian communists want to believe that the "restraint" that Belgium and the Netherlands continue to show may help, as had already happened in the period after December 1979, to re-open the door to negotiations. If not to the negotiations on a reduction of medium-range nuclear systems then at least to other negotiations in Geneva or elsewhere. The purpose is to achieve agreement providing simultaneously for the withdrawal of the new NATO missiles from Western Europe and a reduction of the number of Soviet medium-range missiles.

The communist contribution

This contribution is self-evident. Thanks to its great breadth the mass movement has strongly influenced political forces and was able to bring pressure to bear on the government.

Although it was not the only one, the Communist Party of Belgium was the most consistent and steadfast in saying that on matters relating to the elimination of the nuclear threat it was absurd to oppose the mass movement to action at the level of political forces where the decisions are ultimately made. In our view, it is only the interaction of these two factors that creates fresh openings and new conditions for a change for the better. I believe that in this crucial area Belgium is one of the countries where the link between what is happening at the mass level and at the level of political forces, including those which are the closest to the govern-

ment, is now most indisputable.

In our country the Communist Party enjoys the recognition of everybody in the mass movement for peace, in which it is officially represented. It is being invited to speak at press conferences alongside the other "friendly" organizations and, symbolically, delegate a representative to the front rank of the demonstrators.

In order to give WMR readers a better understanding of the conditions under which we have to work it is evidently worthwhile recalling that Belgium is a country and Brussels is a capital where two large ethnic communities coexist. Given all the distinctions in the approach to the missile problem, similar views have prevailed in Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels, something that is much harder to achieve on some other issues. Even in social battles it is sometimes harder to arrive at the kind of identity of views that has been reached on the question of peace.

In Belgium, alongside the socialist and Christian working class movements, there are other forces of popular action with great traditions of militancy. However, what we usually call the political and ideological level of these movements, which are strongly influenced by reformism and characterized by impulses of spontaneity, is not always high enough.

For example, the traditional social militancy of the working class movement proved to be relatively vulnerable in the face of the initial blow of the harsh period of crisis. In order to surmount the vulnerabilities, which are due to the fact that in this tradition of militancy there is something akin to anarcho-syndicalism, it seems important to help the "spontaneous" streams get a better understanding of their own political rationale and the aims of the spreading battles. Precisely this gets unflagging attention from the Communist Party.

To some extent this evidently contains a partial explanation of the fact that the Communist Party's influence and activity in mass movements are well in excess of its size, considering that it is a small party with a limited potential at elections.

We believe that, by and large, this is the main positive outcome of the orientation adopted by the party's 11th congress in 1954 and subsequently enlarged upon when the party dropped its dogmatic and simultaneously sectarian stand of the cold war period. This impetus, given nearly 30 years ago, did not come out of the blue. It was linked to the tradition expressed in the fact, for instance, that in the past our party had thoroughly grasped the resolutions of the seventh congress of the Third Inter-

national, the injunctions of Georgi Dimitrov, and the anti-fascist alliance's strategy of struggle. In other words, at its 11th congress the party in a sense returned to that tradition after having gone through the extremely complex and bleak period of the cold war, a period when we fell into a trap of the most schematic sectarianism. Although, fortunately, the dangerous deviation was not long-lived, it cost us dearly.

One price that we had to pay was that a party of medium strength, the Communist Party was again reduced to a small size. True, this taught it some lessons and despite its small numerical strength it played, as is widely acknowledged, a useful role in the country's working class and democratic movement.

A brief look into the past

With the experience of the past 30 years behind us I would like to note that in the struggle for peace in Belgium there are things that we ourselves sometimes lose sight of. For instance, in my view, the first major anti-militarist battle in post-war Western Europe was fought precisely in our country — this was the battle against the prolongation of the term of military service. Influenced by the cold war and the war in Korea, the right-wing government in Belgium at the time was intent on militarization. Moreover, attempts were made to pare down democratic freedoms, notably in the civil service. The mass struggle, of which the Communist Party or, at least, a section of it and its youth organization were the motive force, struck a counter-blow at the militarization plans. This was already an indication that in Belgium there was a very important stream capable of successful action even in the cold war situation, of rejecting the arguments of the advocates of a bloc policy.

But there was more. In Belgium, for example, there was a fairly big response to the Stockholm Appeal and the results of this response were highly significant. There subsequently were advances that helped to promote a new type of movement, which formed the basis of the recent October demonstration in Brussels.

The first of these advances was the battle in 1975 against the "30 billions." At that time the question arose of purchasing the latest type of military aircraft for four small NATO bloc states — Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium. For our country the deal spelled out as a first step an outlay of 30 billion Belgian francs to be paid over a period of several years. The movement against this purchase, which was officially described as a defensive measure against the "Soviet military threat," acquired a

fairly large dimension. It was then that in the CPB there was vacillation about whether to support this movement or not on the grounds that it was a spontaneous movement and had proclaimed a slogan that was essentially wrong: "Neither Washington, nor Moscow." However, because this was a dynamic protest of the masses against the arms race we discussed the situation and announced that we would participate in it. We did this not because we approved this slogan but in order to join in the protest movement, explain the actual state of affairs, and state our own stand, which rejected the logic of blocs and called for a Belgian foreign and military policy that would not be so closely tied to the policies pursued by Washington. In protest against the 30-billion deal there was what for those days was a large demonstration, involving between 10,000 and 15,000 people. Communists and socialists marched at the head of the demonstration, and alongside them there were many Christians.

Then there gradually arose the problem of nuclear armaments (apart from those aircraft that are capable of carrying tactical nuclear weapons and which — regrettably it must be said — are mere toys compared to what we are now threatened with). In 1978 there sharply arose the question of the neutron bomb and in the next year that of Euromissiles. At the same time there was a growing awareness among the people of the danger threatening the world.

And at this point I should like to emphasize that the anti-missile movement in Belgium would never have reached its magnitude (I am speaking of the period from 1979 to the present) if its inspirers, including the communists, had not fought tirelessly for plurality, rejecting, for instance, the attempts to oppose the socialists and the Christians to each other. This is the first point. The second is that the movement owed its scale and unity largely to the fact that it was built up on the basis of a platform that while not governed by the principle of "equidistance" from blocs nevertheless called for a reduction of nuclear armaments both in the East and in the West. This stand in no way prevents the spearhead of the struggle being directed against those responsible for the escalation, against Washington's policies that directly affect Belgium's interests.

Had the present movement been limited to fighting the NATO Euromissiles it would never have embraced such a mass of people, some of whom perhaps initially have no sympathy for socialist countries and are by no means convinced that capitalism brings war just as a cloud brings a storm.

Further, the consistently advanced Soviet

proposals that the USSR would reduce its most modern weapons, the SS-20s, if NATO missiles are not deployed and, in particular, Yuri Andropov's initiatives accomplished much, persuading large sections of public opinion that escalation can be avoided and there can be agreement by negotiations if the European members of NATO reject Washington's striving to station these missiles on their territories at all costs.

What next?

Developments, I regret to say, began to take a different turn in November 1983 as a result of the decisions adopted by Britain, Italy and the FRG and the commencement of the installation of Euromissiles in these countries. The USSR at once broke off the Geneva talks on a reduction of medium-range nuclear systems and announced its counter-measures. This change of the situation, the responsibility for which devolves, in the first place, on the Reagan administration and the West European governments acceding to its demands, signifies that a very dangerous threshold has been crossed toward the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe beginning in Europe.

I should like to say bluntly that in the opinion of the Communist Party of Belgium this dangerous process cannot as yet be regarded as irreversible. On the contrary, it is still not too late to turn it around, provided everybody is fully conscious of the possibilities still open in the West European countries where missiles are to be stationed. I am speaking of the possibilities ensuring the return to talks in the language of common sense despite the resignation to what has already been done.

In our view, an important though not stable element in this respect is the "restraint" shown by Belgium together with the Netherlands. To date the FRG is the only country in Central Europe that accepts U.S. missiles. One cannot discount the fact that on the eve of the debates in the Bundestag the Social Democratic Party of Germany clearly stated its opposition to the deployment of these missiles.

However, the "restraint" shown by Belgium and the Netherlands is due chiefly to the expectation that in spite of the arrival in Europe of the first 41 Euromissiles, including nine Pershing-2s in the FRG, several months separate us from the arrival of the next batch of missiles. This time could be used to resume efforts on a broader basis (than the now suspended talks on a reduction of medium-range nuclear system) with the objective of securing the withdrawal of the new American missiles

and a reduction of Soviet missiles to the level of the NATO armaments prior to November 1983. That is why it is very important that this expectation should be speedily backed up with new steps helping to nullify the Reagan strategy of faits accomplis.

The substantial growth, over the past few months, of the mass anti-missile movement, in Belgium as elsewhere, and the repercussions of this development at the level of political forces in our and other countries give us grounds for believing that there is nothing unrealizable in the hopes for the success of these steps.

The year 1984 would then be one of hope instead of a new and much more dangerous period of nuclear escalation.

1. Its slogans were: "Say No to Missiles — Take a Step Toward Disarmament", "No to New Nuclear Weapons Either in Belgium or in Europe", "No to the Neutron Bomb and Cruise and Pershing-2 Missiles", "Dismantle the SS-20s", "Dismantle All Existing Nuclear Weapons", "Proclaim Europe a Nuclear-Free Zone", "Demand an Independent and Active Peace Policy for Belgium", "The USA and the USSR: Freeze the Nuclear Arms Race", "Disarmament for the Sake of Development." — Ed.

2. Although it supported the NATO decision in December 1979 the Netherlands government has not finally agreed to the stationing of 48 Cruise missiles in its country. It continues to postpone adopting a decision, linking its stand to the results of the negotiations in Geneva. Further, it is declared that failure of the talks would not mean that the Netherlands would automatically agree to the deployment of the missiles. — Ed.

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Under the banner of collectivism

Josef Lenart

CC Presidium member, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
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The 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz) in 1981 drew the following fundamental conclusion: our society has reached a level, a stage of maturity at which all the social relations are being restructured on the collectivist principles which are inherent in socialism. In the CC report to the congress, Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz CC and President of Czechoslovakia, stressed that socialism "has become a reality and is developing successfully. The working person is free and sovereign lord and master of his country ... The liquidation of the power of capital and the building of socialism are the joint achievement of communists and non-communists, millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals, and of our people as a whole."¹

Collectivism is expressed in the voluntary, stable and conscious unification of people in which social and personal interests are harmoniously blended. Collectivism under socialism helps to create the most favorable conditions for satisfying the working people's material and spiritual requirements, for perfecting and developing the individual in every way, and for involving broad masses of people in the administration and management of the affairs of the society and the state.

The character of social relations, including those within the collective, is determined by the society's dominant form of property in the means of production. Let us recall that collectivist forms of human vital activity originated in humankind's earliest period, when the then still inefficient means of production were held in joint possession. People were united by their joint labor effort, a process in which they realized the necessity and usefulness of collective activity. This collective activity was based on mutual support, and there was no separation between the common and the personal.

The emergence of private property, and the consequent origination of classes and the state predetermined the disintegration of the primitive community. The progress of the productive forces brought to life new relations of production, and stimulated the development of the individual, while eroding the initial forms of collectivism. A high price has to be paid for progress. Base manifestations of egoism, like greed and the appropriation of the common

property by the ruling élite, inevitably appear in class society. This is most pronounced under capitalism, when the bourgeoisie "has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.'"²

Under the domination of capitalist private property, the bourgeoisie proclaims individualism as the main means of self-assertion. For all its diverse manifestations, the substance of bourgeois individualism is always the same: it is an urge to achieve success only for oneself, even at the expense of the interests, well-being and the very life of other people. Since profit is the goal of production under capitalism, while money is the equivalent of all human talents, merits and spiritual values, the society is itself inevitably turned into an arena of bitter competitive struggle for personal "success," which is measured by the size of the moneybag.

The laws of competition reign above all in the world of private enterprise, but they also to some extent affect the working people, whom capitalism forces, whether they want to or not, to compete with each other for jobs and for something like a position of prestige, which also depends on money. The bourgeoisie cultivates individualism because it regards individualism as the main condition for the development of the society and the individual, and as the embodiment of enterprise and all of man's creative capacity. In practice, however, the ruling class attacks the working people's rights and freedoms and suppresses these in every way. The spread of individualism fostered on the soil of private property undermines the social basis for genuine collectivism. Marx and Engels called the various associations in the exploitive society an "illusory community" and "substitutes for the community."³

The history of all exploitive societies is the development of class contradictions which reach a culminating point in the contemporary capitalist world in the form of the antagonism between the proletariat and the proprietors of the means of production, between a tiny exploiter minority and the absolute majority of working people in town and country, between the imperialist powers and the developing

states. But this contradictory development tends to have fatal consequences for the bourgeoisie itself. It never ceases its efforts to expand industrial production and take over world markets, because on that depends the maximization of profits, but the material and technical facilities in the possession of the bourgeoisie ultimately create the prerequisites for the overthrow of its domination. As these facilities are built up, there is a growth and consolidation of the class of modern workers constituting their own collectives — unions, societies, and political parties — whose purpose is to fight the ruling classes. The bourgeoisie, says the *Communist Manifesto*, "produces, above all, ... its own gravediggers."⁴

Those are the historical conditions in which the unity and class consciousness of the workers grow, and they are increasingly influenced by the views of the progressive ideologists who spread the idea of the actual equality of people. The proletarian ideology, new moral values, like solidarity and collectivism, which are the shoots of a new and truly humane morality, are formed and gradually rooted in the minds of the working people. Consequently, the new collectivism emerges as a new moral principle within the framework of the capitalist society. In the course of the liberation struggle carried on by the working class party, the working people are united and become aware that they cannot get rid of oppression and exploitation unless they unite their forces. Socialist collectivism, which springs from the proletarian revolution, becomes a gain for the whole of humankind which is of tremendous historical importance. The working class turns it into a mighty propelling force operating both within the borders of the individual states and on an international scale.

In socialist society, collectivism determines the relations between people in every sphere of social life, for it is the most important element in the system of the new person's moral values, the social form in which the development of the individual is alone possible under socialism. The constitution of Czechoslovakia says: "In the working people's society, every individual is able to attain the full development of his capacities and satisfaction of his legitimate interests only through active participation in the development of the whole society, above all by contributing his due share to social labor."⁵

The Marxist proposition that "only in community [with others has each] individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions; only in the community, therefore, is personal freedom possible"⁶ fully applies to socialist

collectivism. Socialism destroys the class antagonisms and removes the deep-seated causes for the dichotomy between the individual and society. This creates the prerequisites for resolving the contradictions between freedom and necessity, asceticism and the urge to enjoy all the goods of life, and between the personal and the social. Under triumphant socialism, work which needs to be done, and free creative activity, the individual's rights and duties, free will and the society's demands on the individual — all of these are no longer in sharp opposition to each other. The experience of existing socialism, including Czechoslovak socialism, shows that in the course of building the new society a solid platform is created for the gradual establishment of a harmonious unity between the individual and society.

The shaping of socialist collectivism is connected with the radical changes in the economic and political spheres of social life, in the sphere of ethical relations, with the struggle against bourgeois individualism and private property mentality. As a result new social interests emerge and are consolidated, and they make the classes and social groups draw closer together and further unite in their vital concern for increasing the social wealth which belongs to all. Collectivism makes itself felt in every aspect of life.

In the economic sphere, socialism has a dynamic collective production developing under a single plan and based on the undivided domination of socialist property. The material and technical basis which creates the possibilities for using the latest scientific and technical achievements is the material factor of this production. Its human factor consists of collectives of working people in which there is a constant growth in the number of skilled specialists. The relations of production help to practise the socialist collectivist principle of distributing according to work.

In the political sphere, the new system is characterized by the formation and strengthening of the state which expresses the interests of the working people, above all those of the working class, the society's leading force. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, its vanguard and the people's collective intellect, and through the socialist state, the people lay down the country's domestic and foreign policy.

In the social sphere, society is characterized by the disappearance of exploiter classes and social groups, something that completely rules out the appropriation of one person's labor by another. Social unity, the unity of collective interests is taking shape and constantly grow-

ing in society. In sharp struggle and from their own experience, our working people have now been convinced of the need for the unity of the working class and of the whole people; they have come to understand that such unity is a mighty source of revolutionary strength and the main pledge of attainment of the set goals.

Socialist collectivism, whose substance is determined by relations of solidarity and cooperation, comradely mutual assistance and responsibility for fulfilling the tasks facing the class, the society and the state, does not appear ready-made. It develops and matures with the progress of society. The years of building the new system in Czechoslovakia have taught us that the formation of collectivism should be analyzed in its dynamic and most diverse manifestations, in the concrete historical situation.

It is clear to us, for instance, that at the present stage in the qualitative perfection of every sphere of life in socialist society to which we now turn our attention, there is a vital need to combine the advantages of collectivism and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. This applies, in particular, to the sphere of administration. The socialist economy is collectively directed through the planning of its development and fulfillment of the adopted plan. That is socialism's unquestionable advantage. But it can be realized only if the level of planning is raised, and if it is made more purposeful, rational and scientific through the use of cybernetics, a product of the scientific and technological revolution.

The character and specific features in the shaping of socialist collectivism are most visually and multifariously expressed in the dedicated labor of the members of our society. For the citizens of the new socialist world, work for the people's benefit becomes the main sphere for applying one's creative powers and extending and enriching the forms of one's activity. Under socialism, work is not just a source of funds for satisfying one's material requirements, but also a way of expressing a person's social and collectivist substance. In a sense, the proportions of the individual are enlarged and one's spiritual qualities enhanced, because every citizen regards his or her work at a factory, in the field, in an R and D office, of which the people are master, as service to the people, and to the whole country, instead of a handful of exploiters appropriating that which is created by the hands and brains of others. Under socialism, work ultimately becomes the meaning of life.

The flourishing of socialist collectivism is also expressed in the constant development of

human capacities. "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work," such is the key principle of the new society, and it is inseparable from our understanding of the substance of collectivism. Consequently, socialist society wants the capacities of its members opened up to the broadest and deepest extent. It has no intention of converting people into robots, into appendages of the conveyor line. There is much evidence of this, including the constantly growing expenditures on education, the working people's occupational training, and also the current switching of the economy to a qualitatively new stage, which is characterized by a further upswing in science and technology. It takes more than perfect technology to automate production through the use of robots. Such technology cannot be applied without close cooperation between workers and executive personnel, scientists and engineers. It cannot be done without their having a high sense of social certitude. Technical progress under socialism does not at all set itself the goal of squeezing the greatest possible effort out of the workers, so increasing their physical and nervous stresses, as is being done in the capitalist countries. On the contrary, the introduction of new hardware and technology in production in the socialist countries helps to humanize labor, substituting for the unattractive and monotonous operations those which give more satisfaction and require rising skill standards.

That explains why socialist collectivism enhances the working people's social initiative. In a society without antagonistic contradictions, a society in which all are linked through a common endeavor that has everyone's personal interest, the members of work collectives make their own proposals helping to make the common labor effort more efficient. It is said that the human brain now has an efficiency of only seven per cent. There are various ways of increasing it. Among those in the social sphere is socialist collectivism, which can best help to switch on the individual's still untapped, dormant creative potentialities.

However, every member of a socialist work collective, in which the best conditions are created for the individual's development and self-expression, has to be aware of his or her serious responsibility to other people who constitute the social whole, and display a high level of discipline, and a readiness to concert his or her interests with the common interest. It is not only in theory but also in practice that a person gradually comes to comprehend the self-evident truth that "one cannot live in a society and be free of it."⁷ However, some people in our country do not yet have an ade-

quate understanding of this, and regard the abiding by social discipline, for instance, as an encroachment on the individual's personality and freedom. Such people equate personal independence and individual opposition to the collective. The collective has to be a strict but caring and sensitive educator of such people.

The process in which the rights and interests of each are harmonized with those of the collective, the society and the state is, of course, a very subtle one. There should be no simplistic view of the task of harmonizing the interests of the society and the individual, for it is a very fine one. But in contrast to the social formations before it, socialism undertakes to fulfil this task and does fulfil it, so that ultimately one is able to express oneself most fully and with the greatest benefit through creative effort and participation in the common endeavor, so displaying one's best natural endowments.

State plans for economic and social development are, as I have already said, the main instruments for realizing the collective interests of a society which is characterized by balanced development and in which labor is transformed into the free activity of all citizens based on their conscious discipline.

The creative approach to planning, and a responsible attitude to the drawing up and fulfillment of plans are the way increasingly to concert the interests of the society, the work collectives, and every working person.

Socialist emulation has an important role to play in plan fulfillment. In substance, it is antithetical to the ceaseless and brutal competition in which everyone fights against everyone else, as is done in capitalist society. The purpose of socialist emulation is social progress benefiting the society as a whole and each of its members. The emulation which has assumed massive proportions in our country, and has become a living school of communism, is characterized by such collectivist features as comradely cooperation, mutual assistance, a conscious attitude to social property, and a sense of responsibility for the flourishing of the socialist homeland. The fact that it involves the absolute majority of people working in the national economy shows just how wide it is. One-third of them are members of socialist work teams, a movement which has become the highest form of emulation at the present stage. These teams carry on their day-to-day work under the slogan: "Work the socialist way, live the socialist way."

The switch to the intensification of the economy requires that the emulation should be clearly oriented toward the attainment of high product quality and efficiency of production.

Here much is being done by an organizational form such as the adoption of joint socialist commitments by all the allied organizations and enterprises involved in the making and marketing of a given type of product. Our experience has shown this to be one of the most fruitful ways of overcoming artificial departmental and sectoral barriers with strict observance of the overall state interest. Such a pooling of efforts by allied workers has made it possible, for instance, to remodel Blast Furnace No. 1 at the East Slovak Metallurgical Combine in the record period of 115 days, and to make good the delay in building the Antonin Zapotocky Bridge, Prague's biggest.

In view of the imperative need to accelerate the cycle of interaction between science, technology and production, ever greater importance is attached to the movement of complex rationalizer teams. Here scientists, engineers, technicians and workers join in the swiftest application of scientific and technical achievements in production. The revolutionary practice of many such teams not only helps to strengthen cooperation between the intelligentsia and the workers, but also opens up fresh potentialities for solidly uniting the efforts of the basic and applied sciences in tackling production tasks. All of these and many other examples show how socialist emulation helps to overcome shortcomings within the system of production administration and the process of labor.

The power of collective cooperation and comradely mutual assistance is being tested in practice not only in industry, but also in agriculture. It brings inspiration to the activity of "cooperative districts," which are mushrooming in the West Slovak region. In these districts production and economic ties between neighboring agricultural cooperatives are extended and deepened. The districts help lagging farms to rise to the average level, and the average farms to rise to the level of the advanced farms, thereby ensuring their common upswing. We put a high value on this initiative, which is of great educational significance, and which highlights socialist consciousness, mutual understanding and comradely mutual assistance. It also helps in effectively spreading advanced experience, in applying scientific and technical achievements more rapidly, and in making better use of farming machines. All of this creates the prerequisites for advancing agricultural collective labor to a higher stage of development.

It would have been impossible to consolidate the collectivist principles of our society without a solution of the nationalities question on

Lenin's principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, and the complete equality and friendship of the peoples. The character of the relations between nationalities in Czechoslovakia has been changed by the overcoming of the historically-rooted differences in the economic, political and cultural life of the Czechs, Slovaks and other nationalities constituting the population of the country, and the deepening of their cooperation and mutual assistance. Bourgeois nationalism, by means of which the ruling classes used to incite our peoples and ethnic groups against each other, has been undercut by the community of interests and goals, by the common economy, by the progress, mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the unique national cultures. A comparison of the past, with its characteristic national inequality and oppression, and the present reality, in which all the peoples are linked with fraternal relations, provides a visual lesson of what each country stands to gain from implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy.

However, the importance of socialist collectivism, as the basis of relations between nations, now transcends the framework of the individual states and is the motive force of the fraternal socialist countries' growing all-round cooperation and unity. In these countries, including Czechoslovakia, these processes are under way not only on the level of governing bodies, but range over every element of the party and state organism and the extensive network of social organizations. Regions, towns, plants, cooperatives and scientific institutes in the fraternal countries have bonds of friendship. We in Czechoslovakia highly value this cooperation, which is an indispensable and ever more effective factor in our advance in the economy, science, technology, culture and every other sphere of life.

Among the many examples of the truly historic importance of cooperation with the Soviet Union for Czechoslovakia, there is above all the tremendous assistance which the world's first socialist state has been giving us through deliveries of raw materials and fuels, the development of the nuclear-energy industry, and especially the building of nuclear-power plants. Of exceptional importance also is the fact that our economy can rely on the USSR's powerful scientific and technical potential, making use of the new discoveries by Soviet science, a trail-blazer in nuclear physics, electronics, genetics and many other fields of knowledge. It depends on us alone how to make more effective use of the potentialities which this opens up for further progress.

Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation, like the cooperation of all the fraternal states within the CMEA framework, rests on deepening integration processes and is now entering upon the next, higher stage of its development. This is expressed in various spheres of life, but above all in the economy, where new forms of interrelations — for instance, the formation of joint enterprises and organizations, research institutions, etc. — are appearing. It is in our common interest to make bolder use of the more effective forms of cooperation for the benefit of all the peoples of the community and of each people individually.

The CMEA countries' collective activity has a definitive influence on the whole of our life and on our consciousness. In practice, there is a development of a qualitatively new phenomenon: the collective international movement of millions of builders of the new society, who are inspired by the common goal of communist construction.

The relations linking the socialist states with each other have become the embodiment of the concepts of the future which Lenin formulated 70 years ago. In 1914, when the world was in the throes of an imperialist war and rent asunder by hatred, he wrote: "The socialist movement . . . creates new and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of each nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity."⁸

At that time, Lenin believed that it was only the contemporary revolutionary socialist movement that was an important force capable of resisting the imperialist war. Today, the socialist community countries have become the same kind of force, but an immensely mightier one, and a bastion of peace standing up against the adventurist policy of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, which is trying to reverse the tide of history and to establish its domination over the globe.

Our community, with a foreign policy based on the principles of socialist internationalism and collectivism, believes that its main goal is to remove the threat of war, to effect disarmament, and to preserve and deepen peaceful co-existence and cooperation between states with different socio-political systems.

Socialism and peace are indivisible. It is in the very nature of socialism to resist the policy of arbitrariness and violence in international relations, the policy of inciting states against each other and bending the weak to the strong, gunboat diplomacy and the big-stick policy, a

policy which is anti-communist, reactionary and imperialist.

The socialist countries' consistent and purposeful peace policy enjoys the support of the world's progressive forces, attracts ever greater sympathies among broad masses of people in various parts of the globe, and meets with understanding among the realistically-minded leaders of the capitalist states. Aimed to secure the victory of reason over madness, of life over nuclear death, this policy ultimately dooms the reckless plans of the imperialist adventurers to failure.

The building of the new society is simultaneously a process in which the morality of masses of people is molded in the spirit of socialism. The CPCz, our society's leading force, sets itself the goal of asserting and strengthening the principles of collectivism in the thinking and behavior of every citizen. This can be more easily done because it can use the fraternal countries' common wealth of experience in socialist construction. The richer this common experience, the more clearly the universal uniformities of educating the new person stand out.

"The historical experience of existing socialism shows that it is no simple matter to turn 'mine', privately-owned, into 'ours', collectively-owned. The revolution in property relations can by no means be reduced to a single act, as a result of which the basic means of production become the property of the whole people. To get the rights of master and to become a true, wise and thrifty master are not the same thing at all. Having accomplished the socialist revolution, the people have a long way to go before they learn their new position as the supreme and undivided owners of the entire social wealth — preparing themselves for it both economically, politically and, if you like, psychologically, developing a collectivist mentality and behavior. For a man is of socialist upbringing only if he cannot remain indifferent not only to his own labor successes, well-being and prestige, but also to the performance of his work-mates, of the work collective, to the interests of the whole country and the working people of the world."⁹

That is just how we want to see the man and woman of the new society: a collectivist, a creator, and not an individualist, not a mechanical performer of various operations, instructions, orders. The new person regards as important not only the immediate result of his own efforts, but also his place in the work collective, and his value for the society. We have every right to say that a creative attitude to work, a broad political horizon and steadfastness, high moral stan-

dards and relations of comradeship are noble features which have become components of the socialist way of life. The urge and possibility of making a personal contribution to the common cause serve as a great incentive not only for work, but for the whole of social activity as well. As their intersection there is a convergence of political tasks and production tasks whose solution involves all the citizens of our society. That is precisely the approach to the solution of any social or economic problem, the *political* one, that Lenin urged. It requires that any question of social development should be considered primarily in the light of the ultimate tasks of communist construction and the consolidation of socialism's positions in the international arena — and that is of exceptional importance for us.

Collectivism gives scope for political, economic and spiritual activity of citizens, enterprises, societies and organizations, and directs this activity to the attainment of goals in which the whole people, the society and the socialist community countries have a stake. That is why the growing identity of the individual's aspirations with the interests of the society, and the assertion in the minds and behavior of every citizen of the priority of social interests are simultaneously an extension and deepening of individual freedom.

As the advantages of socialism are ever more fully brought out, they shed a strong light on the deep gulf separating the old and the new system, and that is why the apologists of capitalism hate socialism. The extreme reactionaries among them would like to perpetuate the bestial laws and morality of the bourgeois world and have launched a crusade against communism, which, they claim, is a dead-end in socio-historical development. That is sheer, malicious slander. The new society is the highest stage in the development of world civilization, for it is based on humanistic principles, puts a high value on human beings and seeks to satisfy their requirements much more deeply and fully than capitalism can ever do. The attempts to exert an influence, mainly on the intelligentsia, by holding forth on the limited opportunities for creative effort and individual development, on the "massization" and "unification" of the individual under socialism are also based on a distortion of the truth. As in many other cases, the anti-communists in this case ascribe to socialism the defects which capitalism itself has produced. It is bourgeois individualism which deprives millions of people in the capitalist world of their human face. Inertness in many spheres of social life, with the exception of the narrow framework of

personal well-being, deliberate abstention from involvement in the solution of social and political problems — are these not stereotypes of behavior and thinking which have nothing in common with the individuals' free expression, and which are peddled by bourgeois propaganda and mass culture?

True collectivism is incompatible either with a barrack-room bureaucratic order, or with an anarchic wilfulness with respect to the principles of socialism. The rules of the First International, set up by the founders of scientific communism Marx and Engels, said: "No rights without duties, no duties without rights." Today, this is one of the key principles determining the multifaceted activity, indeed, the whole life of the working people of the new, socialist world.

The fullness of a personality depends on the wealth of its social, collective ties. That is why our society's collectivist socio-moral tenet is antithetical to the idea of a Spartan egalitarianism, ascetic self-denial and standardization of the way of life which are characteristic of "barrack-room communism." The men and women of socialist Czechoslovakia have diverse requirements and interests embodying communist ideals and the principles and norms of our morality.

The strengthening and development of collectivist trends is a necessary condition for successfully building a developed socialist society and fulfilling the concrete tasks set by the party. The 16th congress of the CPCz determined that today "the main goal of the party's policy is to preserve and improve — even in the substantially more difficult external and internal conditions — the present high living standards of the population and its social certitude on the basis of the results that will be achieved in the development of the national economy."¹⁰

The congress oriented the party, state and economic organizations, our working people and our whole society toward the fact that the attainment of this goal will be a difficult matter in view of the continuing important changes and the new realities in economic conditions both at home and throughout the world. In the light of the results of the economic and social development in the first few years of the seventh five-year plan period, one could draw the conclusion that the objective difficulties are in the main being overcome. One must stress, however, that this could not have been achieved without the selfless efforts and mass initiatives of the working people, without the CPCz's sustained and painstaking organizational activity.

A fresh impetus to the party's further efforts

in developing our collectivist principles has come from the work-collectives law recently passed in the Soviet Union, enhancing their role in the management of enterprises, establishments and organizations. That document is also of programmatic importance for us, because it indicates the ways of further perfecting socialist democracy, strengthening the principles of collectivism and enhancing the working people's role in running the society. It is an inspiration for the even fuller use of the tremendous advantages of socialist democracy in developing the creative activity of the masses.

We seek to increase the concern of work collectives for the formulation and realization of the economic and social development plans of enterprises, establishments, towns and other populated localities. All of this requires that the trade unions, the national committees and other organs of state power should give greater attention to the working people's activity in plan adjustment. We have also been thinking about making the standing production conferences more effective. All the proposals, initiatives and experience which workers bring to these conferences are studied in depth by the governing bodies and provide effective assistance in improving management. Scrupulous fulfillment of collective agreements, which determine the mutual obligations and mutual responsibility of the management and the collective at the enterprise, are of great importance.

The strengthening of collectivism in our work and life is closely bound up with the raising of the vanguard role of party organizations, which form the core of work collectives. We believe that the communists' task is to promote more actively the work collectives' exercise of their broad powers in practice, to increase the communists' responsibility for maintaining a healthy moral and political atmosphere in these collectives, and ensuring that each makes a contribution to the common effort. The communists will go on giving much attention to educating a sense of pride among the working people for high product quality, for the prestige of their factory logo and responsibility for timely fulfillment of all the adopted socialist commitments.

Our society is constantly working to translate the principles of collectivism into practical life. Although the advance here is not as rapid as one would like to have it, what has been done shows that we are on the right road. Education in the collective, through the collective, and for the collective is an expression of one of the most essential aspects of the socialist way of life.

In showing the fundamental importance of international collective revolutionary experience and creative assimilation of all the valuable elements produced by the working people's struggle throughout the world, Lenin said that every individual attempt to build a new society could suffer from some kind of incompleteness or one-sidedness, but that "complete socialism" will "be created by the revolutionary cooperation of the proletarians of all countries."¹¹ It is only under the banner of collectivism that the diverse and complicated tasks in developing and perfecting the new society can be solved — and we are sure that we shall successfully solve them on a collective basis in close cooperation with the other fraternal parties.

1. XVI, sjezd Komunistické strany Československa, Prague, 1981, p. 15.
2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 487.
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 93.
4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 496.
5. *Ustava CSSR*, Prague, 1977, p. 64.
6. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 93.
7. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 48.
8. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 38-39.
9. Yuri Andropov, "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Building Socialism in the USSR", *Information Bulletin*, May, 1983.
10. XVI. sjezd Komunistické strany Československa, Praha, 1981, p. 367.
11. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 346.

At the center of liberation struggles

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It could on the surface seem that colonial oppression and plunder in South Africa started by accident: a thief who had been punished by the Dutch East India Company for embezzlement had a shipwreck around what was called the Cape of Good Hope. As they landed at the Cape, the seafarers decided to create a halfway station for refuelling and also for the cultivation of fresh vegetables for the ships that went round the Cape en route to the East Indies. In the course of their stay in that area they came into contact with the indigenous people. In that process of coming together, the Dutch settlers came to know about the existence of cattle, and that was the beginning of the fight for possession of the livestock of the African people. It was the beginning of colonization, the onset of the era of colonialism.

European states — England, France, Portugal and Holland — were colonizing more and more territory on the continent, dividing it among themselves. Eventually there was hardly any region in Africa whose people had not suffered the ravages of Western European colonialism. None have been oppressed for a longer period or with more thoroughness than the indigenous people of South Africa.

The colonial powers began to make their presence felt ever more vigorously. When there were discoveries of mineral wealth like diamonds and gold, they needed labor power to mine them. With the advent of mining and

auxiliary industries, the working class was coming into being.

The composition and position of the different sections of the South African working class bear the imprint of the development of the South African capitalist class. The diamond and gold fever of the end of the last century attracted wealth and job seekers, mainly from the European countries and primarily Britain. These workers brought with them experience of trade unionism and socialist ideas, but also their national and racial prejudices. From the outset, therefore, the coming into being of the working class was accompanied by sharp contradictions, which continue to manifest themselves to this very day, acting as a fettering force in the development of effective class solidarity and unity between Black and white workers.

Who is who among the workers of South Africa

The social structure of South Africa can be compared to a pyramid: at the top of that pyramid is the white population; on the next rung of the social ladder are the Coloureds and the Indians, and the base — the bottom — is formed by the most exploited and dispossessed — the African population.

This applies to the working class as well. The whites form the élite of the working groups; they are the blue-eyed boys of the racist

employers. When the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed in 1924 it formed a protective wing over the white workers: their unions were recognized; skilled jobs were reserved for whites only; they were always guaranteed employment. In the hungry 30s the African workers were kicked out of their jobs to make space for whites; all white-collar jobs in the offices were for whites only. They lived in the cities with the bosses and they themselves became employers of domestic servants. Obviously their wages were better than those of African workers.

In the event of a strike, the white workers have always been the ones who, together with the police, came out against the African workers. In the event of a revolt, a fight for freedom, a struggle against the Pass Laws, against bad housing, for better conditions in the African locations, they form vigilante groups against the African workers. In the context of the national liberation struggle, these workers nowadays can be considered collaborators with the oppressive racist regime. In fact they have deserted the working class. The only thing that makes them look like workers are the overalls they wear, but their activities point in the direction of the bosses. However in an independent non-racial South Africa the white workers will be able to make a useful contribution to the process of radical social transformation, corresponding with their true class interests.

But today it is in keeping with the South African revolutionary process to speak of the Black working class as distinct from the "white workers."

The next category is that of the Coloured and Indian workers. They receive a few crumbs from the ruling class, which is the white racist regime. This group has always been allowed to organize and form registered trade unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act, but in the event of whites joining any of their unions, the leadership invariably passed into the hands of the whites. They are not allowed to lead the whites.

The next category is that of the African workers themselves:

Urban workers. They are relatively permanent wage laborers who form and are indeed the core of the industrial proletariat. They reside in the townships/ghettos surrounding the big cities and towns, commuting daily to the places of employment. In terms of social disposition they are no different from the rest of their counterparts since they are subjected to the same brutal political controls and vicious economic deprivations.

Migrant workers. This category constitutes

the majority of the workforce sustaining the mining industry, heavy industry and related capitalist holdings. Recruited from the Bantustans and parts of southern Africa, they suffer untold social deprivations and groan under the heavy load of work insecurity. To all intents and purposes the migrant worker has been transformed into an item of enterprise, and can be hired and fired at will. Influx control regulations hit them the hardest since they can remain in the cities only to slave for the capitalists for the duration of the terms defined in their labor contracts. This control tears apart family life.

Farm workers. It should be noted that in South Africa the colonialists and the employers dispossessed the Africans of their land and there are therefore no peasants in the classical sense. There are those who squat on white farm lands and work as labor tenants. In this system the whole family is expected to work on the farm; their remuneration is usually in kind and child labor is widespread.

Domestic workers. They are employed in almost all white households. They have no rights of any kind except that of selling their labor power. In the past, they could not even be organized into a union according to the law. Their conditions of employment can only be described as horrifying. Domestic workers are expected to work under employers only for as long as the employer needs their labor. They are expected to sleep on the premises and while in employment may not be visited by anyone including members of the family. The wages are determined by the individual employer and may be as abysmally low as 7 rand a month.¹

Thus, the African worker is in the most downtrodden position. He is at the bottom of the social ladder, where he is expected to bear all possible repression. The African worker still lives on reservations and in urban areas he is housed in separate African locations. He suffers the indignities of lack of facilities for human existence: he goes without electricity, there is no sewage system, and his children have no proper schooling. The African worker does not have the right to vote. In the thinking of the white colonialist, he is expected to be dumb and to have no right to protest. He is not expected to ascend any higher than where he is and his children are not expected to attain a higher level of education. In the land of his birth, he is landless and the victim of the cruellest form of exploitation. It seems as if an African is to curse the day on which he or she was born. This gives rise to sharp contradictions in their minds.

The fighting spirit of the oppressed is strengthening

In South Africa the founders of the liberation movement embarked on the formation of organizations with the aim of merely trying to correct what they thought was wrong. They might have thought that it was just by mistake that the colonialists adopted a policy of racial discrimination. They might have thought it was just a matter of conquest why they were being removed from their places of birth to arid land; the very stealing of their cattle might have seemed as if it was just a matter of thieves taking away their property. They thought these were just the colonialists' mistakes and were not sanctioned by the metropolises, which is why they embarked on the methods of petitions and the sending of deputations either to England or to some representatives of the British government.

However, the first African workers' strike in 1918 in Johannesburg introduced an element of militancy into the struggle. The workers were beginning to lead the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. At the same time, they were beginning to realize that the struggle for economic improvement is only one part of a greater struggle.

It was, however, unfortunate that the birth of the working class was accompanied by racism on the part of the white workers, manifestations of which were supported and encouraged by the regime. The African workers therefore had to fight on two fronts: against their employers and also against the racial prejudices of white workers.

The African workers and agricultural laborers by their militant resistance were challenging the supremacy of the employers and the ruling regime. When the well-known mine workers' strike took place in 1946 it was as a result of the mass participation of the workers in the liberation struggle. They were playing a leading role then and changing the character of the struggle from a passive to a revolutionary one.

In 1960 the African National Congress — the organization leading the national liberation movement in South Africa — was banned and its leadership arrested. The people had to find new methods of expressing themselves, because the persistent attempts of the oppressed African, Indian and Coloured communities to negotiate in a peaceful way were rejected by the regime. It was at this time that the people felt that there had to be a change in the methods of struggle. The regime was becoming more and more intransigent and arrogant. The oppressed

people were being assaulted, massacred, sent to prison and deported to remote areas. Using the methods of ancient Rome, the enemy was trying to divide our people into kraals (Bantustans). These Bantustans — reserves — were more and more becoming the dumping ground for "surplus" labor.

There was no other way of stopping the regime other than by armed revolt. It was in 1961 that an armed struggle was decided upon to defend the lives of the people.

After the mass arrests of the leaders and activists of the national liberation and working class movement in the mid-60s the revolutionary forces were compelled to retreat. We had to painstakingly rebuild underground structures and the combat capacity of our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe. Also during this period militant working class actions were at a low ebb.

But in 1973 the Black working class reorganized itself and took up the strike weapon. The strikes started that year were of a scale unprecedented in the history of the South African labor movement. The whole character of the struggle changed. The workers protested against low wages and horrifying working conditions; they went on strike in defense of their dismissed colleagues; they crossed the line and demanded recognition of their unions, a right which has always been reserved for white, Indian and Coloured workers. This was despite the vicious counter-offensive of the ruling class, which ordered the shooting of the workers, the use of dogs to harass them, and baton charges.

The enemy found itself forced to retreat. At first, the African workers were allowed to have what were called workers' councils and liaison committees.² But the workers rejected these dummies. They organized their unions and demanded that they be recognized. By the early 1980s, the ruling regime realized that there was no going back; the African workers were on the warpath. In order to meet their demands, the regime was forced to change some of its notorious legislation; it had to scrap the Job Reservation Act and the Mines and Works Act, which was the basis of the color bar³ in the mining industry. The Industrial Relations Act was brought into play, an Act which, while it had some tricks in it, specifically annulled the Industrial Conciliation Act and recognized the African worker as an employee.

This was a forced departure from the intransigence of the racist regime and a major victory for the African workers. As a result of this change there has been a mushrooming of numerous trade unions inside the country

which are now recognized by both the regime and the employers, with whom they can sign and have in fact been signing agreements.

Having attained this major goal, the trade unionists have not folded their arms: they continue to fight for their rights and have been struggling for jobs for the working people (especially when unemployment worsens), for better housing conditions, and better education for their children. The progressive South African trade unions strongly oppose the practice of importing skilled workers from the FRG and Great Britain while the doors to skilled employment remain closed to the African workers.

The strike struggle has been stepping up: according to incomplete official figures, there were 394 strikes in 1982 — 50 odd more than the year before. Over 140,000 persons took part (approximately 50,000 more than in 1981) and upwards of 365,000 working days were lost (226,000 in 1981). This means that in 1982 almost 1,000 persons, the bulk of them Africans, went on strike daily.

The workers have demanded not only higher wages and better working conditions but also an end to the Pass Laws and influx control. They oppose the removals, demand the release of their leaders and all political prisoners and fight against the Bantustans. The progressive trade unions participated actively in the creation of the United Democratic Front. Formed in August 1983, it is a broad and representative coalition which includes about 500 trade union, youth, religious and other organizations. The Front's objective is to struggle against apartheid, racism and injustice. Its participants have declared their intention to do everything to prevent the so-called "reforms," which will allow limited access to government bodies by Indians and Coloureds while perpetuating the African population's complete lack of rights.⁴

This is clearly a fight against the fascist regime in the country. The African workers' struggle for purely economic demands brings them round to the realization that the political struggle is essential. The workers begin to understand the relationship between their political status and their economic position through bitter experience. They come up against the apartheid state at every step: in social insurance, taxation, the Pass Laws, trade union activities, etc. They see for themselves that the law enforcement agencies of the state defend the interests of the capitalists both at home and abroad. During strikes, demonstrations, meetings and rallies there are clashes with the police and troops of the regime, who

shoot the workers down in cold blood. The regime retaliates with unheard-of viciousness. There are ceaseless political trials inside the country, including of trade unionists.

Along with the repression, the employer class has always relied on the division of the working class, and in a number of cases it has succeeded. An example is the so-called Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), which has a membership of 100,000 white workers and 330,000 Black workers. In all cases it sides with the ruling class. The regime also encourages interference in the internal affairs of the trade unions by inviting organizations such as the ICFTU, AALC, and ALF-CIO. These are meant to cause confusion and divisions in the labor movement.

In spite of the conditions (recession and increasing unemployment) that are now shaping up, generally holding back the growth of the organized working class movement, the past few years have seen a marked upward trend in the numerical strength of trade unions of African workers. We feel that the prospect of a united revolutionary trade union movement is more real than ever before. Successive efforts are being made to forge unity among the progressive unions. The last attempt was in April 1983 when a meeting in Cape Town formed a feasibility committee to fight for the formation of one federal body.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the country's only truly non-racial militant trade union center, has a vital role to play in the mobilization of the working people to struggle against oppression and exploitation and for the defense of their rights and interests. Formed in 1955, it has always been a component part of the national liberation forces. The Congress has never formally been banned, but in practice the authorities have constantly placed it in the situation of an illegal organization: trade union leaders and activists have been arrested, exiled, imprisoned, tortured and murdered.

It is quite obvious that in the present situation of fascist terror, SACTU cannot act as before, for example cannot seek to have the re-emerging trade unions openly join it. At the same time, it has the very important task of doing everything to ensure that the trade union movement which is gaining strength is inspired and guided by the same principles on which the work of the Congress itself is based. Its influence will serve as a guarantee of the development of the movement in a militant and democratic spirit, to which end it is important to strengthen SACTU's organizational structure, arrange unity of action with the progres-

sive trade unions, rally and unite the unorganized workers, and mobilize for protest action the army of unemployed workers now estimated at more than three million.

In the vanguard of the working people's struggle

In his preface to the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto* (1888), Engels noted that a stage had been reached at which the working class could not "attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class — the bourgeoisie — without at the same time and once and for all emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction and class struggles."

It was realization of this that led our party to throw in its lot and combine its forces with those of the liberation movement, headed by the African National Congress. It threw in its lot by releasing its cadre for the mobilization of the unorganized workers and the setting up of African trade unions. The party broke away from the opportunist tendencies of its forerunner — the Labor Party. It was these opportunist tendencies, primarily on the question of war, and also the attitude to what was then known as the native worker, which led to a split in the ranks of the Laborites. In 1915 their left wing formed the International Socialist League. On its initiative, the founding congress of the Communist Party of South Africa which became a section of the Comintern, was held in 1921.

It was at the first congress of the International Socialist League in January 1916 that, at the suggestion of S.P. Bunting, a founder of the organization and tireless defender of the interests of the indigenous population, a Bill of Rights for the African people was adopted. It spoke of the need to fight for the abolition of the Pass Laws and of indentured and compound labor,⁵ and for equal rights in political life, in production, and in the creation by African workers of their own trade unions. That same year Bill Andrews, a leading organizer of the South African proletariat, later General Secretary and National Chairman of the Communist Party, declared that "it was the imperative duty of the white workers to recognize their identity of interest with the African workers as against their common masters . . . that it was time for the white workers to deal with an African worker as a man and fellow worker and not as a chattel slave or serf." It was this breakthrough in attitudes which opened the minds of the oppressed and dispossessed African workers.

From the very outset our party decided to lead the working class along a Marxist-Leninist

road. In 1927 the party proclaimed the slogan of a Black Republic. This was a break from the colonial attitude of ignoring the oppression and imperialist dispossession of the Black majority. The communists were the first to call for majority rule. Their attitude to the oppressed African people was based on a class approach. It was this courageous position of the party which influenced the struggles of the people against oppression and exploitation.

Added to this, the party and its leading cadres decided to challenge the regime's most vital oppressive law — the Pass Laws. A call was made to "burn every pass from Cape to Kenya." This campaign culminated in the massive burning of passes in Durban (1930). In the course of punitive operations by the racist regime, the working class lost its first stalwart, Johannes Nkosi, who was murdered in cold blood.

In carrying on this bitter struggle, our party embarked on a campaign to register the wrath of the people. Thereafter, decade after decade, we have campaigned and fought, organized and mobilized, taught and propagandized, carrying our message to every corner of the land, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism at the head of the people's army. The course we have followed has not always been smooth. We have had our setbacks and reverses; we have endured the disasters of repression and dissolution,⁶ the self-inflicted torments of sectarianism, but we have succeeded in reforming our ranks and revitalizing ourselves.

The SACP is rooted in the working class of South Africa, whose mission will not be completed until capitalism is overthrown and replaced by a people's democracy paving the way for the construction of a socialist society. The documents of the September 1983 plenary meeting of the party Central Committee note: "It can truly be said that the South African Communist Party is the father of Black industrial unions in our country . . . Johannes Nkosi, Bill Andrews, George Poonen, Steve Dlamini, J.B. Marks, Ray Alexander, these communist trade union giants and scores of other communists have forged an unbreakable link between the party and the trade union movement."

Our party has proved itself to be a vanguard organization in the best tradition of the revolutionary movement, constantly seeking the ways forward to the new South Africa as outlined in its program, steadfastly testing in practice the theories formulated at our conferences. Our members have shown themselves to be courageous, flexible and resourceful, winning for the party the confidence of its allies in the liberation struggle. And we have had our vic-

tories, steadily advancing the cause of the workers and strengthening the positions of our freedom fighters.

Since its formation our party has been guided by the noble ideals and principles of proletarian internationalism. We have a profound admiration for the Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union. At a time when the Reagan administration has embarked on a wild anti-communist, anti-Soviet crusade and threatens to engulf the world in a nuclear holocaust, it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which consistently seek for ways and means to improve the international climate, curb the arms race and remove the war danger. The peace-loving and democratic forces throughout the world acting in concert with the socialist world can and must stop the warmongers. The International Resolution adopted at a Central Committee meeting (September 1983) says: "The most pressing duty before all humankind today is to avert the danger of a nuclear holocaust. Whatever the differences between classes and countries, resort to nuclear warfare cannot solve them but only lead to the destruction of civilization as we know it and the possible extinction of the human race. The fight for peace and life must be a top priority for communists and progressives everywhere, for no social advance is possible if human society — indeed life itself — ceases to exist." South African communists express their revolutionary solidarity with the front-line states in the south of the continent who are suffering from the dire consequences wrought upon their countries by the South African fascist military political machine and with all peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Our party has always been a party of militants and activists. Our party members have been in the thick of every struggle of the people, in the ceaseless campaigns against the Pass Laws, the fight for higher wages and better working conditions, the fight against fascism and war, the mine workers' strikes, the Defiance Campaign, the campaign for the Congress of the People⁷ and the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the bus boycotts, the resistance to apartheid, segregation and dispossession. Headed by the African National Congress, the mass movement against white domination has assumed vast proportions today, striking ever more effective blows against the racist enemy. This movement extends far beyond our party, but we are an essential part of it, and the unique value of our contribution is recognized by friends and enemies alike.

Objective statistics show that the Black working class, particularly the African workers, holds the strategic position in the economy of the country. The history of the struggles waged by this class and its present battles project it as the leading force in the struggle for national and social liberation in South Africa. Before his death Yusuf M. Dadoo, SACP Chairman, sent a message to the meeting of the party Central Committee. In this message which has become a kind of political testament, he emphasized this role and the tasks of South African communists which are determined by the necessity to enhance it in every way: "Today, almost as never before, the South African workers are on the march. In this field a great responsibility rests on our party. We are the revolutionary party of the working class, whose clear role is that of the vanguard in the fight for socialism. The working class, in essence the Black working class in our country, is the pivotal force in the struggle for a revolutionary overthrow of the entire apartheid system. As such our party must place its main focus and emphasis in organizing, uniting and giving clear guidance to this class . . ." Under the tried and tested leadership of our party, the Black working class will, as in the past, march in the vanguard of the ongoing struggle until victory is won.

1. As of the middle of November 1983, one rand equalled \$0.85. — Ed.

2. The workers' councils were set up with 20 or more African workers and were headed by the employers themselves. Half of the liaison committee members were elected by the workers and half appointed by the management. — Ed.

3. The banning of African workers from doing certain kinds of work and holding a number of posts. — Ed.

4. WMR has already told readers about these "reforms." See, e.g., Yusuf Dadoo, "Crisis of the Racist System in the South of Africa," WMR, No. 12, 1982, and Alfred Nzo, "Stepping Up the Fight Against the Racist Enemy," No. 9, 1983.

Last November, when this article was being prepared for the press, the Botha government held a referendum among the whites on the draft of a new constitution. Nearly two-thirds of the votes were cast for the draft, which provides for the establishment — alongside the existing House of Assembly representing the white community (about 4.6 million) — of another two, segregated houses representing the Coloured (roughly 2.8 million) and Indians (about 800,000).

The lot of the more than 20 million Africans, who greatly exceed two-thirds of the total population, will be unchanged, for they will lack political rights as in the past. Besides, the new houses will only have nominal powers. They will handle matters relating solely to their respective communities, with none but "general" problems examined jointly. What is more, the white deputies will be guaranteed in advance numerical superiority over the members of the two other houses put together.

Under this system, the majority party in the House of Assembly (now Botha's Nationalist Party) will have the

final say in decision-making on all matters of any importance as well as in electing the President of the Republic, who will be vested with truly unlimited powers. In particular, he will decide on which matters are to be relegated to this or that house and control the activity of the Presidential Council, which will be empowered to ignore all objections from deputies of the Coloured or Indian community.

The constitutional farce, aimed unmistakably at disuniting the oppressed, was rejected by virtually all Africans and the overwhelming majority of Indians and Coloureds. It was emphatically condemned by the international community. The UN General Assembly overwhelmingly voted for a resolution flatly turning down the so-called "constitutional proposals" and other insidious ploys of the South African racist regime aimed at perpetuating the rule of the white minority and apartheid. Even the most

zealous backers of the racists did not dare to vote against the resolution. — Ed.

5. A compound is an enclosed camp which Africans are not allowed to leave while they are in employment. — Ed.

6. The decision to dissolve the Communist Party of South Africa was taken in 1950 after the Law on the Suppression of Communism and Ban of the Communist Party had come into force. A few years later the party was reconstituted as the South African Communist Party. — Ed.

7. The Congress, which represented all of South Africa's progressive democratic organizations, took place in June 1955. It resolved to strengthen the Congress Alliance, a united national liberation front, and adopted the Freedom Charter, which defines the main tasks of the national democratic revolution in South Africa. — Ed.

Art should serve peace and progress

Mikis Theodorakis

Greek composer, MP,

winner of the International Lenin Peace Prize

We are living in an eventful and contradictory epoch, an epoch of great social upheavals and important scientific and technological achievements that are applied in everyday life. It is in this century that socialism has come into being, grown in strength and attained maturity as a social system. The essence of the whole epoch is determined by the contest between two worlds: the world of progress and fruitful creative effort, a world marching on with firm tread and shaping the future, and the tottering world of reaction, a world clinging to the past.

Faced with the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, imperialism uses the foulest means to distort reality and mislead the masses. It resorts to every imaginable calumny against existing socialism, alleging that it is in "crisis" and making out the real crisis of the old world to be "universal."

The ideological confrontation between the old and the new is also marked in the cultural sphere and takes particularly sharp forms in capitalist countries. The ruling bourgeoisie is trying continuously to keep down the cultural level of the masses and to degrade aesthetic and artistic values, art itself and the artist. By contrast, it encourages and publicizes works and aesthetic concepts serving the dominant ideology. The exploiting class uses achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to impose its world view on the masses and to indoctrinate them. At the same time it extols and propagates the concept of so-called "pure" art, de-ideologizing it and reducing it to spiritual dope.

The bourgeoisie wants to channel creative quests in a definite direction necessary to it, to isolate the artist from reality, to divert him to sterile avant-gardist "quests" and "renewal" in the sphere of form alone. This situation often leads to a false perception of reality by the artist and prompts him to seek rapid advancement, to win a place on the artistic market so as to sell his works — treated by capitalism as commodities — at the highest possible price. In this way the connection between the useful and the beautiful is destroyed; what is more, they are posed against each other. Theories alleging that the beautiful exists in art alone are intended to disguise the non-aesthetic nature of the capitalist system.

The cultural policy of imperialism and the ruling class in capitalist countries is countered by the living, progressive art springing from the people and linked with them. This art fosters the cultural development of the masses on anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly lines and is an important factor in the struggle for the socialist transformation of society. It is this militant art that invariably serves peace and progress.

Contemporary bourgeois idealist concepts of art ignore Marxist-Leninist aesthetic principles and misrepresent the cultural situation in the countries of existing socialism by alleging that party guidelines shackle creative endeavor, that there is no freedom of creative effort under socialism, and so forth. Various revisionists, opportunists and reformists take much the same stand. They often dissemble this with pseudo-Marxist terminology but their philosophical and aesthetic point of departure

is, in the final analysis, idealism. It is revealing that so-called leftist intellectuals regard such views as progressive, considering them the last word in Marxist aesthetics. Understandably, the ruling class often adopts and publicizes these concepts in an attempt to divide public opinion by representing them as criticism coming from Marxists.

Idealist aesthetics substitutes the abstract concept of "independent art" (interpreted restrictively, as a mere form of artistic self-expression) for the real interconnection of creative activity and life. It divorces art from objective reality and metaphysically poses the former against the latter, regarding it as something "more real" than life itself. The artist, prompted by such distorted views, withdraws into his own little world and isolates himself from the troubles and aspirations of his people, from the problems of his country.

Is he, however, free to lock himself up in the ephemeral "ivory tower" limiting the sphere of his art to subjective experiences? Shouldn't he be where he is needed, where his word, music or chisel helps people live a better and more interesting life? It is precisely a creative worker like a poet, sculptor or painter that must serve man and his own people, said Sergei Prokofiev, the great Soviet composer, answering this. He must adorn and defend human life. It is his prime duty to be a citizen in his art, to glorify life and lead man to a radiant future. This is the indisputable code of art.

Yes, these are the function and purpose of genuine art, which is linked with real problems, conveys real human values, represents the objective laws and requirements of social development with particular discernment by artistic means and helps people grasp the meaning of a "radiant future."

The great value of art consists precisely in showing the beauty of life, in helping man perceive the beautiful and gain a deeper insight into the meaning of his existence and the world around him. At all times, it is only truly great art that has been equal to this task. All great artists from Homer to Neruda, from Aeschylus to Brecht, from Byzantine musicians and Bach to Bartok and Shostakovich, from the rhapsode of antiquity and the medieval troubador to the present-day folk musician, have revealed through their creations the essence of the reality surrounding us. Their works are the acme of aesthetic and artistic value as well as of artistic achievement of the epoch concerned.

The more truthful the representation of objective reality, the more in harmony with the laws of beauty and the greater its aesthetic value, the less it is dominated by the period. It is no

accident that masterpieces of ancient times agitate us to this day, for what we see in a true work of art is an expression of the internal contradictions of the artist himself, a concentrated reflection of a whole epoch with its dynamism and conflicts, its values and ideals. A great work of art presents to us all the past achievements of art as assimilated and creatively recast by the artist.

Bourgeois and revisionist aesthetes, distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory of reflection, affirm that it regards reflection as identical with a passive, mirror-like reproduction of reality in man's consciousness and that therefore reflection in the sphere of art is nothing but a mechanical replica of life in an inactive, apathetic consciousness. Lenin stressed in his abstracts included in *Philosophical Notebooks* that objective reality reflects itself in human consciousness "not 'lifelessly,' not 'abstractly,' not without movement, not without contradictions, but in the eternal process of movement, the arising of contradictions and their solution."¹

Art reflects realities in the form of images in the consciousness of the artist, who assesses and interprets being from the standpoint of his world view, his ideology, and according to his ability and talent. It follows that art is a subjective reflection of the objective world. It is a form of social consciousness relatively independent of its material basis. Not all forms of social consciousness correlate with this basis in the same way, nor are they all equally independent of it.

A most indicative case in point is my country, Greece, where concrete historical (Turkish domination, dependence on other countries, and so on) and social conditions (a lag in capitalist development and the existence of strong survivals of feudalism till this century) accounted for the fact that progressive ideas and concepts were not expressed by science or philosophy as in, say, the France of the Age of Enlightenment, but by poetry, folk music and songs, the poems of Dionysios Solomos,² Andreas Kalvos³ and others.

This distinctive characteristic of Greece plays a decisive role, now as in the past. Living folk art, chiefly music, is highly developed in our country. Being progressive and linked with the everyday interests and aspirations of the working people and drawing on the inexhaustible treasury of folk art as they do, poetry and music give the most dynamic and authentic expression to the Greeks' fight for independence and social progress, reflecting the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people in their own way.

The artist holds a definite ideological position in and with regard to society. This expresses itself in the meaning of his work, in how his ideas develop and by what means he represents them. Characteristically an artist's ideology and ideological message of his works do not always correspond to each other, are not mechanically identical. Many a work of art goes beyond the artist's intention. An artist may approach life as a reactionary and adhere to a conservative ideology and yet be talented enough truthfully to represent the essence and various aspects of reality. In that case the work surpasses the artist and what lingers in human memory in the end is the work and not the artist's intention.

Thus the concepts of "pure," "de-ideologized" art are outside reality. However, they now serve a specific political object, which is to undermine the force known as artistic creation. Their exponents seem to forget that the most gifted adherents of the dogma of "art for art's sake" (Gustave Flaubert, Theophile Gautier and others) never followed — and could never have followed — in their work the metaphysical theoretical principles proclaimed by themselves, for they were primarily great artists.

Now that humanity comes up against the reactionary policy of imperialism, progressive artists should devote all their creative energy to expressing the people's thirst for peace and the struggle of the working class for the transformation of social reality and real liberation of man in order to ensure that art ceases to be a commodity and that the artist is no longer alienated from the fruits of his work. Art should reflect the objective movement and dynamic development of society. This is the real meaning of freedom of creative endeavor and not abstract, metaphysical, idealistic concepts of "absolute autonomy" of the artist, of his "independence" from social reality.

Bela Bartok, the great Hungarian composer, made the following noteworthy statement: "My own guiding principle, which I have been fully aware of ever since I discovered myself as a composer, is brotherhood among peoples, brotherhood in defiance of all wars and conflicts. I do my best to serve this principle through my music."

Bartok's entire work followed this principle, which reveals the deep meaning of contemporary art. The mission of this art is to contribute to brotherhood among peoples and it can do so provided it springs from the people, perceives and enriches national means of expression, represents progressive class positions, preserves its connection with traditions,

assimilates them and uses them in a creative manner.

I have said that imperialism and the ruling class in capitalist countries are trying to mislead the people, to minimize true artistic values, to prevent the cultural progress of the masses. The means used by them to this end are many. I will mention two of the more important ones.

First of all, there is the attempt to suggest to artists that they are an exclusive set. This practice creates a gulf between the artist and the public and constantly widens it. Engaged in an illusory quest for a "vanguard role for the sake of avant-gardism," he lives without coming into contact with society or taking any interest in it; he sets himself apart from his natural source of inspiration, the people, and creates purely formalistic art.

In such situations the blame for the lack of connection between a work of art and society is put on the latter. Society is divided into "connoisseurs" equal to appreciating the "lofty" incomprehensible art offered to them, and the "mob" which is doomed to "artistic ignorance." According to this pattern, the majority, or ordinary people, must look with awe on what they are "not destined" to grasp, and take a scornful view of what they understand.

There can be no doubt that elitism is the antithesis of the real artistic quest vitally necessary for the very development of art. In the cultural history of the world, the great pioneers were those who created something new by creatively overcoming the old. A genuine revolution in art can only be based on a solid groundwork. A "revolution from nothing" is merely an instance of artistic arbitrariness.

When the notion of "revolution in art" is made an absolute, according to the concept "art is the only true reality," this implies that "revolution" in art is put above revolution in society. When isolated from the people, art becomes a sphere harmless to the bourgeoisie, a sphere of "collisions," "revolutions" and "experimentation" that are substituted for real class conflicts and real social problems.

Elitism is characterized by a contemptuous attitude to the masses (which is seen best of all in its philosophical roots, as in Nietzsche), by the division of society into "élite" and "mob." Those who take this approach to culture and art try to push the people aside, to deny them access to "high-standard" works of art and doom them to the consumption of second or third-rate artistic output.

Another manifestation of imperialism's cultural policy is the spread of so-called mass culture. Outwardly meeting the need to entertain

the masses, it is actually aimed at misleading them, at minimizing and vulgarizing cultural values and the real aesthetic requirements of the majority of society.

Imperialism's "mass culture" includes cheap, vulgar shows, a "soporific" intended to shut the working people's eyes to the real problems facing them in capitalist countries. The purpose of this "culture" is to impose the American way of life, to make a cult of violence, implant individualism, instil pessimism and a mentality of hopelessness, conceal the true nature of capitalist society and convince people that capitalism is something universal, everlasting and inevitable.

Needless to say, imperialist "mass culture" must not be confused with the real culture of the masses, that is, culture fully using popular and national traditions, absorbing the people's experience, struggle and aspirations and directed toward satisfying the true requirements of the masses for education, entertainment and real access to artistic values. This culture comes from the people and returns to them after being enriched and re-embodied by the artist.

Imperialist culture is in a permanent conflict with anti-imperialist and democratic culture, which embodies and furthers dynamic popular, national traditions. Imperialism wants to loosen these traditions, to lend them a different character and depoliticize them. It is trying to impress a stupefying, frankly cosmopolitan culture on the people's minds, to make out its crisis to be "universal" and to impose it as an inevitable attribute of the way of life, to encourage through art an irrational attitude to reality.

This effort is very noticeable in Greece. The output of publishing houses, the press and recording companies, movies⁴ and cheap pocket books, all of which express and implement imperialist cultural policy, is methodically spread among the people, especially youth. Rock music is a typical example; exported by Western imperialist centers to Greece, it is being raised to the level of an ideological platform. In addition to its purely musical value (whatever it may be) and a definite social function (which it has in the country of its origin), this music brings with it a definite way of life by imposing "idol" worship and encouraging drug addiction (without being the cause of its spread, of course). Rock music as it is promoted by diverse multinational recording companies gives young people a false sense of "absolute

freedom," of being accountable to nobody.

I have referred to rock music as a typical phenomenon with whose aid imperialism is now trying to impose the American way of life. This effort cannot succeed in Greece as easily as in some other countries, for, as I have pointed out, our living tradition of folk music is particularly strong; it has always been linked with the people's struggle, with their suffering, aspirations, hopes and dreams, and has therefore survived centuries of society's dependent development.⁵

I think it is the duty of every progressive artist to draw creatively on national and popular tradition. Art only assumes universal dimensions where it is linked with truly national principles. In that case it is in a position to speak to the people of any country, helping them realize and solve their problems. Democratic Greek art is directed to peoples living in the same conditions as we and longing for national independence as much as we do. It expresses the aspirations of peoples and the working class, their struggle for an end to the exploitation of man by man, for the real independence of every country from imperialism, for peace on our planet. What must be central to art is man with his problems. Nor do I mean abstract man but concrete man fighting for a new society or, where this is a reality, for its perfection and advancement.

Now that humanity is passing through a crucial period due to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression, progressive art should defend, in common with the peoples of the world, what is most precious to all people on earth — peace, the main prerequisite of fruitful artistic activity. Every fair-minded artist has a duty to join in the struggle for this universal ideal. Progressive art plays an important role in the worldwide movement against war by calling on the people of the globe to fight for a peaceful radiant future.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 195.

2. Greek poet (1798-1857). The first verses of his poem "Hymn to Freedom" have been the Greek national anthem ever since 1869. — Ed.

3. Greek poet (1792-1869) who devoted his poetry to the struggle for national freedom and social justice. — Ed.

4. Seventy per cent of the 550 foreign films purchased by Greece every year come from the USA. The Greek film industry makes about 20 films per year. — Ed.

5. WMR has already told how the Communist Party of Greece is fighting for the advancement of national culture. See, Rula Kululu, "A 'Consumer' Approach to Culture or Commitment to Great Ideals?" WMR, No. 4, 1981. — Ed.



"If you are arrested, comrade ..."

Antonio Dias Lourenco
CC Political Commission member
Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)

ANNALS OF COURAGE

The most incredible destinies of literary heroes created by famous writers are dimmed by the trials which this man and many other members of the Portuguese Communist Party have gone through. An active anti-fascist, a communist of more than five decades' standing, he spent 17 years behind bars and accomplished one of the most daring escapes from a fascist dungeon. He is Antonio Dias Lourenco, member of the Political Commission, CC PCP, Editor-in-Chief of *Avante!*, deputy to the Assembly of the Republic, the highest legislative authority of Portugal.

In compliance with a request from *WMR*, Antonio Dias Lourenco tells our readers on the following pages about the lives and struggles of Portuguese communists in conditions of strict illegality and protracted imprisonment. His story opens a new section of the journal, *Annals of Courage*.

Nearly all Portuguese Communists of the older generation who have passed the rugged test of underground struggle have spent long years in fascist prisons. The membership of the Central Committee of the PCP that was elected after the April Revolution (1974) served a prison term totalling 300 years. PIDE* understandably showed particular zeal in hounding leaders and functionaries of our party. Professional underground workers realized that they were in grave danger and could be seized and put behind bars at any moment. This made them approach underground work with a particular sense of responsibility, never forgetting the need for vigilance.

However, the greatest precautions and the most rigid discipline were not enough to safeguard us against an occasional failure. Therefore we regarded imprisonment as a continuation of our struggle against fascism in new and more difficult conditions. It is also important to

note that prison always served as a most exacting endurance test for communist fighters. In those years the party had many comrades in its ranks who lacked proper theoretical and political schooling and made an occasional miscalculation in organizing work. But as a rule, they showed iron staunchness when held by police.

As regards myself, I was first arrested in December 1949 and spent five years in prison. Recalling that arrest, I believe I found myself behind bars not so much because PIDE was so very efficient as due to a lack of vigilance and a resultant blunder on my part. This sort of thing did occur in underground work.

Once in prison, I began by trying to guess how PIDE had tracked me down. I think any underground worker does so on falling into the hands of the police, trying to recall all the latest events and asking himself where and how he blundered and what useful lessons he can learn for the party and his fellow-communists who are free.

Next I tried to establish contact with the outside world although it was not easy. I wanted to pass word of what had befallen me, warn fellow communists and inform them about the situation in the prison and conditions of detention. We all did our best to inform the party as speedily as possible about the circumstances of our arrest, suspicious facts and what the police knew about underground work, for all this helped take steps to prevent further failures.

We devised many ways of lulling our jailers' vigilance. Portuguese communists who have been in prison remember numerous interesting incidents. For example, we made indelible ink from toothpaste, coffee and burned matches. That ink could be used for writing on fabric. I hid a bit of fabric in the seam of my pyjama pants and had it smuggled out. It contained coded information for the party leadership.

We had to cope with immense difficulties, for our jailers kept a watchful eye on us and gave us no chance to communicate with our family members unhindered. So we had to use various ruses. One day my brother asked me if I wanted anything. "Look," I replied, "the wardens poke fun at me in the morning when I go out to wash

*Secret police force set up by Salazar on the model of Hitler's Gestapo to pursue political opponents of the regime. It was disbanded after the April Revolution. — Ed.

because I've got very short pyjama pants. Please tell mother to lengthen them." This prompted my folks to rip up the lower pant seam.

We also used other ways to send the party a message. However, it is too early to disclose all our secrets.

In spite of the privations and hardships of detention, communists tried even in prison to keep pace with the party and the people and to follow echoes of international events. We had a prison party organization, with groups in all cells and a secretariat which provided general leadership. We varied working methods according to the type of prison and regulations, that is, held short meetings, discussed acute political problems, conducted various classes and produced journals, as the case might be.

We saw to it that inmates received our newspaper, *Avante!*, continuously. The paper was usually brought by visitors. Occasionally *Avante!*, printed on thin paper, was hidden in a pie, a walnut shell, a cigar or even a cake of soap. This required great skill, for wardens carefully checked every parcel. Be that as it may, we kept in touch with the party and that was highly important to us.

Prison party organizations also furnished proof of their efficiency by producing their own information journals. These included a theoretical journal called "Solidariedade" and "Boletim prisional." Written with minute letters on wrapping paper and even illustrated with drawings, these testimonies of the communists' indomitable spirit and unshakable will enjoyed great popularity among inmates and were passed from cell to cell. We had constantly to improve the technique of circulating the journal. For example, we would pierce the wall in a corner of the cell and slip the journal to neighbors.

We had to keep the most rigid secrecy, of course, since we were closely watched around the clock. Wardens came into our cells time and again to search them, tear up our notes, look through books, rip up mattresses, make sure there were no hollows in stool legs and rummage in our bed-clothes.

At times repression took particularly brutal forms. In these periods, prisoners were constantly punished, denied visits and exercise, locked up in solitary cells or put on a bread and water diet. This went on for days and years. However, we refused to surrender and fought on for better conditions. Inmates called hunger strikes and meetings and wrote complaints under the communists' leadership. Occasionally we won a certain improvement by making the prison authorities end isolation and securing permission to read books, meet and

spend part of the day together.

While in prison, communists concerned themselves with educating fellow-communists, helping them improve their political, theoretical and cultural knowledge. They organized secret classes, prepared political material for discussion and thrashed out various political and cultural problems. The teaching was done by the more enlightened. There were many communists, especially from rural areas, who learned to read and write in prison.

Generally we had to do with two kinds of political prisoner. Some stood firm and rose to the situation. Others, however, were unable to withstand torture and outrage. They caved in and talked, and some even became traitors and deserted to the regime. Faint-heartedness certainly varied in degree and effect. We tried to help those who had shown passing weakness and wanted to fight on. As for traitors (they were few), they were expelled from the party by all means.

The party carried on much education work among prisoners and, in general, among comrades who might be trapped by the repressive machinery at any moment. It taught them staunchness and the ability to stand physical or mental torture. It brought out several pamphlets for the purpose and one of them, a small booklet entitled *If You Are Arrested, Comrade . . .*, first appeared in 1947. The booklet offered advice on how to resist police, how to comport oneself during interrogations, in court or in prison. Comrades seized by PIDE said afterwards that the booklet had greatly helped them to hold their ground in prison.

Imprisoned communists occasionally started a bitter ideological debate on the party's strategic and tactical guidelines, the principles of work in fascist trade unions or relations between the PCP and other opposition forces. The origins of these clashes went back to the struggle against sectarian and liberalistic trends that emerged in the PCP in the 40s and 50s.

There is no reason to affirm that sectarian trends were widespread among jailed communists. True, there were periods when prisoners declared for a head-on collision with the enemy, which would have been suicidal in prison conditions. This attitude has never yielded desirable results. There also occurred other erroneous views. Among the communists in the Tarrafal concentration Camp* there developed

*Set up by the Portuguese fascist regime on one of the Cape Verde Islands for the detention of leading PCP members and other anti-fascists. It was at Tarrafal that Bento Gonçalves, PCP General Secretary from 1929 to 1942, lost his life. — Ed.

a pretty strong right deviation which subsequently became known as the "policy of transition." At the basis of the deviation, outwardly aimed at ending sectarianism, was readiness to compromise with the Right. Subsequently many of those comrades overcame their error and remained active in the party.

I would like to mention still another thing of great importance. I mean escape from prison. Many Portuguese communists succeeded in escaping from Caxias, Peniche and other fascist detention centers individually or collectively. However, many a daring plan fell through. This is by no means common knowledge. I, for one, tried to escape five times but succeeded only once. I am saying this to stress the extreme difficulty of escape and the dangers it involves, and also to point out that we regarded every successful escape as a political and moral victory won by the party over the fascist repressive machinery.

As a rule, preparations for escape required an enormous amount of time, physical effort and nervous energy, for we were compelled to operate under unrelenting surveillance and so had to take various precautions.

After passing its first sentence on me, the regime sent me to Peniche, a medieval peninsular fort 100 kilometers from Lisbon. I found myself in a common cell at first, with another 20 comrades. It was a dank, moldy stone recess, lit night and day with glaring bulbs. For eight months we prepared to escape together. We dug a tunnel through which the fort wall could be reached. All that was left was to remove a few stones. But the guards detected the tunnel and we were transferred to another cell.

A long time passed but I refused to give up the idea of escaping. And so when I found myself in a one-man punishment cell I tried again to break out. Although the wardens checked every fold of my clothes and linen, I contrived to smuggle in a small blade made from a spoon and a piece of wire. Equipped with these primitive tools, I began to make at night a round cut in the thick oak door of my cell. But when everything was ready, my term of solitary confinement expired and I was returned to the main building. Before leaving, I disguised the door so skilfully that the warden did not notice anything.

Back in the common cell, I told everything to the members of the prison party leadership. There were three of us. One of us was very shortsighted and could not flee at night. The other could not swim. They decided that I was the one to risk it.

Twenty days later I "earned" my way back to

a punishment cell. Luckily for me, I was put in the cell with the cut in the door. All I had to do was to await a dark, moonless night.

It came shortly after. The time was December 1954. A storm was raging in the Atlantic. The waves rose high, pounding the prison and drenching the wall of my cell. I made up my mind. I bundled up my clothes, thredded my blanket and made a rope. The rest happened in the twinkling of an eye. I knocked out the cut piece of the door, squeezed myself through the aperture, dashed across the strip of light stretching from the fort wall to my cell and began to lower myself into the ocean, using my self-made rope. But the rope turned out to be too short. There was no time to lose, so I let go of the rope and dropped into the ice-cold water. I hit a rock as I fell but I plucked up courage and scrambled ashore although it was awfully difficult.

My plight was critical, for I was drenched to the skin, my clothes became coated with ice in the raw December wind, my strength was all but gone, I was bleeding and frozen to the marrow. Yet I had an hour and a half to go before day broke. During that time I had to get away from Peniche, a peninsula roughly four kilometers long.

As I was pondering over my next step I saw a pick-up truck carrying fishermen home after the night's fishing. "Any room for another man?" I asked. "No more room for anybody," came the answer. The pick-up started but I clambered in just the same. The fishermen pressed around me. "There's a highway patrol station ahead," they told me. "You can't go there without a pass." It was clear enough that the men were going to turn me over to PIDE. After all, a character like me — barefooted, dripping wet, dirty, bearded and bleeding — must have looked suspicious. So I staked my all. "You can't turn me over to the police!" I cried. "I've just escaped from prison at Fort Peniche, I'm a member of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party. You must help me get away!" The men obviously changed their mind. They hid me in the pick-up and the patrolmen who checked their papers suspected nothing.

Eight years after my escape and underground work I was arrested again. When they arrested me for the first time I had no experience of fighting in detention and wardens used to take away all my books and notes. This time, however, I managed to keep much of what I had written down over the years.

I am not recalling those notes by chance. The leadership of the prison party organization considered them very important. I think that

our messages sent secretly from prison if put together could help improve party work. Indeed, they contained many valuable reflections on ill-advised practices and wrong trends as well as interesting ideas about the activities of strike committees, the need for workers' commissions to use new working methods, the trade union movement, the need to combine struggle in legal conditions with underground struggle, the trade union leadership's tasks in safeguarding their organizations against the police, agents provocateurs and fascist agents generally. To be sure, the PCP is operating in entirely different conditions today but past experience can still prove useful in many respects.

After 12 years in prison I regained freedom with the April Revolution. I will never forget the events that preceded my release. Long before April 25, we felt that fascism's days were numbered, that the people would no longer tolerate the colonial war criminally imposed upon them. It was clear that the dictatorship was about to fall.

I was in the Caxias prison hospital at the time, where I found myself after feigning illness to prepare for my escape. At daybreak April 25, a guard came into our ward and said: "It's over, everything has blown up. The army rank and file have taken over." We demanded at once that a radio and a TV be brought into the

ward. The prison authorities met our demand, realizing that all political prisoners would be set free at any moment.

However, it was not until April 27 that I was released along with three comrades. We were the last to come out because we had been serving the longest terms. When the prison gate swung open we saw a rousing scene — thousands of people welcoming our liberation. It was something worth living and fighting for.

Editor's note. WMR has repeatedly told about outstanding leaders of communist and workers' parties, fighters for social liberation whose courage and staunchness, indomitable spirit and selfless devotion have added memorable chapters to the history of the international communist movement.

We plan to publish in the new section, *Annals of Courage*, testimonies of veteran underground workers, revolutionaries who have escaped from the prisons of dictatorial regimes, prominent fighters for the freedom of their peoples and against imperialism and reaction. These people's political experience and knowledge of life must be of interest to communists and democrats who today are compelled to work and fight in conditions of illegality and brutal repression, just as they must be instructive to young men and women joining in revolutionary liberation struggles.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS UNITY FOR VICTORY

Rigoberto Lopez
Central Committee member,
Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL)

Q. What is your assessment of the current stage of the unitary process in the revolutionary movement in Guatemala?

More favorable conditions for expanding the struggle against the military dictatorship have taken shape in our country because the rapprochement of the major revolutionary organizations, including the GPL, has entered the consolidation phase. Its salient features include, first and foremost, the emergence of a subjective basis for understanding and ties among these organizations, specifically, greater confidence in our party on the part of members of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (GNRU).*

*The GNRU is an alliance of several revolutionary organizations waging armed struggle against the Guatemalan military dictatorship. — Ed.

This development is rooted in an objective necessity — success depends on unifying all militant organizations with similar platforms. This imperative also stems from the military tactics employed by the dictatorship: it follows a single counter-insurgency plan, and we would achieve little if each organization continued to fight by itself. But the chief factor behind the unification process is, no doubt, the growing popular support for our struggle. The record shows that the disagreements which persisted between revolutionary organizations for a long time did not reflect the feelings of the popular masses.

The new political situation characterized, on the one hand, by increasingly brutal reprisals and, on the other, by the growing political consciousness of the masses demands that we aid in the undertaking of joint action and draw up a feasible strategy in the struggle for power.

Q. How would you describe the nature of this struggle and its chief motive forces?

As to its nature, it is a popular revolutionary war. Its political center is the GNRU which

unites people of different classes and social groups — workers, peasants (mostly Indians), semi-proletarians, representatives of the middle strata, and students.

Massive Indian involvement in the struggle is explained by the fact that Indians are the most dispossessed and oppressed part of the population. Besides, our culture, history and mass consciousness are much closer to Indian Guatemala than to neo-colonialist models of capitalist development — all the more so because this development is accompanied by the expropriation of land plots, the erosion of communal relations, the genocide waged against the Indian people.

The working class is very active, although it does face tremendous organizational difficulties: the opportunities for legal trade union activities are very limited. Nevertheless, it uses diverse methods — from semi-legal to clandestine — to expand its militant action, specifically through underground committees at enterprises. The level of working class consciousness has risen perceptibly. One can state with confidence that this class represents the most reliable power base of the revolutionary movement; all its participants acknowledge the proletarian nature and goals of our struggle.

Q. What is your opinion of its prospects?

I would like to stress that the government's army which still engages in genocide has less and less chance to get away with it. Since 1954 Guatemala has been something like a counter-insurgency laboratory of U.S. imperialism. Today, although the dictatorship is politically isolated and the people's sympathies are with us, we encounter numerous difficulties. At the same time our struggle has been marked with certain political and military gains. We believe we are entering a stage in which it will become even broader and deeper, and the revolutionary forces will seize the initiative.

Q. Still, the overall situation in Central America has recently become more tense. How would you comment on that?

The rising tensions are connected with the intensified struggle in the region, where imperialism and the local oligarchies are finding it increasingly difficult to impose their ways on the peoples and to implement their counter-revolutionary schemes. After all, the invasion of Grenada is a Pyrrhic victory for Reagan. The political consequences of the intervention are extremely negative for the United States. Washington has again exposed itself very clearly, and I am positive that anti-imperialist awareness on the continent has become still sharper. Although the Reagan administration will, in all probability, continue its aggressive

forays, our peoples are ready to resist them even more resolutely.

Q. What are your party's immediate tasks in this unifying process?

First and foremost, it is to consolidate its ranks. The GPL is a dynamic organization, tempered in the crucible of the revolutionary process which evolves in the face of great difficulties. The party has had its share of internal complexities and problems. These have not caused a split, but there was a time when some revolutionaries left our organization.

At the same time we realize that communist ideas have spread outside the party too. I think conditions are now ripe for rallying all people of Marxist convictions around the banner of the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

The party sees another of its urgent tasks in encouraging as much as possible the consolidation of a joint vanguard of the Guatemalan revolution. Paying priority attention to its work in the GNRU, it is active in the armed struggle waged according to the revolutionary popular war strategy. Now that the joint minimum program has been signed,* the party is focusing its efforts on consistent action along the jointly determined course. We are striving to combine such action with work among the masses, to gear it to the political prospects and the actual opportunities of ending the dictatorship and its crimes.

Guided by the interests of the Guatemalan revolution, our party is working to join the GNRU, the unitary force making an important contribution to the struggle for national independence and the people's well-being, to the anti-imperialist movement of our region.

We are moving ahead. By achieving unity we will win.

TO WIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE MASSES

Zaher Tanin
Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
Haqiqati Enqelabi Saur,
Organ of the Central Committee of
the People's Democratic Party
of Afghanistan (PDPA)

Q. Judging by the readers' response, they are eager to receive firsthand information about the Afghan revolution and the changes occurring in your country. Could you tell us about the present situation in the mass media?

*The reference is to a GNRU document, adopted in February 1982 and setting forth the purposes and principles of that alliance. See, Otto Sanchez, "Together Against the Dictatorship", WMR, No. 9, 1982. — Ed.

The Afghan revolutionary press is very young. But the republic already has 11 national newspapers and periodicals, 18 provincial newspapers of the party and 42 periodicals which cater to a diversity of audiences. A great number of publications issued by mass organizations and associations have appeared. Trade unions, youth, women, peasants have their own newspapers. For several years now, *World Marxist Review* has been printed in our country; the journal has become an important means of theoretical education for the activists and all members of the PDPA. Bakhtar News Agency is expanding its operation — it maintains contact with 34 foreign agencies and publishes the English-language *Kabul New Times*.

We pay special attention to television and radio because very many people are still illiterate. The television audience, about one million people, is growing steadily. Radio Kabul broadcasts 30 hours a day (including programs beamed abroad). Local radio stations broadcasting in the main ethnic languages of our country operate in seven large cities.

Q. Haqiqati Engelabi Saur means "The Truth of the April Revolution." Please tell us about your newspaper.

The first issue of our newspaper appeared on January 2, 1980. That day we published a report on the liberation of all political prisoners from the Poli Charkhi prison, outlined the political course of the new party and government leadership, and featured the objectives and program of the revolution's development after the overthrow of the Amin clique.

Since September 1980 *Haqiqati* has been the organ of the PDPA Central Committee. It is a daily newspaper of four pages (eight on Wednesdays), published in two languages, Dari and Pushtu, with a run of 50,000 copies. That is a great achievement for a country where most of the population cannot read. For example, *Anis*, the most popular pre-revolutionary daily still published today, did not sell more than 10,000 copies. We have a small staff of 35, including technical personnel. We also have eight correspondents in provincial centers and 15 in other large cities.

Being a journalist is both difficult and dangerous in today's Afghanistan. We carry weapons, and sometimes we have to use them in clashes with bandits during our trips. One of my colleagues was wounded in a gunfight, another one was killed. Our journalists are still not experienced enough, most of them lack a higher education. But they are all eager to serve the revolution and the people, to learn to speak the language of the masses.

We are very grateful to our friends from

socialist countries: they help us improve our skills, invite us to study and train on the job in their countries, provide technical assistance.

Q. What difficulties do you encounter in ideological work?

I will not speak in detail on the complex social processes under way in Afghanistan, on the role of religion and the backwardness of Afghan society, on the negative impact of the past — all that is well known and means that we must fight on many fronts simultaneously.

I would like to dwell on a different aspect. For several years now, an open albeit undeclared war has been going on in our country. Imperialism wages this war through those whom the revolution deprived of their privileges. Another war — psychological warfare — has been launched against revolutionary Afghanistan by foreign bourgeois mass media. Hostile radio "voices" broadcast 90 hours a day in Afghan languages. Here is an example: while the Voice of America broadcasts to Afghanistan lasted, at most, 30 minutes a day before the revolution, now the duration is over three hours. The chief stake of anti-Afghan propaganda is on the uninformed and the ignorant; the objective is to turn them against the people's government by using, say, the slanderous campaign over the alleged "threat to Islam" in the republic.

That is why one of the foremost tasks of the revolutionary press is to refute misinformation, debunk slander and rumors, and explain truthfully, clearly and convincingly what the party and the government have already accomplished and what they plan to do. We are making a great effort in this direction. And, you know, people who were ignorant only recently turn to us increasingly often. Last year our newspaper received 3,000 letters from readers — an unprecedented fact in the history of the Afghan press. And these were signed letters.

Q. Why do you emphasize that?

Don't forget, there's a war on. Newspapers find their way into the hands of *dushmans* (counter-revolutionary bandits), and a published letter may prompt an assassination. The war creates serious obstacles to the delivery of newspapers: bandits attack press delivery trucks, murder volunteer newspaper distributors, and threaten those who want to learn the truth from the party press. Nevertheless, people write to us more and more often, not scared to give their names and addresses. *Haqiqati* has a special section devoted to letters.

Q. What other regular features are especially popular?

"Talking with the Readers" is one of them. For example, a letter once came asking why

party members enjoyed privileges. Our journalists toured the city and asked a wide variety of people, not party members, what they thought about it. The answers made up a real clincher: essentially, the "privileges" of party members were only additional difficult duties connected with the discharge of revolutionary tasks, often at risk to one's life.

Another regular feature, "The Eyes Are Opening," is quite popular too. Here we publish testimony by people who were deceived by counter-revolutionaries and hostile propaganda but later decided to support the people's democratic government. PDPA activists are avid readers of a special weekly column entitled "Party Work: Experience and Problems."

In all our work we are striving to make the press a true collective educator and organizer of the masses in the building of a new society.

DOCUMENTS

IRAN

Message from the committee abroad

The Committee of the People's Party of Iran (PPI) Abroad has adopted a message to the party's members and sympathizers. It stresses that the PPI is now going through an extremely difficult period in its history. Imperialism and reaction not only intend to question the legitimacy of the party's activities but have also attacked it viciously. Many leaders and rank-and-file members of the PPI have been arrested and jailed. Some comrades have been tortured to death, but many continue to selflessly defend the lofty ideals of their heroic party.

The party's enemies have stooped to staging shameful television "shows," forcing some of their victims to say what they wanted to hear. It is perfectly clear, however, that these "confessions" were made under duress.

The PPI Committee Abroad has stated that all authority has been withdrawn from arrested party leaders for as long as they remain in prison and are subjected to torture. Their statements, recommendations and actions, clearly forced upon them and running counter to their ideological and political convictions and to the course of the People's Party of Iran, have no legal power. These cannot have anything in common with past, present or future PPI activities. Party directives will be issued by competent party bodies which will take shape gradually. Prior to the creation of these bodies the PPI Committee Abroad has assumed the immediate functions of the Central Committee.

The message expresses the hope that all members and sympathizers of the People's

Party of Iran will respond to this decision with full understanding and work to help deflect the blows of imperialism and reaction from the country's working class movement.

SENEGAL

Appeal to develop an anti-war movement

The Central Committee of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labor (SPIL) has adopted a resolution on questions of peace. It stresses that today, humankind's foremost task is the struggle for peace, indivisible from the struggle for social progress and national independence and aimed against criminal imperialist plans. The resolution expresses great appreciation for the consistent efforts of socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, to preserve universal peace, and of the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty Organization member-states. It also pledges unqualified support for the worldwide peace movement.

Guided by the vital interests of the people of Senegal, the SPIL Central Committee has pointed out the extremely dangerous nature of the foreign policy pursued by the ruling Socialist Party which has incorporated the country into the NATO machine and turned it into a way station for punitive expeditions of imperialist states to Africa and Latin America. The resolution calls on working people in cities and villages, on women and youth to fight for the removal of foreign military bases from Senegalese territory and to protest against any government moves capable of increasing tensions in Chad. The document again condemns the intervention of Senegalese troops in Gambia.

The SPIL Central Committee urges the people, all the political and mass organizations and their leaders striving for peace and committed to the national independence and security of Senegal to do their utmost to aid in the development of a powerful anti-war movement in the nation.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

ZIVOT STRANY

In the eyes of schoolchildren

The journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has assessed the results of an unusual opinion poll among the pupils of three Czechoslovak schools. Children aged 12 to 14 were asked what, in their view, should a communist be like and how they understood the role of the party in socialist society.

The schoolchildren connected the word

"communist" with the highest human qualities. Most frequently cited were integrity, diligence, self-denial, courage, justice, modesty, kindness and purposefulness. A party member, the children believe, should help people, be useful to the nation and committed to the socialist system, work conscientiously, know much and stand firm on the truth without switching to a point of view he does not agree with. He must not tell lies or be greedy, mercenary or self-centered. A communist is a person who can set us all an example to be followed in everything, the schoolchildren note. They have named such people — their teachers, their relatives, and veteran party members who often come to their schools to talk with the children.

What does the party do for society, what role does it play? Most of the children surveyed give this answer: the party cares about every single person, it enables us to study free of charge, does not permit anyone to sit idle while others work for him, defends workers, peasants and all working people, and fights for peace.

According to Zivot strany, the poll has made it possible to identify the areas where school party organizations should pay special attention in their political education work.

SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE COMMUNISTS

ALLIANCE — THE PLATFORM OF DEMOCRACY

Many readers writing to our journal inquire about the place and role of non-communist parties in the political system and society of several countries of existing socialism.

We have asked Gerhard Lindner, Vice-Chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany (LDPG), to explain the nature of the party and its objectives and contribution to the development of the GDR.

The LDPG is a democratic party working in the conditions and in the name of socialism. Its membership comprises people from those sections of the population which are allies of the working class. Objectively, we are upholding the traditions of the non-proletarian democratic movements in pre-war Germany. As formalized in our Charter, the party sees its historical task in building, together with all the participants in the GDR National Front and guided by the SUPG, a developed socialist society.

Since its establishment on July 5, 1945 the LDPG has travelled a long way. The years of the post-war democratic, anti-fascist transformations were the decisive period. That was when the two major directions in our policy took shape.

First, the LDPG abandoned the bourgeois "centrist" policy which actually played into the hands of reaction and nazism. It firmly embarked on the course of cooperation with the party of the working class in the renovation of society on a democratic basis.

This fact alone means that even at that time the LDPG was not merely a successor to this or that political party or group active in Germany prior to 1933, during the Weimar Republic. We made far-reaching practical conclusions from an analysis of all the causes which had led to the sway of nazism and to World War II, and from our own socio-political experience. Therefore, the LDPG took a consistent anti-imperialist stand, and participated vigorously in the elimination of monopoly domination and in the implementation of the agrarian reform.

Renunciation of anti-Sovietism was our second, equally important choice. It was not merely a renunciation but a truly creative, self-critical reappraisal of our attitude to Soviet realities. This generated — and still generates, if one talks about the current significance of our experience — momentous political effects.

There were difficulties in shaping the face of the party. Initially, its ranks grew above all at the expense of bourgeois and middle strata. The representatives of reactionary pro-imperialist forces who infiltrated the party tried to use it in their own interests. As a member and activist of the LDPG since early 1946, I remember well the sharp internal debates of that time. Essentially, they were part of the class struggle in our country. Progressive Liberal Democrats gained the upper hand, and eventually the party came out decisively in favor of socialism, the "humanism of the 20th century" (as Hans Loch, the then party chairman, put it). Of key importance here were the gradual elimination of the class antagonism and the formation of an alliance on the scale of the whole society, including on the party level. An alliance that took the form of a bloc of anti-fascist and democratic parties, within the framework of which the LDPG recognized unconditionally the leading role of the working class.

Today the LDPG is firmly established in the political system of socialism. A member of the National Front, it discharges its functions in full. It numbers over 85,000 members united in 3,000 territorial grass-roots organizations. After the 12th party congress (1977), over 28,000 new members were admitted to the party.

Because of its nature and distinctive historical features of its emergence the LDPG commands a great potential for influencing, in

terms of politics and ideology, above all those engaged in crafts, trades and retail trade. Significantly, these people account for a large share of the party's new members admitted over recent years. The party accumulates the experience and the creative potential of these strata, helps their representatives to fully grasp their civic rights and duties, attain high performance standards in their work, and be active in civic affairs at their places of residence for the benefit of socialist society.

The movement "For Allied Contribution to Economic Growth" launched by the party is a distinctive form of our activities; through it, general progress in the solution of economic tasks is bolstered by personal pledges of LDPG members. In 1982 alone the fulfillment of over 75,000 such pledges made it possible to introduce numerous improvements in the supply of goods to the population; the public welcomed this development. In this way Liberal Democrats justify the confidence the working class and its party place in us as their partners in the alliance.

Our own contribution to the building of developed socialist society is not confined to the sphere of crafts, trades, services and supply. For example, we deal with financial and economic questions, with issues of cultural policies and education, with civil defense and environmental protection in popular representation bodies. This calls for commitment and competence and encourages the party to increase the political responsibility of its members, to use their professional expertise and knowledge more fully. Thus, socialist democracy and the policy of the alliance are being realized through an ever greater number of people being involved in dealing with public affairs.

The traditional dedication of LDPG members to humanitarian ideals makes them active in the struggle for peace. This struggle is indivisible from consciously strengthening socialist society and defending it against aggressive imperialist policies and attempts to destabilize existing socialism. This position can in no way be confused with the pacifist sentiments in the bourgeois quarters of pre-war Germany. Here, too, the necessary conclusions from historical experience were made. Therefore our party's members not only oppose the NATO-initiated arms race and advocate disarmament and the peace initiatives of socialist countries but also, simultaneously, rebuff anti-Sovietism, anti-communism and imperialist sabotage.

The readiness to aid in the economic and political consolidation of the GDR, in the strengthening of its defense capability is also expressed in the diverse socio-political ac-

tivities of Liberal Democrats. Over 10,000 of them have been elected popular representatives at all levels, almost 2,000 are members of community, city and regional councils and about 200 are mayors. More than 4,000 party members work in the legal system (the GDR Minister of Justice is Vice-Chairman of the LDPG). We take part in the work of National Front committees, people's control committees and other public organizations.

I would like to deal in particular detail with the principles underlying our cooperation with the SUPG. It is based on the recognition of the leading role of the working class and its party. Guided by common basic anti-fascist views, together we worked to uproot fascism and militarism, to radically reshape society. In the course of this work we felt the genuine humanism of the working class which encouraged other social groups, too, to build a society worthy of people. At that time, our joint effort gave rise to relations of sincere trust. The sources of these relations can be traced back to the times of the joint struggle waged by dedicated anti-fascists with working class and bourgeois background, to their joint resistance in the hell of nazi concentration camps.

Within the framework of the alliance which emerged, the LDPG has been, since 1945, active in all the revolutionary transformations which have occurred in the country. I would like to stress in particular that in terms of both form and content, this alliance differs radically from bourgeois coalitions, and any attempt to destabilize it by advancing all sorts of "pluralist" theories is doomed to failure.

The working class, closely connected with socialist people's property, produces most of the material values and functions as the most politically experienced and consistently revolutionary force, as the prime mover of social progress to which we Liberal Democrats are committed too. The leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party and their historical mission are therefore consonant with the interests of other categories of working people and population strata too.

The LDPG carries its own share of responsibility to society. Of decisive importance to us here is the fact that the working class exercises power together with its partners. And so, as the leading role of this class and its party in society grows stronger and its alliance with all other working people is strengthened, so the responsibility of these partners increases.

The direction of social processes by the SUPG also comprises active efforts by other social and political forces. That is time-tested,

constructive and creative cooperation in all spheres of society. We are therefore justified in seeing this alliance, with its significance growing increasingly in the present conditions, as a

platform for the broadest possible involvement of all citizens, irrespective of their social background, world view or religious belief, in the solution of our common tasks.



Reappraising the main meaning of the communists' activity

International Theoretical Symposium

The *WMR* Commission on General Problems of Theory held an international scientific symposium in Prague on the "Interconnection Between the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress Today. Communist Experience." It was attended by the representatives of communist and workers' parties and Marxist scientists from 34 countries: Argentina, Bulgaria, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, the FRG, France, the GDR, Great Britain, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, USSR, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Vietnam.

Below is a summary of what was said at the symposium.

Politically pressing question

The relation between the struggle for peace and for social progress is now a matter of particular urgency, said *WMR* Editor-in-Chief Yuri Sklyarov in opening the symposium. There are a number of factors requiring a reappraisal of the problem and its impact on the communists' activity. What are these factors? What conclusions do they suggest?

The growing aggressiveness of imperialism, primarily of U.S. imperialism, has increased the danger of a global nuclear catastrophe which could wipe out all life on Earth. Efforts to ensure peace are now not only an important condition for social progress, but also its necessary prerequisite, without which it is simply impossible. At the June 1983 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) General Secretary Yuri Andropov said: "The threat of a nuclear war impending over the world induces

a reappraisal of the main meaning of the activity of the whole communist movement. The communists have always been fighters against oppression and man's exploitation by man, and today they are also carrying on a struggle for the preservation of human civilization and for the human right to life."

There is an exceptionally broad social and political basis for the growing awareness of the reality of the danger of total annihilation. This is reflected in the growth of the anti-war movement, which has assumed truly worldwide proportions. It involves the representatives of all classes and social strata, influential political forces and a great many organizations. Despite the great diversity of the slogans, the occasional simplistic approach to complicated international problems, and at times the less than clear understanding of the sources of the war danger, the movement is becoming an every weightier factor not only in the internal political life of the individual countries, but of the entire international political situation.

The chief forces resisting deep social change and consolidation of world peace are virtually the same: they are the most reactionary and bellicose groupings of the monopoly bourgeoisie. As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, they try to pursue their self-seeking aims by toughening up the confrontation in the overt class struggle and in the relations between states with different social systems.

The present period in the life of humankind is marked by an unprecedentedly intense and acute contest between two lines in world politics: on the one hand, the line of socialism and the other peace forces for preserving and continuing the relaxation of international tension, ending the arms race and developing peaceful cooperation between states; and on the other,

the line of imperialism aimed to re-establish its erstwhile military superiority, revise the results of preceding world development and mount a confrontation with the socialist countries. The antithetical nature of these two lines is obvious. It is absurd to identify them with the "bloc principle" and to assign to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization "equal responsibility" for the growth of international tension.

The development of the social formation within which there is no room for classes that have a stake in war or structures like the military-industrial complex was inaugurated by the Great October Revolution, which created relations of production providing the basis for the peaceable policy conducted by the socialist state. For its part, this policy serves as a necessary prerequisite for the development of the new economy and new social relations.

The further progress of socialism is directly determined by the strengthening of peace. That is why the socialist countries have carried on such a consistent and purposeful struggle against the arms race, which hampers the working people's constructive activity and impedes the fulfillment of vital tasks in developing the economy and culture, and improving the socialist society, so preventing it from fully releasing its advantages.

Another factor which has an active effect on the content of the problem here being considered is the sharp exacerbation of the on-going ideological contest. The communists believe that the struggle of ideas, as — in broader terms — the competition between the social systems, should have nothing in common with nuclear-missile blackmail, the fanning of militaristic hysteria and "psychological warfare."

In the light of their experience and their understanding of the uniformities of social development, the communists are convinced that in the course of historical progress capitalism, as a social formation, will be superseded by a communist society. But from this no conclusion is being drawn about the need to declare some "crusade" against capitalism. The Marxist-Leninists are opposed to the export of revolution, as they are to the export of counter-revolution, as a matter of principle. The idea of a possibility to foist progress on anyone is alien to them. The socialist countries and the international communist movement have, of course, invariably done their internationalist duty in giving support to liberation and revolutionary movements. But in doing so, their assumption is that the struggle for social progress is the business of the working people, of the whole people of each individual country.

Consequently, the interconnection between

the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress is a problem that reveals new and important aspects which are reflected in the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary forces of our day. We think that our discussion will enrich all those taking part with the experience gained by the fraternal parties and enable them to realize more clearly the significance of this pressing question in the communists' political and ideological activity.

I. In the light of the interests of peace and the working class

The need for closely tying in the struggle to prevent war and the resistance to the offensive by big capital on the working people's vital interests was substantiated by James Jackson, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, CPUSA.

The struggle against war preparations, the struggle for life he said, is fuelled by the struggle to live better. Our party seeks to tie in the struggle against those who are jeopardizing the destinies of the world, the struggle against the arms race and the missile build-up plans of U.S. imperialism with the struggle for the working people's vital economic and social demands. Such are the law-governed elements of the general dialectics of peace and social progress. It would be wrong to insist that the former should be dealt with, while the latter could await its turn.

The U.S. administration's militaristic orientation is coupled with total neglect of the people's needs. There are almost 15 million unemployed in the country, and their number is growing. At the same time, there is a shortage of everything, from housing to schools. The new multi-billion appropriations for military purposes are a source of growing concern among U.S. citizens, of whom nearly 35 million live below the official poverty line. The vast military outlays will do nothing to reduce unemployment. More than 5 million people are on welfare, and millions depend on supplementary foodstamps, welfare to survive, while all the social services and needs are running out.

As a result, Americans are beginning to see the connection between the economic hardships, the impossibility of satisfying basic needs and the explosion in military spending, the policy of imperialist expansion and aggression, the dangerous confrontation with socialism and the undeclared but bloody wars.

Resistance to Washington's disastrous policy is no longer confined to those who are hungry or socially humiliated, it is not confined to the working class. The wide-ranging human front

of struggle against the looming danger now involves a broad spectrum of social forces. Opposition to Reagan's line is also expressed, among others, by high-ranking U.S. statesmen. This is a new phenomenon. There are differences and disagreements within the monopoly ruling class which are important for success in establishing a broad national anti-Reagan front.

The tremendous growth of military expenditures and the cutbacks in appropriations to meet the people's social needs have given a fresh impetus to the class struggle in the country. Every type of struggle over vital economic demands and unfulfilled democratic aspirations converge objectively with action for peace and a return to détente.

We are faced with this problem: the alliance between the working class and other social strata is not yet sufficiently developed, including in the movement for peace, said *Bernd Hartmann of the German CP Board*.

In the FRG, there is evidence of a marked upswing in democratic movements, he said. This applies above all to the movement for peace. Its strength lies, on the one hand, in the general orientation toward a common goal — resistance to NATO's missile deployment decision — and on the other hand, in its considerable breadth.

That democratic movements are being activated in the country will be seen from the action in defense of jobs, the growing movement of the unemployed, protests against the destruction of the environment by the concerns, Berufsverbot, the swing to the right, and the neo-fascist threat. Actions for the emancipation of women are under way in the most diverse forms.

The rise of the democratic movements is a serious test of the FRG communists' maturity. In the struggle for peace, the working class does not yet play the role it really should. But there is an improvement in this field. There is growing participation in this struggle by trade unions and social democrats, and a discussion is getting under way in the trade unions on the problems of peace. While emphasizing the role of the working class, the communists believe that the so-called new social movements have provided it with important impulses, especially in trade union action for peace.

Acting together, the democratic forces can halt the drift to the right in the FRG and effect a turn toward democratic and social progress. The attainment of such a turn covers an entire stage in the class struggle. While it may be determined by the present moment, it is aimed toward anti-monopoly democracy and the probing for a way to socialism. Defense of the

gains which have been won is in no sense a defensive policy.

In all the movements, the FRG communists are working to make them as broad as possible, displaying respect for the political motivations, world view and organizational independence of alliance partners, and expecting them to take the same attitude to the German CP. The bringing of what is common to the fore does not amount to an abandonment of discussion. This or that stand could also create impediments for the successful development of a movement. Thus, the attempt to introduce an anti-Soviet tenor into action for peace objectively signifies that attention is being diverted from those who are to blame for the growing danger of a nuclear war.

The breadth of a peace movement would be jeopardized if attempts were made to convert it into an alliance with the goal of radically transforming the society in the FRG. The "peace initiatives" involve many people whose political views now cut across the overall anti-monopoly orientation. But experience shows that it is quite possible for the "peace initiatives" to display more attention to the anti-social consequences of the policy of building up armaments and missiles. Concentration on such issues helps to enlarge the struggle for peace and to create the prerequisites for bringing in the workers. That does not mean, of course, that the present movement for peace and other democratic movements could become an alliance resting on a common anti-monopoly conception. However, they make possible the maturing within them of forces realizing the need to form such an alliance.

However great the importance attached by the German CP to cooperation with democratic groupings, the Greens and the alternativists, it is a working class party and does not lose sight of the main aim of its efforts, which are designed for joint action by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDP), social democrats, and workers taking the social democratic orientation. Our party continues to advocate joint action with the social democrats, stressing the new opportunities in defense of peace. For the communists of the FRG, joint action by the working class and cooperation with social democrats is and will continue to be indispensable. But the German CP cannot take an uncritical stand with respect to the SDP. Our readiness to support what deserves to be supported in the light of the interests of the working class and peace does not rule out criticism of everything that the social democrats tend to do contrary to these interests.

Most recently, the discussion of the role of

the GCP and of the attitude to take to the communists has been intensified in the country. The strengthening of the Communist Party is an indispensable condition for eliminating the main "bottleneck" of the FRG, which is the weakness of the working class movement.

Just now one can hardly find a segment of the social contest in which the role of ideological issues is not on the increase. The greater the number of CP members taking an active part in the unions, the higher the demand on their ideological firmness.

The participation of religious people in action for peace has produced a new problem which is worth considering. In the discussions between the participants in the movement, Christians challenge us to present our Marxist view with the utmost clarity and induce us to act not just as a political but also as an ideological force. Such discussions could help to clarify important positions in the peace movement and to overcome the existing anti-communism, so as to enable the communists subsequently to play the role of a unifying force. When it is said that the communists' responsibility for the maintenance of peace comes to the fore, this should be regarded in the context of the sharpening ideological struggle, instead of being seen as an indication that class issues no longer play any role.

The prevailing view among participants in the peace movement in the capitalist countries is that what is happening in the streets, during the demonstrations is, in effect, the struggle for peace. They frequently fail to see that the military and political strength of existing socialism has also helped to produce fresh potentialities for the preservation of peace. In the light of our practical experience we could say that changes are now taking place in the minds of some participants in the movement who had earlier taken a sceptical attitude to existing socialism. This is being largely promoted by the explanation of the socialist state's practical peace proposals.

Our party has constantly carried on a struggle to have the peace movement act primarily against the deployment of U.S. missiles. Others say: that is not enough, there is a need to fight for a greater goal; let us introduce a nuclear-free zone, let us withdraw from NATO. But we say that if we set ourselves such goals, the movement will be split up into separate rivulets, and that is why we have stood for the concentration of efforts on one issue.

The French Communist Party sees a close connection between the solution of the crisis problems in the country in the advance to socialism the French way, and the struggle for

disarmament and peace. The struggle for peace is one of our most important activities. It is absolutely necessary not only to preserve the life of humankind, but also to create more favorable conditions for economic, social, political and cultural progress, Paul Courtier of the French Communist Party said in his contribution.

The present situation is characterized by an unprecedented class contest, he said. This is due to the fact that imperialism is confronted with increased difficulties. The crisis of capitalism, which is ever more incapable of meeting the peoples' requirements, is gaining in depth. Its domination is coupled with the exacerbation of all the problems and tends to generate ever wider discontent. The peoples' urge for national liberation and social emancipation is assuming different forms. The socialist countries are advancing, despite the difficulties and even mistakes. Imperialism seeks to prevent the development of liberation movements and to win back its lost positions.

From this we do not draw the conclusion that the balance of forces is changing; it remains on the side of the cause of national liberation and social emancipation. There are conditions for progress in the search for a positive way out of the crisis rocking the capitalist countries, for relaxing tensions, for advancing in the field of disarmament and in the establishment of the new international economic order.

We regard the peoples' resistance to imperialism on every front as a substantial contribution to the maintenance and development of the favorable balance of forces and the deepening of peaceful coexistence. That is why we express solidarity with this struggle. This solidarity is also a condition for the success of the FCP's strategy in France itself.

The movement for a new international economic order is aimed above all at effectively solving the problems of the developing countries. Support for the peoples' fighting for their development helps them and meets the interests of all working men and women of France, of its people as a whole. The FCP wants our country to make a contribution to overcoming underdevelopment through its capacity and fresh potentialities arising from the enlargement and renewal of its production facilities. The search for a way out of the crisis and the establishment of a new international economic order must necessarily blend with action for peace and disarmament.

The situation demands that our struggle should be given a scope meeting the existing danger and making it possible to curb the arms race and proceed to disarmament. This is a

difficult matter, but we believe in the possibility of success and in this context put a high value on the peace movement developing in Europe, the United States and elsewhere.

The communists of France are putting in a great effort to have their country play a positive role in the struggle for peace and disarmament. This involves certain problems arising from the situation of the country: no U.S. missiles are to be deployed on French soil; France does not belong to NATO; it has its own "deterrent"; the French consider it important as an element of national security. Having means of safeguarding its independence and security that no one wants reduced, France should, in our view, take an active part in the struggle for peace and disarmament. This is why the FCP does much to contribute to the growth of the peace movement and makes disarmament proposals. It notes with satisfaction that its proposals are in keeping with the initiatives of socialist and non-aligned countries as well as of some members of the Atlantic alliance, in particular Greece. Realizing the gravity of the situation, primarily in Europe, the FCP proposes that all European countries should join in negotiations to achieve disarmament, security and peace.

We consider that peace is above all a matter for the peoples themselves. It is actions by the peoples, by all political, trade union and religious forces, by men, women and young people alike, that would make it possible to overcome the obstacles. Our entire activity in France is aimed at mobilizing the masses. It is in this spirit that French communists are carrying on a vast ideological and political campaign for peace.

Displaying concern for a broad alliance of various strata, the FCP has worked with all those who want to take their place in this battle. We are working to unite people regardless of who they are, regardless of their level of consciousness. Political consciousness tends to rise in the course of the struggle, which helps people of different views see the various states and forces in action. Action is the best educator, and the most important unifying factor. The more numerous the social circles involved in the struggle for peace, regardless of their motivations, differences and even disagreements, the greater the chances to keep humankind alive, to force imperialism to retreat, and to create more favorable conditions for advance into the future along the path of progress.

Panayotis Trigazis, CC alternate member, Communist Party of Greece, stressed that there is a spread and strengthening of a deep anti-imperialist mood in Greece mainly as a result of the communists' activity.

Our party has repeatedly spoken of the need not to succumb to U.S. blackmail and to mount a struggle for the liquidation of U.S. bases on the country's territory, he said. We are aware of the difficulties being created by the reactionary forces' counter-offensive, by the policy of subordination to NATO, and believe that this counter-offensive can be resisted by organizing a massive popular movement for peace and national independence. In Greece, this movement is now a powerful force. It is connected with other movements: young people's women's, and so on. Defense-of-peace groups are active in athletic and cultural societies and in every strata of the population.

Broad masses of people are coming to realize the danger of war not as some abstract notion but through the struggle against the U.S. bases on which nuclear weapons are sited. We believe that it is important to speak of the danger of war not in general terms, but to relate it to the concrete conditions. In Greece, the struggle for peace, against the deployment of U.S. missiles and for a nuclear freeze is closely linked with the struggle for the dismantling of bases and against the foreign military presence.

The Greek communists' activity plays a decisive part in enlarging the movement for peace and increasing the anti-imperialist tendencies within this framework. The movement for peace in Greece is developing. But what are its reserves and potentialities? We believe that it can become the whole people's movement, and that is what our party is working for. The peace movement is a movement of the working people, of women and youth. Hence the need to tie in action for peace with their problems. The Greek people realize that the "threat from the North" is a myth, and that Greece can only benefit from cooperation with the Balkan countries, with the countries of socialism.

Another line of the communists' work is determined by the fact that the strength of the peace fighters depends on the breadth and unity of the movement. It includes people who hold different views and have different experience. It is important to unite these people for the attainment of concrete goals. For our country, peace is closely bound up with national independence. We believe that the alliance of all those who stand for peace could also contribute to the struggle for real change. In our opinion, the tactic of setting up various fronts around the country's concrete problems will help to involve in the struggle for social progress social forces which are not prepared to take a conscious part in it at the present stage. In seeking joint action by the broadest circles taking a stand for peace and national in-

dependence, our party believes that it is exceptionally important to carry on explanatory work among the working people. The mass struggle cannot in itself solve the country's burning problems as a whole, unless it leads to a change in the arrangement of political forces in favor of democracy. The Greek communists have popularized the experience of the peace movement since its foundations, explaining the reasons for its difficulties and successes, and this helps to unite the fighters for peace. Attempts are being made in the country to split up this movement, to divide it into "old" and "new," "independent" and "dependent," etc. We are combating divisive trends as we strive for a correct orientation of the anti-war movement and for joint action with all the forces involved in it. We believe that it is important to have more frequent exchanges of experience between the communist parties on matters relating to their work within the ranks of the peace fighters, because that is a prerequisite for further success.

Some of the problems facing the peace movement in Great Britain were analyzed by John Peck of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

In Britain, recent years have seen a vast growth of the peace movement, particularly in the ranks of and support for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). The emphasis of the campaign has been against Cruise missiles being deployed in Britain, for the cancellation of the Trident program, as steps toward full unilateral nuclear disarmament in Britain. The movement has roots in practically every town in Britain. Some participants in the campaign tend to equate the Soviet Union with the United States as being equally responsible for the nuclear arms race. But these are in a minority. The national leadership of the CND see the main threat as emanating from the United States.

Activists in the movement have welcomed the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Joint action involving East and West against nuclear weapons, like the Scandinavian women's march in 1982, which went across the territory of capitalist and socialist states, is of great importance.

The Thatcher government's response to the growth of CND has been to attempt to smear it as communist-led. This has failed completely to prevent continued growth. Communists have played and are playing a role in CND, functioning openly, publicly and honestly. Trade union participation in action for peace is still at a low level. It is true that the situation is changing, especially in central Britain. Some trade unions have campaigned against the

company building the missile launching ramps. A number of Labour councils have cancelled contracts with it.

British communists have explained the source of the war danger, but they believe that this should be done within the framework of their independent action in defense of peace, while being extremely careful not to isolate themselves. The experience of the anti-war fight-back will help to enhance the awareness among those who campaign for peace.

Imperialism has confronted contemporary civilization with a real threat of annihilation. Any possibility of solving the problems of social emancipation now depends on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, said Ramon Mendezona, member of the Honorary Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain.

The struggle against imperialism is the main condition for ensuring peace, he said. Reagan's aggressive and adventurist strategy and the decision to deploy U.S. missiles in Europe constitute the main threat to the security of the nations. The frameworks of the peace movement are much broader than the class struggle in the strict sense of the term. Peace is impossible unless the peoples are mobilized to preserve it, and also unless countries with different social systems consistently practise the policy of peaceful coexistence. This promotes the successful development of the struggle for democracy and independence, and for each country's economic and social development.

The confrontation of the military blocs — although we naturally draw a distinction between them — and their very existence constitute the objective source of tensions and the threat of war.

Rejoinder by James Jackson (CPUSA): It is not useful at all to take the view that there is "equal responsibility" for the existence of military blocs. It is necessary to tell the truth about how the military blocs originated, who is to blame for their existence, and what is the role of each in the present confrontation between the forces of peace and war.

Ramon Mendezona went on: for some time, the apocalyptic nature of nuclear war seemed to act as a brake, for it was assumed that fear would make nuclear war impossible. But now the mood has changed. It is important that the other nuclear powers should likewise join in the decision taken by the government of the Soviet Union, which has unilaterally renounced a nuclear first strike.

A powerful movement for peace and disarmament is developing in Spain, with a redoubled energy in order to compensate for its

earlier lag as compared with the other European states. The most popular slogan today is for a referendum on the country's withdrawal from NATO. Actions for the dismantling of the U.S. military bases have assumed extensive proportions. The Communist Party of Spain is taking part in this action, but it has no intention of using it for purely party interests, and supports the demands helping to effect mass joint action.

Stratis Korakas, CC alternate member, Communist Party of Greece, spoke of the attempts by anti-Soviet propaganda to disorient the movement for peace.

The peace forces' struggle against the imperialist circles which menace peace cannot be anti-Soviet, he said. The USSR is the mightiest and most consistent component of the peace front. The "two superpowers" theory merely produces confusion. It is another matter that not all the participants in peace action understand the true state of affairs, while some are under the influence of such "theories." Indeed, communists consider it their duty to explain whom the war danger comes from, on whom must pressure be put and whom to make common cause with. In order to strengthen the peace movement one has to make compromises, some of them fairly important ones. But there are limits to such compromises. Peace supporters caught in the trap of anti-Sovietism set by imperialism and its flunkies are objectively weakening themselves. They come out against their chief ally, virtually overlooking the warmongers. To combat anti-Sovietism in the anti-war movement is (as the Greek communists' experience shows) to safeguard the movement against fatalism and defeatism, demonstrate the superiority of the peace forces over the war forces, build up confidence in the struggle for peace, strengthen and expand the movement.

Antonio Abreu, CC member, Portuguese Communist Party, considered the specific interconnections between action for peace and the political struggle in Portugal.

The nine years of democratic life in our country, he said, have amply demonstrated the close links between the struggle for peace and for national independence, and the class struggle. Within this period one discerns two very distinct phases that have been reflected in the country's foreign policy. The first phase was that of the revolutionary transformations which put an end to the colonial wars and which helped the former colonies to rise to independence. The second phase is characterized by Portugal's confrontation with the socialist countries, by Atlanticism, and the

emergence of difficulties in relations with its former colonies. New problems have arisen, like that of the foreign bases in Portugal, the attitude to the U.S. rapid deployment force, and the transportation of nuclear weapons across the country.

As the situation changed, there was also a change in the mass action, notably in defense of peace. The Portuguese CP seeks to combine the struggle for peace with the political struggle at home, with domestic political problems. We do not make any distinction between these two aspects. Unity, accord between various forces is of much importance for developing the peace movement. The communists' influence is manifested in the fact that the movement has not been split, while the communists have not distracted the attention of its participants from the efforts to safeguard peace as the main task.

It is not only the working class, but all the other classes as well that have a stake in standing up for the right to life in the face of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. Hence the heterogeneous character of the peace movement. It has never been so wide as it is today. This has produced political and ideological problems which the communists cannot ignore. First, there is the goal of the movement, which is common for all the countries, while being specific for Portugal. Then there is the need to work out a concrete political platform. The party has not sacrificed its ideology, it has not been dissolved in the movement for peace, and has not lost its proper face.

The sharp class struggle in Portugal has an influence on the peace movement, and that is one of the distinctive features of the movement in our country. There is interaction between campaigns for peace and for a democratic government that would conduct a policy of reducing the level of unemployment and promoting the establishment of lasting peace. In invigorating our activity for peace and continuing to display international solidarity, we believe that our best contribution to the cause of peace could be made by putting an end to the pernicious effects of the government's activity, with its right-wing policy, a policy of national surrender, and forming a democratic government.

When hotbeds of tension are considered, the situation in the Middle East, in South Africa, in Central America and the Caribbean, and in Southeast Asia is rightly brought up. But Europeans would be making a big mistake if they assumed that the danger of an outbreak of war exists only on the other continents, which are the scene of armed clashes, armed interventions and aggression by imperialism. It is in

Europe that the greatest danger of a nuclear war now looms over humankind. It is important to re-establish the climate of détente created by the Helsinki Conference. The Portuguese CP believes that the peace initiatives and proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries provide an important basis for reaching agreement.

II. The problem of peace and the struggle for national liberation

What is now hampering the peace movement in Africa? What are the specific characteristics of this movement in the light of the concrete conditions on the continent? How is the peoples' concern for peace to be concretely combined with their other vital aspirations, with the struggle for national independence, for socio-economic development, for democracy and for a fairer international economic order? Finally, what is the communists' specific role in this? Those are the questions which Madi Danfaca, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labor (SPIL), put before the participants in the symposium.

The possibility of giving a dynamic impetus to the peace movement in Africa depends on the concrete answers to such questions, he said. Up to now there has been no evidence of any high tide in the movement for peace like the European one. It is not enough to state the facts, there is a need to understand the reasons.

The necessity of carrying on a struggle for peace is now and again contrasted in national-democratic circles with the need to struggle for other anti-imperialist tasks, and this erroneous view is fed by a number of objective and subjective factors.

First of all, the economic and social problems are so acute that they prevent the popular masses from correctly understanding the threat of a nuclear catastrophe impending over the world, since these masses are frequently forced to carry on a daily struggle for survival. Compared with the arduous daily effort of gaining one's daily bread, war appears to them as a more remote problem. Furthermore, the African masses remain overwhelmingly ill-educated and are under the strong influence of imperialist propaganda (the only mass propaganda in these countries), which obscures the goals of the peace movement, plays down the importance of the socialist countries' constructive peace policy and organizes a conspiracy of silence over it. For the most part, the masses do not realize what a thermonuclear war is and imagine that it is like the wars they know of. Very frequently they do not even suspect that

the struggle against the nuclear threat under way on other continents is also a struggle for their own survival.

At the same time, neocolonial regimes try to eliminate at the outset every opportunity for the emergence and strengthening of national peace movements in African countries. The forces concerned with the development of the peace movement are intimidated and obstructed in every possible way. The petty-bourgeois strata are confused by the slanderous accusations that peace fighters are "Moscow's agents," and this causes splits in democratic circles, so weakening their overall capacity for vigorous action.

The negative approach to the struggle for peace not only reduces the positive contribution which could be made to it by the democratic forces of the African continent, but also tends to undermine the struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress. The problem is not to choose between peace and national independence and social progress. In our day, the preservation of peace ensures the possibility of progress, however small it may be, in terms of defending the sovereignty of the nations and their urge for development and social justice. Peace also determines the potentialities for socio-economic progress in the young states.

Experience shows that the national liberation movement has scored its greatest successes in the atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and international détente. Conversely, the growth of international tension results in greater emphasis by imperialist circles on the globalistic approach, in which they assess all national movements from the standpoint of confrontation between the two systems and high-handedly interfere in the internal affairs of states, suppressing the strivings for freedom and social progress. Militaristic policies tend to make the developing countries more dependent on imperialism in economic, political and military terms. They tend to sharpen tension between young states, drawing them into the arms race and making them waste resources that could be used for development purposes.

The communists' goal is to involve the broadest forces in the peace movement. In Senegal, the communists continue to be the most consistent peace fighters. The success of the peace movement in Africa largely depends on the communists' capacity to overcome the difficulties which prevent them from bringing proper influence to bear on the course of political and social developments in their countries.

The speaker was supported by T.B. Suvasinghe of the Communist Party of Sri

Lanka, who said that some participants in the peace movement in Asia failed to see the connection between the sharpening of the situation in Europe, the danger of nuclear missile deployment in Europe and the situation in other parts of the world. But NATO is, after all, not confined to the North Atlantic countries and has extended its activity to the South, to the Middle East, to Lebanon, and to the Indian Ocean. U.S. imperialism is extremely aggressive toward Third World countries, and the communists of Sri Lanka want the people to understand the interconnection between the anti-imperialist struggle for freedom, independence and our development, and the struggle for the solution of global problems, the struggle for peace.

What is the connection between the struggle for peace and revolutionary struggle? That is a theoretical and practical problem which has also arisen in Latin America. We are confronted with it virtually on every hand, because the region is in flames, armed struggle is under way in many places, and fascist regimes exist. This problem is all the more vital because some circles artificially pose revolutionary struggle against defense of world peace, which they regard as a more remote task, said Mario Grabivker, CC member, Communist Party of Argentina.

The movement for peace which is now developing everywhere has never been as strong as it is today, he said. The problem is to mobilize the masses and to help reach concord in the struggle for peace not only with the progressive forces, but also with various sober-minded people, including even those who represent the monopolies.

The main fault for the existing situation lies unquestionably with imperialism. However, there is no disregarding the fact that the peace movement does not involve the anti-imperialist forces alone. That does not mean, of course, that one should give up the struggle against imperialism, the arch-enemy. The struggle for peace is broader than the class struggle, but it cannot be considered outside the context of the class struggle. The danger of war is increased with every step which imperialism manages to take in order to change the balance of forces in its favor. There can be no concessions on this issue.

Concern for averting war is part and parcel of our daily struggle for bread and democracy. It is not enough simply to say that the danger of a nuclear war exists and that it can be avoided. This danger now tends to become truly dramatic, which is why it is important to safeguard peace just now, in order not to be annihilated.

Public opinion in Latin America is vastly misinformed on the nuclear war danger. It is a danger that hangs not only over Europe; there is the danger of the whole of humankind being wiped out.

Our party and the other revolutionary and progressive forces of Latin America stress in terms of ideological propaganda the importance of peace, the need to stop the drift to nuclear war and the urgency of opposing imperialism and the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. In everyday practice, however, there is inadequate activity. We are aware of this. The movement has yet to attain proportions comparable to those of the movement in Europe.

The important thing is to tie in the struggle for peace with the struggle for freedom, for democracy and revolution in practice. These two problems may to some extent be different, but they still determine each other. By curbing and weakening imperialism, revolutionary struggle certainly helps defend peace. But peace is a problem of life or death for the people for the sake of whose freedom the revolutionary struggle is being carried on in the first place.

There is a considerable peace movement in Argentina, and our party seeks to give it a fresh impulse. It is mounting intensive ideological work in order to convince the revolutionary elements of the prime importance of safeguarding life on Earth. It is a right and a duty of every people to struggle for its revolution, thereby promoting the consolidation of the forces of social progress and hence the defense of peace, but every people must now stand up actively for peace, for its very life and the realization of its social aspirations depend on this.

The peoples of Latin America are fighting back against the dictatorships, and this a component part of the struggle against the threat of war, and for peace which is being carried on in Europe. Such was the gist of the statement by Rojelio Gonzales, CC member, Paraguayan Communist Party.

We must impose on the adversary the battles which are favorable to us, and not allow it to lead us on a leash, he said. The advance of the revolution is irresistible. To safeguard peace in Latin America, there is a need to put an end to regimes like the one in Paraguay. The liberation struggle cannot be halted. It is closely connected with the defense of peace.

There is a growing awareness among the forward-looking strata of Latin Americans that the danger of the use of nuclear weapons knows no boundaries and that our own continent could also be destroyed in a nuclear catastrophe. We are trying to have people under-

stand that efforts in defense of peace, and against war are extremely necessary. It is imperialism that poses the threat of destruction of millions of men and women through the use of nuclear weapons.

It is imperialism, relying on the dictatorial regimes it has installed, that threatens the life and in practice kills thousands upon thousands of people in Latin America. That is why our struggle is aimed to overthrow these regimes and to create democratic and patriotic governments, thereby helping to strengthen the anti-war forces.

The struggle for peace, and the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation objectively constitute a single whole, said Samuel Behak of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

It is no light-hearted optimism to believe that a universal nuclear catastrophe can be prevented, he said. There is the resolve of masses of people to avert it. The peace movement, including the socialist states and the non-aligned countries, and its moral and material forces are so large that there is a real possibility of making the warmongers abandon their plans.

The peoples of dependent countries cannot renounce today's struggle for the satisfaction of vital requirements or the direct solution of key problems: the problems of unemployment, hunger and poverty, or, in other words, for solutions which inevitably affect the interests of oligarchies and imperialism and the existence of dictatorial regimes. The struggle for a democratic way out of the crisis and social progress is consonant with the struggle for peace, disarmament and détente. The peaceful co-existence of states with different systems cannot signify a "freeze" on social injustice.

The peoples' movement for national and social liberation can not be regarded as a factor exacerbating the international situation. That is our view. On the contrary, everything that promotes the solution of national problems for the benefit of the majority of the people also helps to improve the international situation.

Donis Christophinis, CC Political Bureau member of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), said: we know from experience that there can be no social progress under a foreign occupation. In Cyprus, the people are fighting against the occupation, and I would put the problem this way: independence, peace and social progress are indivisible.

Cyprus, he said, is a victim of war preparations. The CIA planned, financed and organized the 1974 coup staged by the fascist junta in Greece. At that time, Turkey invaded Cyprus and occupied 37 per cent of its territory.

There is a conspiracy to partition the island between Greece and Turkey and to set up a NATO base on it.

Our party, acting directly and through mass organizations, seeks to combine the defense of peace and the struggle for national independence and the elimination of foreign military bases and U.S. monitoring stations. We are carrying on a struggle for the withdrawal of Turkish occupation and all other foreign troops from Cyprus.

A major demonstration was held in the country in the summer of 1983 under the following slogans: "Peace in Cyprus and Throughout the World!", "Withdraw All Foreign Troops from Cyprus and Remove All Foreign Military Bases!", "No Deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise Missiles in Western Europe!" and "Nuclear Disarmament!" The demonstration was organized on the initiative of the All-Cyprus Peace Defense Committee with the support of the communist and two other parties: the ruling Democratic Party and the EDEK Party.

Attempts were made to neutralize the political character of the demonstration and to turn it into a pacifist measure of "equidistance." The right-wing party said it was prepared to take part provided either that the slogan on the non-deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles was removed, or that the Soviet SS-20 missiles were mentioned. This was rejected by the Peace Committee, which did not want to confuse the minds of masses of people with inventions about the "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the United States.

AKEL is working to extend the front of the struggle for peace, for joint action with the largest possible number of people. But we object to confusing people's minds about who is the enemy of peace, and who is our ally taking a stand for peace.

Niall Farrell of the Communist Party of Ireland stressed that in his country the campaign for peace is an important component in the struggle for a democratic solution of the national question.

World peace and Ireland's independence are interrelated questions, he said. So long as British imperialism rules Northern Ireland, there will be a threat not only to peace, but also to the interests of the working class of Great Britain. The role of the peace movement in our country is closely connected with defense of the country's neutrality. Its participants want to make the government act more vigorously so that no part of our territory, including the North, should be used as a base for attacking other peoples. The communists want the whole of Ireland to become a nuclear-free zone. One of

our demands is that the North Atlantic should be turned into a zone of peace.

Clement Rohee, CEC member, *People's Progressive Party of Guyana*, said that objectively the interests of the struggle for peace coincide with the interests of all those who stand for social progress. But unless the working people realize that there is an interconnection between peace and liberation, they will regard the question of peace as an abstraction, as something "remote." Hence the communists' primary task of helping to merge these actions into a single anti-imperialist tide.

Within recent times, the peace movement in some countries has, because of the specific conditions of the countries of operation, been able to advance slogans and demands reflecting the interconnection and interaction between peace and development, between peace and national liberation and social emancipation. Nevertheless, the problem is there, especially when the movement in defense of peace is set tasks that are to a greater extent connected with the situation in the world than with that at home. Since the peace movement involves fairly wide circles of the population, it is sometimes hard to combine it with the struggle for social, economic and even political goals in this or that country.

It is our party's view that if Guyana and its people are to play a substantial role in the worldwide struggle against imperialism and for world peace, there is a need to effect radical transformations in its social system. Only a government of popular choice conducting an anti-imperialist policy and based on democracy and a socialist orientation can justify these hopes. The *People's Progressive Party of Guyana* is working precisely for this goal, seeking to tie in the tasks in the struggle for world peace with national liberation and social emancipation.

Madjid Musa, CC alternate member, *Iraqi Communist Party*, told how the democratic forces and communists of Iraq are working to end the Iranian-Iraqi war and to settle the controversial issues by peaceful means. He also emphasized that the struggle for nuclear disarmament is not only a matter for the peoples of the European continent, but also for the peoples of all the developing countries.

Roberto Alvarez Quinones (*Communist Party of Cuba*) showed that the arms race is an impediment to economic and social development to which the young national states aspire.

The Third World countries are now in the throes of a deep economic crisis, he said. Their already dire economic plight is being further compounded by the spending on arms. They

have a growing trade deficit because of the falling prices of their main export products, and the enslaving terms on which the transnational banks provide them credits. The international banks have been raising their interest charges and shortening credit maturities. This dictates the need for a substantial restructuring of the international economic order. If this struggle is to succeed there must be peace, because such a restructuring can be effected only in an atmosphere of peace and détente.

Jerry Simon of the *South African Communist Party* spoke of the threat posed by racist South Africa to the national independence of neighboring states and to world peace.

Militarism in South Africa is used to suppress the internal revolt and to conduct imperialist-type wars against neighboring states. From the mid-1970s, the military took an increasingly important public role in defining the political, economic and ideological strategy of the racist regime. Today, not a single important economic, political, ideological and foreign policy measure is taken without the direct participation of the military.

Racist South Africa now has a nuclear capability. That is a grave threat to peace. The outgoing General Secretary of the Organization of African Unity, argued that in view of the nuclear threat posed by South Africa, it would be wrong to seek to declare Africa a nuclear-free zone. He provocatively called for the African countries to acquire their own nuclear bomb. Instead, the solution is to compel South Africa to become a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The racist leaders have made quite clear that South Africa's aggression against the front-line states will continue, and that action, like the attempted coup in the Seychelles, will be pursued. Imperialism has been fully backing South Africa's constant acts of aggression and also its policy of destabilizing the front-line states, in particular, Angola and Mozambique. The only way to ensure peace and security in southern Africa is to eliminate the racist regime and its policy of apartheid.

José Lava, CC Political Bureau member, *Communist Party of the Philippines*, has drawn the conclusion that the constantly sharpening problems of the peoples in the non-socialist world are socio-economic. Consequently, only socio-economic reforms and, over the long term, revolutionary transformations in peace can ensure their solution.

There is a close interconnection between the struggle for the democratic restructuring of international economic relations and the strug-

gle of developing nations for social progress and social transformations. Both struggles are directed against imperialist monopoly exploitation and diktat. In the process of these struggles, the peoples and leaders of developing nations learn to correctly identify their real allies and adversaries. These two interconnected struggles weaken imperialism and strengthen the class forces fighting for peace, social progress and social transformations.

III. Only under peaceful coexistence

Gyula Bognar, Editor-in-Chief of the journal "Kulpolitika" (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party), considered the historical meaning of peaceful coexistence.

Social progress and social revolution, he said, are frequently contrasted both theoretically and politically to the idea of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. Bourgeois ideologists assert that the socialist countries' urge for peaceful coexistence cannot be sincere so long as they support revolutionary movements. Meanwhile, according to the left-wing extremists, by seeking peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries depart from the "truly revolutionary" positions.

Such views are erroneous. But now and again they also involve a misunderstanding of the actually existing contradictions and the complexities of the problem. Indeed, peaceful coexistence and support for revolutionary movements are historically compatible, but that does not rule out the emergence of contradictions in concrete historical situations.

The communist and working class movement has always rejected the idea of "exporting revolution." Its patently provocative character is a source of grave danger. Still, one has also to reckon with the fact that, seen through bourgeois spectacles, any support of a revolution from outside, the attitude of peaceful coexistence, amounts to "export of revolution." There is a whole library of writings by bourgeois ideologists heaping curses on revolutions in the name of morality and international peace, claiming that their support tends to destabilize the international situation. At the same time, the imperialist powers are trying to cover up their counter-revolutionary schemes, and one of the forms in which they are doing this is to depict internal counter-revolution as a "revolution," and present their intervention in the internal affairs of other peoples as the international spread of "progressive processes."

The need to avert the danger of a nuclear catastrophe is a truly common one, and it is

simultaneously a class and a general human interest. Those who do not understand the importance of this task in effect take the adventurist approach. The Warsaw Treaty Organization, notably the Soviet Union, are shouldering a tremendous burden in maintaining the international equilibrium of forces and preventing the United States from re-establishing its military superiority so as to dictate its will in international politics. Under the relative equilibrium of military strength between socialism and imperialism, the revolutionary forces have a growing responsibility for the preservation of peace. This responsibility is not reduced even when the most aggressive imperialist circles push tensions to an extreme. From this standpoint, the present world situation is unfavorable both for the world revolutionary process as a whole and for all its parts, and for global security.

A great burden falls on the socialist countries, whose position and policy are influenced by every aspect of the international political and military confrontation. But in principle this does not change the nature of the main contradictions in the world and the interrelations between the component parts of the world revolutionary process.

Imperialism is incapable of restoring its lost positions. Although it is pressing for a fresh round in the arms race, it is no longer capable of re-establishing its superiority, while the armament's pace which it itself dictates increasingly has a negative influence on its own economy as well.

Lenin pointed to the need for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems as a self-evident fact stemming from the historical course of the socialist revolution. But in practice, peaceful coexistence has been asymmetrical: the first socialist state strove to practise it consciously and as a matter of principle, while the countries of the capitalist world regarded it as being no more than an interval between wars and accepted it not on the basis of a fundamental conception but only in the light of current interests.

The equilibrium of military forces between socialism and imperialism on the basis of nuclear military hardware and technology has objectively produced a new situation. It is a new one in the sense that it has emphasized the fact that the states have a mutual interest in peaceful coexistence. In this situation, socialism has no need to alter its views: after all, it has proposed, from the very outset, that peaceful means should be used for the contest between the two social systems. But now it is no longer a merely advisable way of relations, but the only

conceivable one. Consequently, capitalism now has to reckon with the irreversible fact that socialism has emerged and that it is necessary to shape the structure of peaceful coexistence. This compromise in international relations has an influence on all the political processes of our epoch, on the relations between countries with opposite social systems, and on the struggle of the revolutionary and progressive forces for solving the problems of social development.

In the present situation, imperialism has only partially accepted this compromise. It is no longer capable of winning a war, but it is still hoping to change the situation if it should re-establish its force superiority. The Reagan administration has abandoned the idea of peaceful coexistence not because the capitalist world is now objectively less interested in it, but because it is trying to do everything to put off the compromise, which contains many limitations as compared with the earlier situation. Historically speaking, it is the conditions of peaceful coexistence that will provide the field for the peaceful contest between the two systems and for the advance of the world revolutionary process.

Thanks to the experience they gained in the period of détente, the progressive forces standing for change see that peaceful coexistence does not signify a freeze of the struggle for the solution of urgent social problems. From this the imperialist circles have drawn the conclusion that détente is a "communist trick" for taking over new positions in the international arena. But the social changes under way in the world cannot be explained by the détente, because peaceful coexistence is the common decision of the "protagonists" concerning the field of class battle and definite "rules" of cooperation on matters where it is imperative.

The formation of a new international political structure which could emerge in the conditions of peaceful coexistence does not in itself either crucially increase or reduce the potential of any of the participants. What is more, in balanced international conditions, the role of the external factor is on the whole less significant. However, in ordering interstate relations and ensuring cooperation on global problems, above all the problems of averting war, peaceful coexistence renders an invaluable service to the whole of humankind.

The confrontation between the positive and negative elements, between the urge for prosperity, peace and progress, and the old policy of strength has now become dominant in the overall picture of international relations. This is not a mere contradiction, but a gigantic struggle of vast proportions between two polit-

ical lines, between two approaches to international relations, and to the future of humankind, said Professor Victor Duculescu, Deputy Director of the Institute of Political Sciences and National Studies (Romanian Communist Party).

The strength policy, which has been elevated by some imperialist governments to the rank of principle and which is being almost daily practised in the form of intervention, pressure and interference in the affairs of various countries, he said, claims to substitute wilfulness and arbitrary acts for the international regulations and the principles of international legality accepted by all the states. In Romania's view, the demand for firm measures against the armaments policy, and for peace and disarmament stems from the recognition of the priority of the peoples' right to life and peace as the basic human right, from the broad understanding of the need to defend the basic right of all people to live without the threat of a devastating nuclear war which could nullify virtually all the other human rights enshrined in international documents and agreements.

The Political Declaration adopted by the Warsaw Treaty countries in Prague in January 1983, says the RCP document, "demonstrates most obviously the sense of responsibility displayed by the socialist countries for the destinies of the world, their determination to act in order to avert the danger of a nuclear war, to preserve and strengthen détente, to effect disarmament, to strengthen security and develop cooperation on the European continent and throughout the world."

Displaying constant concern for the recognition and assertion of the peoples' right to peace, Romania welcomes any proposal coming from the Soviet Union, and the socialist and other countries which is aimed to improve the international climate, which gives fresh impulses to the line of détente, and to transition to real and effective measures on disarmament.

Peace, considered as a dynamic and broad process, implies social progress. Peace begins with the elimination and prohibition of the policy of strength, but that is not yet sufficient. The defense of peace requires new relations in Europe and throughout the world, respect for national independence, for each people's dignity, an end to armed conflicts, resolute action to do away with backwardness, and the existing development gaps and injustice. Consequently, peace appears as a truly synthesizing conception, integrating the main values without which the joint life of states and the progress of peoples in the present epoch are inconceivable: respect for legal and moral prin-

ciples, recognition of each people's right to determine its own destinies.

Marx once said that the communists were inseparable from the working class. One could say that today the communists are inseparable from the whole of humankind. They are striving for the same goal as the whole of humankind: peace and the security of the peoples. Objectively, peace promotes the communist parties' revolutionary work in any part of the globe. Comparing the peace movement of the 1950s with the movement today, one finds tremendous changes in the political consciousness of the masses. One should not reject the idea that one fine day very many of the millions of demonstrators now coming out for peace will understand that the capitalist system is the source of evil, and that there is a need to seek another social system, a better social organization.

Ho Chi Binh of the Communist Party of Vietnam emphasized that the joint efforts of the socialist states, the non-aligned countries, all the democratic and peace forces, and of all the peoples of the world are capable of warding off the threat of a nuclear war, checking the bellicose, aggressive policy of imperialism and the forces of international reaction.

Our people, which has suffered more than 30 years of terrible war, he said, has as its most cherished urge the urge for peace, for national construction in our country, and well-being. But "although the tree craves for tranquillity, the wind continues to blow."

The question of whether peace can be preserved is ultimately decided by the balance of forces in the international arena. The growing strength of the socialist community and the development of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the working class movement in capitalist countries contribute to the defense of peace throughout the world. The resistance of our compatriots to the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam proved that the revolutionary struggle is not opposed to the struggle for peace. Only by closely blending these two forms of struggle is it possible to bring to naught the imperialist policy of war and aggression.

Roland Bauer, CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), asked this question: what influence does the nuclear war threat have on our approach to the traditional questions of the communist movement and to the pressing problems of our day?

Among these problems, he said, are the individual parties' strategy, policy and tactics; the interconnection between the struggle for peace and social progress; the attitude to the

numerous movements for peace; the old and perennially new problem of the dialectics of joint action and ideological contest with alien class views, and others.

The fundamental socio-political goal which distinguishes the communist movement from all the other political trends consists in eliminating capitalism through a socialist revolution and building a socialist society. At the same time, like many other movements, the communists are against nuclear war, armaments and the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe. In the past several decades, they have increasingly concentrated their attention on the struggle to preserve peace, on the struggle for détente, for disarmament and for peaceful coexistence. Why?

The danger of a nuclear war posed by imperialism is now a threat to the whole of humankind, while social progress implies the preservation of conditions for the existence of humankind, civilization and culture. The prevention of a nuclear war and the preservation of world peace is now the key prerequisite for any social progress.

Alongside the main goal of preserving peace, ending the arms race and preventing the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the most diverse standpoints are being expressed within the peace movement on other questions. What is our attitude to this? What are the problems on which we are prepared to compromise and when? When is there a need to enter into a discussion and how can and should such a discussion be carried on?

In a historical situation in which the "to be or not to be" question signifies the life or death of human civilization, there is a need, I think, consciously to push into the background any differences on other issues so as to act together against nuclear death and the arms race. In the forefront, as the key element are the will and determination to do everything possible to preserve peace and avert a nuclear war.

The working class and its revolutionary movement are fighting against every imperialist war. But they also oppose wars between developing countries, wars which harm the cause of national liberation. They combine recognition of the just character of wars which rebuff imperialist aggression or which are aimed at national liberation with effort to eliminate all wars of aggression. The main aim now is to deprive the aggressive forces of imperialism of the possibility of starting a world war against the forces of social progress, a war that would develop into a nuclear war, whatever the types of weapons used in starting it.

New points of departure are being created for

arranging joint action by the working class and the alliance of all the forces wishing to preserve world peace and effect disarmament by changes in the conditions of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and also by the threat posed by imperialism to the very foundations of humankind's survival. Concern for preventing nuclear annihilation hinges on the emerging identity of interests which transcend the framework of classes, strata, parties and organizations.

Successful struggle for peace throughout the world and for disarmament requires a high level and greater unity of action by the working class, action which is oriented above all toward the ensuring of peace. This implies an alliance and political cooperation of all the forces seeking to reduce the burdens of the arms build-up, whatever the motivations. This unprecedented breadth of political cooperation helps to start even more joint and parallel actions against the aggressive forces of imperialism in the most diverse forms.

James West, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA, said that under present conditions, the struggle for peace has become the crucial question of the international class struggle and of all human activity. This means that the road to socialism now lies through the struggle for peace and democracy. The communists are working with all the other forces seeking to prevent the annihilation of humanity, and have an important part to play in finding common ground among the various forces. But we shall never abandon the class Marxist-Leninist approach for the sake of unity.

Many speakers rightly pointed out here that the nuclear threat is having an influence on the orientation of the international communist movement and on its whole activity. We know that the struggle for peace and international

political problems are ever more important in the communists' everyday activity. At the same time, documents of a number of parties stress that the struggle for peace is now also becoming a factor of cohesion, of stronger unity within the international communist movement, said Igor Sokolov, Dr.Sc. (Econ.) of the USSR.

The fundamental problem of our epoch, he stressed, is the interconnection between the struggle for peace and for social progress. The revolutionary process has yet to produce a social organization of the world in which there would be no threat of extinction for our civilization. It is not easy to find optimal interrelations between the struggle for peace and for social progress, because of the extreme diversity of conditions in the various countries. To prevent a nuclear war is a categorical, unconditional task. In order actually to block the line leading to war, there is a need above all to have an adequate potential — economic, military, political and moral — to check aggression.

In the nuclear age, there has been a simultaneous growth both of the mortal danger of a world war, and of the forces capable of preventing it. The class struggle between the two systems cannot be eliminated, but it can be channelled into a course ruling out the arms race and the use of armed force in interstate relations. One aspect of the problem of preserving peace is, admittedly, the combination of firmness in standing up for the class revolutionary principles with the utmost flexibility.

The current exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the international arena is closely bound up with the mounting crisis processes in the capitalist world. The "crusade" against socialism is a reflection of the crisis of the capitalist system and is one of the forms of this crisis. Monopoly capital and its most aggressive and bellicose wing are trying to find a way out through militarism and foreign policy gambles, through an offensive against the working class.

The tying in of the struggle for peace and for social progress is undoubtedly the root theoretical and practical problem of the contemporary revolutionary process.

* * *

Participants in the symposium emphasized their parties' need for further exchanges of experience and views on a wide range of problems relating to the communists' participation and role in the struggle for peace and against the aggressive, militaristic policy of imperialism. *World Marxist Review* will continue to report broadly on these matters in the future as well.

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Cuba: a quarter-century of working class power

Raul Valdes Vivo
CC member, Communist Party of Cuba

"New year, new life," says an old proverb. These words acquired particular significance 25 years ago, on the first day of 1959, when the Cuban revolution triumphed, piercing the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America at the cost of numerous hardships and sacrifices and enabling the people to set about building a new life. This outstanding development in the history of Cuba marked both the end of a brutal dictatorship and the beginning of the end of all oppression and exploitation in our country.

It so happened that the revolution won in the same month and on the same day as, several decades earlier, our history entered one of its darkest periods. A quotation from a Cuban bourgeois historian will help appreciate the emotional impact of this coincidence all the more. "General Jimenez Castellanos," he wrote, "came up to General Brooke, saluted and said: 'General, in conformity with the stipulations of the Peace Treaty, the agreement reached by the military evacuation commissions and the orders of my King, the sovereignty of Spain over the Island of Cuba ceases as from today, January 1, 1899, 12:00 hours, and that of the United States begins.'"¹

Today, when we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the victorious Cuban Revolution, we are all the more aware of the bitterness of that tragic episode which our people lived through on New Year's Day 80-odd years ago.²

After treacherously robbing the Cuban people of their imminent victory over the Spanish colonialists, the USA did much to prevent the mass of the people for as long as possible from realizing the meaning of the new imperialist bondage imposed on them by American bayonets. Washington used the bloc of the Cuban bourgeoisie and latifundium owners loyal to the "northern neighbor" to exercise political power. History was constantly falsified with the new oppressors being represented as liberators and the role and significance of the patriotic forces led by José Martí, Maximo Gomez and Antonio Maceo, those great champions of national independence, minimized.

Originally the U.S. imperialists planned to make Cuba a U.S. colony, as they had done in the case of Puerto Rico and the Philippines — pearls snatched out of the Spanish crown in the blitzkrieg of 1898, which Lenin described as an imperialist war.³ Among the reasons why Washington went back on this plan, refusing to declare Cuba a colony, the following two stand out: first, the mood of the Cuban people and their liberation army indicated that they would tolerate neither a forcible annexation of their country to the USA, nor protracted U.S. occupation, and second, the American people sympathized with Cuba's patriots. Thus the White House was compelled to resort to a neo-colonialist ploy by allowing the formation of the first government of "independent" Cuba in 1902. Needless to say, it was a government of the bourgeoisie and landed proprietors. In this way Washington created the semblance of political independence and a "model" of a neocolonial state in the Caribbean which the USA subsequently made ample use of.

Throughout the existence of the economically underdeveloped, dependent and poverty-stricken bourgeois republic, real power in it was wielded by U.S. imperialism. U.S. monopolies turned the Cuban economy into an appendage to their production machinery and derived fabulous profits from it. Fearing that the Cubans' national consciousness would grow and the people's struggle would be stepped up, the USA launched in the climate of the cold war it had imposed a new economic and political offensive to tighten its grip on our people. In 1952, Cuba's top military staged a coup under the leadership of General Batista, whom the White House and the bourgeois and landowner oligarchy had banked on more than once. Bourgeois "legality" was scrapped. The coup led to still worse exploitation of the workers, small and middle peasants and other population groups. It aggravated the typical contradictions of the neocolonial regime to the utmost.

The bourgeois and landowner regime under Batista, clinging to power, set up a reign of terror unprecedented in Cuban history. The

working people had no choice but to use revolutionary violence, specifically by forming a national liberation army, as they had done during the struggle against the Spanish colonialists.

At the dawn of July 26, 1953, the first step on this road was taken. A group of patriotic youth led by Fidel Castro Ruz attacked the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba, thereby showing that the country had revolutionaries willing to use every possible form or method of struggle to overthrow a tyranny hated by the people. Although that first combat operation failed, the insurgents did not lose heart. Next came a landing from the *Granma* of 82 men led by Fidel Castro, a growing insurgent movement in the Sierra Maestra Mountains and a 25-month revolutionary war reminiscent in self-sacrifice and heroism of our people's struggle against the Spanish colonialists. All this and, last but not least, the splendid victory which swept away the dictatorial regime, demonstrated that our people had chosen the right path.

The people's revolution, which triumphed exactly six decades after the Spanish colonialists had been replaced by men in U.S. uniforms, led to the establishment of a new state power. It ultimately brought about a qualitative leap in the development of the country. "The victory of the revolution on January 1, 1959," says the Program Platform of the CPC, describing this leap, "thoroughly altered the correlation between the social classes of the country. The bloc of the bourgeoisie and latifundium owners was stripped of political power. For the first time in our history, this power passed into the hands of an alliance of the masses in which the interests of the working class and working peasants, represented by the victorious Insurgent Army and its revolutionary leadership, hold a dominant place."⁴

The working people of the world, realizing the anti-imperialist and radical character of the Cuban Revolution, wondered with deep concern whether a small insular country would be able to hold its ground against the growing hostility of its "northern neighbor." We wish to stress that by the late 1950s the USA, unlike other capitalist powers, had attained greater economic and military might than ever.

Washington exerted growing pressure on the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. Nevertheless, our country persevered in its policy. "This time, fortunately for Cuba, the revolution will truly be carried through to the end," said Fidel Castro the day after victory, speaking in the republic's provisional capital, Santiago de Cuba. "There will not be like '95, when the

Americans came and made themselves masters of the country."⁵

This optimism was admired by many friends of the Island of Freedom but did not convince everybody. Today no one questions the irreversible character of the political, economic and social transformations effected in Cuba. What enabled our revolution to consolidate itself, hold out against U.S. imperialism's acts of aggression and make impressive gains in every sphere?

The Cuban revolution was accomplished by and for the working people, who owe their victory in no small measure to the fact that they constantly enjoyed the internationalist support of the peoples of many countries, above all those of the socialist community and primarily the Soviet Union.

Taking account of the aspirations of the masses, Cuba's revolutionaries directed the efforts of the working people toward completely destroying the administrative and repressive machinery through which the imperialists and their Cuban accomplices and hangers-on had ruled the country. The participants in the Moncada assault united under the banner of José Martí's immortal ideas and adopted an advanced democratic action program backed by the workers, peasants and other sections of the population. They estimated the domestic situation from a Marxist-Leninist position although for tactical reasons they refrained from proclaiming it openly.

Now that deep-going changes are coming about in Latin America, as is confirmed by the upsurge in the revolutionary struggle in Central American countries and the extension of popular action to the whole continent, mention should be made of yet another contribution of the Cuban revolutionary contingent that is often ignored by non-Marxist analysts in capitalist countries. The magnificent tree of new Cuba sprouted from the seed sown in the blood-soaked ground at Moncada thanks to the fact that the participants in the assault linked their fate for ever with that of the most advanced class in the history of society, the working class. By becoming part of the working class, our revolutionaries also joined the ranks of the world proletariat.

The Moncada heroes' fusion with the working class (something which took both the U.S. imperialists and their agents by surprise) was no accident, for the majority of revolutionaries came from poor families. The ideology of the proletariat, which determined their world view, guided them in the liberation movement. This was no accident, either; in the bourgeois republic, fully dominated by foreign and

domestic exploiters, the working people went into action time and again to defend their rights. The working class had been the main protagonist of this activity ever since the early 1920s. Active along with it had been, as in other underdeveloped and dependent countries, the petty bourgeoisie, which held secondary positions in the economy and tried to resist U.S. monopolies and the Cuban oligarchy.

In considering the factors for the success of our revolution, it is important to realize that our victory was a result of class, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles over a long period. The working class was the decisive factor in solving the contradiction between the Cuban nation and imperialism and also in solving the main contradiction, the contradiction between labor and capital.

The founding of the Communist Party by two prominent patriots, Carlos Balino and Julio Antonio Mella, in 1925 was a proof that the Cuban working class was turning from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself," to use the Marxist definition. The rise of the party was fostered by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the activity of the Communist International.

As history never starts from scratch, it would be wrong to speak of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution without going back to the heroic traditions of the party of the working class. In spite of its relatively small size and certain mistakes that were subsequently corrected (e.g., the Moncada assault was misestimated at first), Cuba's Marxist-Leninist party organized the working class movement. It proved equal to operating among the masses in the harshest conditions of illegality. From its rise onwards, the proletariat's vanguard was committed to the struggle for national liberation and gave the working people confidence that the people could and must cast off the yoke of foreign and domestic exploiters.

Credit is due to the party for the leadership of the general strike in 1933 which brought down the tyrannical regime under Gerardo Machado, another puppet of Washington, for the dispatch of numerous volunteers to defend the Spanish Republic, and for the preservation of the party and the trade unions in the period of counter-revolution following the defeat of the 1933 revolution.

The communists took advantage of the establishment of a constitutional regime in 1940 (which they helped bring about) and the proclamation of relative bourgeois freedoms to step up the struggle for the demands of the workers and peasants and take the party's message to the masses in conditions of legality.

Fidel Castro has repeatedly stressed that the entire history of the Communist Party is evidence of the selfless devotion of its members to the cause of the revolution, of the working class and other working people of Cuba.

It was no easy time for the party. The last two pre-revolutionary bourgeois governments tried to nullify the people's gains and, above all, to defeat the working class movement and destroy its communist vanguard as demanded by Washington. A deteriorating political situation, the growing militancy of progressive forces and a new upturn in the revolutionary movement in the late 1940s and early 1950s necessitated closer unity of the masses around the proletarian party. It was not only under communist influence that the people's wrath was mounting. The Cuban People's Party (orthodox)⁶ founded by Eduardo Chibas and strongly opposed to venal and unscrupulous politicians and a corrupt administration won many followers.

It was only logical that many young people active in that party took part in the Moncada assault and then in the formation of the July 26 Movement. Fidel Castro, who arrived at Marxism-Leninism by himself, was the first not only to forecast the great depth of the mounting crisis that gripped the country after the Batista coup but to show a realistic way out of it. Operating in distinctively Cuban conditions, the July 26 Movement provided the working people with firm leadership.

"Wayfarer, this is the road's end, from here your own way you must wend," says a popular song of today (lyrics by Antonio Machado). The heroism of the revolution's leaders "cured" the popular forces of the paralysis that had overcome them for a time, and roused them to the fight against the dictatorship and imperialism. The working people advanced confidently to victory along the road opened by themselves.

The tyranny was defeated by armed workers, peasants and students. After its downfall the U.S. imperialists and their menials began to plot in an effort to prevent the removal of the reactionary bourgeois and landowner bloc from power. The future of our country became an object of behind-the-scenes debates. Cubans knew the pattern of that "future" from the experience of the 1899 events. This time, however, the plan laid by the imperialists and their lackeys fell through as a result of the general strike which the workers held in January 1959 at the call of the revolution's leader. The working class won now ample opportunities to fight on against the exploiters.

On the very first day of the Cuban Revolution, real political power in the country passed in the

main into the hands of the people, who exercised it through the Insurgent Army expressing their interests. There was no dual power in Cuba. The toppling of the Batista dictatorship amounted to removing the bourgeois and land-owner bloc from the political scene. True, the government formed immediately after victory included some bourgeois leaders but the dimensions of the progressive changes that took place frightened the politicians and showed them very soon that they had no chance of reversing the march of history, and so they deserted to the camp of imperialism and counter-revolution.

The revolution developed relying on the firm militant alliance of the working class, the peasantry and radical sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie personified in the Insurgent Army which was a guarantee of victory over reactionary forces. It was the interests of this alliance that the political power established in Cuba expressed.

With the appointment of Fidel Castro to the post of Prime Minister in February 1959, the first stage of radical changes — the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the masses — took final shape. Then came a rapid transition to the next stage, at which political power could be nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat created the objective prerequisites for the Revolutionary Government to carry out socialist changes in the economy. The first two years saw a complete transformation of the country's economic foundations as the political rule of the working class was put on a corresponding basis. Cuba responded to imperialist and reactionary intrigues by promptly effecting radical reforms, which induced the working people to support the new power more and more and increased the leading role of the proletariat.

Under the First Agrarian Reform Law⁷ (May 1959) the state sector of agriculture had slightly more than 40 per cent of the land while the small-peasant sector was allotted about 30 per cent, with the rest of the land left in the hands of the big peasantry and the rural petty bourgeoisie. The passing of this law was tantamount to a head-on clash with U.S. imperialism, for it owned, in fact, the largest latifundia in Cuba. Washington hastened to take early steps toward economic blockade; it stopped purchasing our sugar and selling us its oil, hoping to bring on an economic crisis. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries came to Cuba's aid. The Soviet Union undertook to supply us with oil and derivatives.

Backed by the people and assisted by the socialist community, the Revolutionary Government went on carrying out far-reaching social, economic and political changes. The people's state nationalized all sugar centrales,⁸ power stations, the telephone network and oil refineries. When imperialism and domestic reaction imposed a new battle on Cuba, our country refused to give in to threats and took another step toward socialism — on October 13, 1960, it nationalized the banks and nearly 400 big enterprises.

The social superstructure was transformed according to changes in the economic basis. After a nation-wide discussion in 1976, Cuba adopted a new constitution finalizing the socialist character of our state.

However, the greatest changes in the country are not in the nature of legislation. They consist in the working class having become fully conscious of its class identity and in the people as a whole and their every section having recognized the leading role of the proletariat. The Cuban working class had the prerequisites of acquiring class consciousness before long. As distinct from other Latin American countries, a considerable part of the working class resisted the influence of Trotskyist and reformist ideas, resolutely and steadfastly following its communist vanguard. Even so, it came up against many difficulties and obstacles.

Cuba had a fairly large petty bourgeoisie and was affected by anti-socialist prejudices that even the exploited were not immune from. This was a legacy of the previous period, when the USA had maintained the most rigid ideological control in Cuba, probably more rigid than anywhere else in Latin America (with the possible exception of Puerto Rico). One has only to add illiteracy and cultural backwardness to make the picture complete. This is why, in our view, the *proletarianization* of the Cuban working class, that is, its getting rid of the influence of other classes, as well as the *proletarianization of the rest of the people*, or, in other words, the extension of the influence of the only consistent revolutionary class to it, are interesting developments.

The revolutionary leadership, which closed its ranks around Fidel Castro, proceeded from Lenin's idea that the whole working class must fight imperialism and its agents. This idea of the leader of the Russian revolution has been of tremendous importance throughout the long and difficult period of socialist construction.

The Insurgent Army, like other organizations which fought the dictatorship, comprised only a minority of the most courageous sons and daughters of the people. The mission of these

revolutionary organizations was to win a free and happy life for the working people. After the victory of the revolution Cuba formed a militia that was joined by the majority of workers and working peasants. This was followed by the rise of powerful trade unions and other mass organizations. Socialism became a cause of millions.

In building a new life, our people have grasped two important ideas: first, it is they and they alone that must defend, even at the price of their lives, the revolutionary gains which have made them masters of the factories and the land and given them power and arms; second, the working people only own what they can produce by working hard; doing it, however, for themselves and not for exploiters.

Ever since new Cuba came into existence, the working class has used power with the sole aim of putting an end for all time to foreign domination and economic backwardness, of helping the country build a socialist society. What makes this task objectively difficult is that socialism in our country is being built on the ruins of a deformed capitalism, in a country lacking sources of energy and separated by a considerable distance from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, those who saw our country in 1958 and see it today note striking changes. Slums, so common on the outskirts of Latin America's big cities, are a thing of the past. You never come across hungry children. The legions of prostitutes have disappeared. Unemployment, illiteracy, racial discrimination and women's inequality have been eliminated.

The educational level of Cubans averages six grades of school. Many are going to receive a nine-year education. A new intelligentsia has emerged. The signal progress made in science under people's rule is exemplified by the fruitful participation of our country in space research under the Intercosmos program.

Prior to the revolution, submission and slavish obedience were the rule in Cuba; today ours is a country of free patriots. An indication of this is the formation of a territorial people's voluntary corps whose members are determined to defend the sacred soil of their socialist country to the last. But Cuba is also a country of fiery proletarian internationalism. Thousands of doctors, teachers and members of other professions as well as volunteer soldiers help the peoples of the so-called Third World combat illiteracy and disease, build a new life and defend their revolutionary achievements and national independence.

In spite of the economic blockade kept up by Washington for more than 20 years now (as

evidence of imperialism's hatred for and powerlessness against the world socialist system), our gross national product has been growing faster than in other Latin American countries. In 1982 it went up 2.7 per cent while other countries of the continent registered a decrease averaging nearly one per cent.

Although the living standard of our working people is still rather modest, their social optimism and confidence in the future are growing because there are no crises or unemployment any longer and, most important of all, exploitation has been eliminated. Cuba's membership in the CMEA and fraternal support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries help strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism. In step with this, production relations in our country are going increasingly beyond national bounds to become a component of the system of inter-economy relations.

Cubans know well that the "magic wand" which can help raise their standard of living is a further increase in labor productivity, thrift, discipline, and effort to make working people aware of being masters of their enterprises and the country as a whole. The discussion on efficient production which we are carrying on to perfect our economic mechanism will help us ascertain considerable untapped resources and put them in the service of the country.

In grappling with problems of production intensification, the working class and people of Cuba bear in mind the need to strengthen the country's defenses. At the same time, proceeding in the spirit of humanism, which has always been typical of working class rule, Cuba, like other socialist countries, is fighting perseveringly and purposefully for peace, championing a just settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means. Knowing by experience the meaning of aggression, which is as likely to recur as ever, our people urge all progressive and peace-loving forces to foil the plans of the USA, which is preparing for armed intervention against Nicaragua and trying to thwart the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people for national liberation and democracy.

At a rally dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the Moncada assault, Fidel Castro described the present situation as follows: "We are living in perilous and difficult times. The danger of confrontation is not only local but global. What is needed is nerves of steel, maximum firmness, maximum mobilization of the peoples and an absolute determination not to give in to blackmail if we want to curb the aggressor, if we want to save peace, if we want to survive."⁹

Without the victory of the revolution the

Cuban proletariat would have been unable to overthrow the power of U.S. imperialism and its underlings and establish its own power. At the same time, had the working class failed to enter the political scene, promote its finest members to key economic positions, show revolutionary vigilance, and take up arms, defeat the U.S. mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs, participate in sugar-cane harvesting and build sugar refineries — in short, had the proletariat not adopted the revolution as a vital cause, the revolution would have been defeated.

Radical processes in Latin America have occasionally failed to go beyond the revolutionary democratic phase, whereupon patriots even had to retreat because the working class had been unable to take up its historical leading place in the struggle for social change.

The founders of the first Marxist party of Cuba considered this one of the main tasks of the working class and did much to educate and organize it accordingly. A similar position was adopted by those who continued their cause. At the first CPC congress (1975), which summed up the results of our people's years-long fight for national and social liberation, Fidel Castro stressed that while the participants in the Moncada assault were unknown at the time as communists, their views and those of the old communists coincided none the less, and as a result, steps decisive for the destiny of the revolution were taken. Speaking of this, we may make the following points:

First, an identical view of the end goals and the principles of the working class movement made it possible to unite all communists — old and new alike¹⁰ — in one organization. Patriots who originally had not shared Marxist ideas or had even rejected them because they knew little about Marxism also joined the united revolutionary party. Afterwards they all adopted the ideology of the proletariat.

Cuba at 25

Gil Green

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Second, the revolutionaries' unity on a common platform meant unity of all progressive forces. This enabled our country to withstand the aggression of U.S. imperialism and win after going through severe trials and overcoming mistakes generally made by pioneers. The lack of such unity makes the revolution much weaker while our enemies and our mistakes become far more dangerous. The tragedy of Grenada is a fresh and emphatic reminder of this.

Third, the Cuban people, led by the working class, have become staunch internationalists and have, in turn, been given internationalist class support. The fraternal attitude of the Soviet Union, of all socialist countries, to the Cuban Revolution shows this very clearly.

Our people therefore see the Communist Party as the highest embodiment of their ideals. Closely united around it, they are advancing to new achievements and new victories.

1. Rafael Martinez Ortiz, Cuba, *Los primeros anos de independencia*, Paris, 1929, p. 24.

2. Cuba's liberation army, carrying on a heroic struggle (1895-1898), virtually defeated the Spanish colonial army. But Washington, set on seizing Cuba, prevented the patriots from clinching their victory and establishing a free, independent republic. It took advantage of the national liberation struggle to further its own ends and declared war on Spain (April 1898). Spain relinquished its sovereignty over and title to Cuba under the Paris Peace Treaty (December 1898). As soon as the Spanish troops had withdrawn from Cuba, the U.S. army occupied the island. — Ed.

3. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 287.

4. *Plataforma Programatica del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, Havana, 1976, p. 50.

5. *El Pensamiento de Fidel Castro*, t.I, vol. 1, Havana, 1983, p. 3.

6. Petty-bourgeois party which also included students and workers. Its leader, Eduardo Chibas, was very popular among Cuban youth. Fidel Castro began his political activity as a member of the orthodox party. — Ed.

7. The Second Reform (October 1963) expropriated all the means of production owned by the petty and middle agrarian bourgeoisie. This concluding reform was made possible by the fact that the Cuban working class had a reliable ally, the working peasantry. Also, Cuba had a sufficiently solid economic base in the form of state farms. — Ed.

8. The *centrale* is a typically Cuban enterprise comprising a sugar refinery, the sugar-cane plantations around it and roads.

9. *Granma*, July 28, 1983.

10. During the revolution and after its victory, the first Marxist-Leninist party in Cuba, known as the Popular Socialist Party (PSP), took a most active part in the changes effected in the country under the leadership of the July 26 Movement headed by Fidel Castro. It contributed to the unification of all truly revolutionary forces on a Marxist-Leninist platform in the early 1960s. This resulted in founding Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, later transformed into the United Socialist Revolution Party, which in 1965 renamed itself the Communist Party of Cuba. — Ed.

Dangerous transformations of the "deterrence" doctrine

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As I write this article, one of the most pitched political and ideological battles in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany is being fought.¹ The Peace Action Week alone, held in our country in the latter half of October 1983, mobilized some two and a half million people representing all population strata.

The question being decided this autumn was: would Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles be deployed in the FRG, would a threat of war against the Soviet Union again emanate from German soil? Another question is whether this development will adversely affect the FRG's relations with socialist countries, especially with the GDR.

The line is drawn between the opposing forces. On one side is the growing peace movement which encompasses millions of our citizens and in which communists are active too. On the other side are arms build-up advocates, rallied around the Christian Democrat-led Federal government. The latter's position leaves no doubt that it has bowed to Washington in this highly important matter.

As a result, the FRG became a major battleground in the clash between the ideas of peaceful coexistence and the course towards confrontation.

Let us therefore examine the strategy pursued by the United States, the leading power of world imperialism, how this strategy emerged and what danger it poses not only to our people but to all humankind.

The many faces of "deterrence"

From the mid-1970s official Washington began to gradually move away from the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence and stepped up its efforts to precipitate international confrontation, a course many people believed had long been abandoned. The goal of this policy is to become capable of winning a war against the socialist world, in other words, to secure U.S. military superiority for delivering a "decapitating nuclear strike" against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This policy switch has deep roots — above all, in the anachronistic U.S. claims to world domination.

The significance of the changes in U.S. mili-

tary strategy can only be understood if one takes into account the shifts in the alignment of forces on the international scene.

As we all know, in the immediate wake of World War II the United States had a monopoly in atomic weapons which clearly assured it a strategic military superiority. At that time, scenarios for destroying the Soviet Union were being drawn up in earnest in Washington. That was precisely the objective of the "massive retaliation" strategy, proclaimed by President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. It envisaged full-scale use of American atomic weapons against the USSR at any opportune moment.

"Deterrence" was the central precept of imperialist strategy. Militarist propaganda justified it by citing the need to "resist the Soviet threat." In actual fact, this strategy was aimed at preparing for war, not at preventing it; it was essentially aggressive and not defensive.

The essence of the "deterrence" doctrine as viewed from Washington can be summed up as follows:

- "deterrence" is a method, based on the possession of nuclear weapons, of securing the economic and political interests of the U.S. ruling quarters who proceed from their goal of world domination in shaping their policy vis-a-vis existing socialism, national liberation movements and other capitalist countries;

- "deterrence" maintains that nuclear weapons can essentially be used and stipulates a search for optimum strategic solutions to improve chances of victory;

- "deterrence" stipulates military superiority over existing socialism since an absence of such superiority makes the imperialist plans to use nuclear weapons pointless;

- "deterrence" needs the "Soviet threat" myth to justify it; the most base aims are ascribed to socialism while the imperialist world order is presented as a blessing;

- "deterrence" as a strategic concept is based on precepts alien to détente, arms limitation and disarmament; consequently, it can in no way form a foundation for a system of international security.

The Soviet Union repeatedly proposed elim-

ination of nuclear weapons. Since the United States rejected this solution, the USSR not only ended Washington's nuclear monopoly but also proved its ability to create its own strategic forces.

Little by little leaders began to realize that it was impossible to destroy the USSR without risking their own survival. By acquiring the capability to deliver a return missile strike, a "retaliatory strike," the Soviet Union put an end to the U.S. nuclear superiority. The "massive retaliation" strategy became practically inapplicable.

This turn of events was a shock to the U.S. imperialist quarters. Their political thinking began to show signs of timid realism. Mostly, however, they reacted by making Washington more aggressive and stepping up the search for ingenious tactical solutions. The 1960s were the period when U.S. strategists worked against time to draw up war scenarios which could ensure success for the use of force.

Naturally, at that juncture opportunities arose for a turn toward peaceful coexistence and for serious efforts in the field of disarmament. However, the heated debates in Washington merely resulted in the formulation of a new strategy. "Massive retaliation" was replaced by "flexible response." In actual fact though, this was yet another of Washington's variations on its concept of "deterrence."

By shifting the emphasis to the "flexible" use of conventional and nuclear (tactical and strategic) weapons, U.S. leaders hoped — as Henry Kissinger had suggested as far back as 1957 — to remove the danger of self-destruction which total nuclear war could pose. Washington believed it would be able to fight wars below this threshold in Europe or in some other region — in other words, to launch "limited" (whether conventional or nuclear) conflicts and to win them, security changes favorable to it in the global alignment of forces.

The "flexible response" strategy led to a shift in accents in the United States' relations not only with the Soviet Union but also with its North Atlantic partners — the risks and contradictions inherent in this strategy were too great. For example, envisaging the use of tactical nuclear weapons to "defend" our continent, it is oriented toward initiating a conflict which, while indeed being "limited" for the United States, would threaten to destroy Europe. And so a question was put bluntly: was there any logic in defending something at the risk of its annihilation?

"Flexible response" is based on the illusion that the U.S. government can keep a nuclear war within the planned limits and even end it

should that become necessary. Besides, it clearly assumes that the Soviet command would observe the escalation stages proposed by NATO — in other words, that it would let NATO seize the initiative without putting up any resistance.

From the outset, West European NATO members realized, with varying degrees of clarity, how different the potential consequences of "flexible response" would be for them and for the United States. They feared that Washington would renege on its promise to "cover Europe with a strategic nuclear umbrella" and would turn it into a theater of operations; for that reason they initially refused to accept the new strategy. It was only in 1967-1968, after exerting powerful pressure, that the United States succeeded in elevating "flexible response" to the level of an official NATO doctrine.

The policy of confrontation and the threat of war

In the early 1970s U.S. leaders acknowledged the existence of strategic nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union and were forced to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence. However, after a pause that was, in historical terms, brief, politicians and strategists striving for confrontation and military superiority, this time at a higher technological level, again gained the upper hand in Washington. The old scheme moved to the foreground: having altered the global alignment of forces in favor of the United States, to try again to establish it as "the world's policeman."

The bid to secure a U.S. superiority in armaments over the Soviet Union again emerged as the foremost goal of imperialist strategy. The intention of the U.S. administration to prepare a first nuclear strike made it obvious that, in Washington's view, "deterrence" was not at all meant to be a real mutual deterrent preventing nuclear war.

Kenneth Adelman, the current director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, summed it up aptly when he said that the point was not "deterrence" — or, to put it another way, not recognition by the sides of the reality of "mutual assured destruction" — but actual use of nuclear weapons.² To quote his predecessor Eugene Rostow, the objective is to "restore a world order based on deterrence."³ Hence the conclusion: the real essence of the "new strategy" is not "containment of a possible Soviet aggression," the official version, but a show of armed force to make the Warsaw Treaty countries accept North Atlantic diktat.

Colin S. Gray and Keith Payne, U.S. experts

on military strategy, wrote in their article "Victory Is Possible": "The West must find ways which would enable it to use strategic nuclear weapons as a means of pressure, at the same time minimizing the potentially paralyzing self-deterrence."⁴ In other words, they rejected the "deterrence" based on the principle of "he who shoots first dies second." Today Washington is trying to create a capability for "unilateral assured destruction" of the USSR by delivering a first strike which would deprive it of the ability to strike back in retaliation.

President Reagan makes no bones about the ultimate objective of this strategy. Not content with the endless stream of charges levelled at communism, the head of the current U.S. administration has stated: "We shall end this grim and bizarre chapter of history whose last pages are being written even now. We will not be content with denouncing it (communism. — J.R.), we will end it."⁵

Strategic military parity versus the doctrine of "deterrence"

Many critics of the arms race maintain that the system of mutual "deterrence" or "balance of terror" no longer exists between the United States and the Soviet Union. This view combines elements of both truth and error.

The "system of deterrence" could not have collapsed because it never existed in the first place. What has really failed is the imperialist concept according to which only armed force can prevent use of armed force. We have seen that the true meaning of Reagan's "deterrence" doctrine is not the creation of a "balance of terror" but actual use of weapons.

In all its versions "deterrence" has been and remains a strategic concept of the North Atlantic bloc, and of this bloc alone. As to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a whole, they have invariably rejected and continue to reject the idea of creating a system of international security based on "deterrence"; they have never proceeded from such a concept in developing and implementing their policy. Naturally, they cannot ignore this concept, but it has never been the underlying basis of their policy.

Bourgeois political scientists use the term "balance of terror," a synonym of the "system of deterrence" concept, only to discredit the positive content of the principle of strategic military parity and equal security. From the point of view of the socialist countries' doctrine, parity means the potential capability to repulse imperialist aggression in such a way that the very possibility of this rebuff should force a renunciation of the intention to attack.

Consequently, the maintenance of parity is aimed at ensuring the ability for self-defense. The point is to maintain it at a diminishing level. Here, parity is not an end in itself but a means of preventing war. At the same time it should become a prerequisite for disarmament.

As is clear from the January 1983 Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states and from other disarmament proposals submitted by socialist community countries, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty as a whole advance a genuine alternative to the "deterrence" doctrine. They are striving for the creation of a structure in international relations which would be based on the principles of collective security and peaceful coexistence and not on the threat of armed force, and which could pave the way to the dissolution of military alliances.

It is sometimes claimed that "thinking in terms of parity" does nothing to further the maintenance of peace. At times one even hears allegations to the effect that it spurs on the arms race and increases the war danger. Proponents of this view cite the fact that arms build-up by one side inevitably prompts counter-measures to restore parity. The reference to parity, they assert, justifies the arms race after the event, and the logic of this process is shaped by the striving for military superiority.

Naturally, parity does not guarantee peace "automatically." But it is equally unreasonable to maintain, as some do, that the desire to preserve it is the "motive force" of the arms race. The record shows that given the actual existence of nuclear missiles, arms limitation can be attained only by maintaining parity. For example, the 1981 yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute said: "The great lead the United States achieved in intercontinental missiles in the 1960s made any agreement on this question between the United States and the Soviet Union impossible. Power superiority is no basis for successful negotiations. Agreement on a freeze at the level attained began to appear feasible only in the late 1960s, when the Soviet Union made the balance approximately equal."⁶

Marxists are fully aware of the ensuing problems. They hold that in the final analysis, war cannot be prevented by a continuous restoration of parity at increasingly high levels. In a historical perspective, thinking in terms of parity is fruitless. Arms build-up has its limits, and it is precisely at the present stage that they are becoming especially pronounced.

As Soviet Academician Georgi Arbatov has stated with regret, the socialist countries still have to rely on parity in nuclear weapons, but

that is not a very sure guarantee of peace. "The fact that there has been no rupture for 30 years," he said, "does not allow us to make optimistic forecasts for the future." Only political efforts can overcome the growing danger of a slip-up in the existing system — arms control, transition to disarmament, building of confidence and development of cooperation.⁷

Soviet proposals on creating a system of European collective security open the way to success. That was also the goal of the Soviet position at the Geneva talks on limiting medium-range missiles in Europe.

One should also take into account that the arms build-up in the United States is not in fact rooted in "technocratic thinking aimed at achieving parity." Its underlying factors are the striving for superiority and the pressure from the military-industrial complex eager to expand arms manufacture. These factors operate irrespective of whether the Soviet Union is or is not catching up with the United States in the military sphere.

As to Soviet leaders, this approach is alien to them. Academic studies devoted to problems of peace do not cite a single instance of these leaders referring to fictitious "windows of vulnerability" in Soviet defense to justify the need of overtaking the other side in terms of armaments. In developing all major weapons systems the Soviet Union has merely responded to the creation of similar systems in the United States.

Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union does not consider war a goal or means of its policy. As opposed to the Washington administration, the Soviet government has repeatedly and unambiguously denounced the concept which claims that nuclear war is acceptable and rejected the possibility of victory in such a war. It has firmly renounced the first use of nuclear weapons (the Soviet Union pursues a similar course with regard to conventional weapons too). Its armaments only reach a level which demonstrates to the enemy the risk it would be taking in case of attack against the USSR. This approach also applies to the military measures taken by the Soviet Union to offset the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe.

If all the U.S. missiles are actually installed, their deployment will be not only a numerical increase of the already impressive capability; it will mean that imperialism will have begun implementing the new first-strike strategy in earnest. The USSR has stated clearly that it does not plan to deliver a first strike. However, faced with a qualitatively new threat, it simply has to take inevitable counter-measures. Still, this in

no way contradicts its policy goal of arms limitation and disarmament. The Soviet proposals on these issues open the way to their solution; the other side merely has to display political good will.

It is a generally accepted fact that today both sides have the capability to destroy each other several times over. Nevertheless, it is also a fact that the United States continues to build up its arsenal of nuclear missiles. But why, it is sometimes asked, should the Soviet Union follow suit? Does it really strengthen its security by acting in this way?

An answer to these questions must take into consideration the aims and methods of the arms escalation Washington is engaged in. For, since U.S. leaders are putting their stake on winning a nuclear war, one has to consider the possibility that they may initiate an armed conflict. That is the view of the Soviet Union which — since disarmament could not be attained — has created a powerful return-strike capability. This means the need to develop such weapon systems, which would make a first strike an unacceptable risk to the United States.

The entire historical experience of the Soviet people forcefully reminds them of the need to follow closely the machinations of imperialist policy and to bolster their country's defense. The Soviet republic has many times been the victim of treacherous attacks. The latest, the Nazi aggression, took a toll of twenty million lives in the Soviet Union. And we understand why the USSR is doing all it can to prevent war, to convince the nuclear adventure-seekers that their schemes are doomed. "No one should take the Soviet Union's good will, its desire to negotiate as a sign of weakness," Yuri Andropov has warned. "The Soviet Union will be able to give a proper answer to any attempt at wrecking the existing strategic military balance, and its deeds will match its words."⁸

At the same time, the Soviet party and government leader again reiterated that the USSR was a principled opponent of competition in the manufacture and accumulation of mass destruction weapons. This road, he said, could not lead to the solution of any of the problems facing humankind: national economic development, preservation of the environment, creation of elementary living conditions, supplying people with food, health care and education.⁹ Solution of today's most urgent problems is in the interests not only of the Soviet people but also of the peoples of other countries, including our people and the people of the United States itself.

Reagan's strategy of "decapitation"

After Ronald Reagan moved into the White House a program of arms build-up unprecedented in human history was launched. Its elements are:

- first-strike strategic nuclear weapons (Trident-2, MX, Midgetman missiles and B-1B and Stealth bombers designed to launch Cruise missiles against targets in Soviet territory);

- highly effective and accurate weapons for destroying Soviet submarines to prevent a retaliatory strike by sea-launched weapons;

- anti-missile systems on the ground and in outer space designed to destroy the Soviet return strike capability, including the warning system;

- well-protected command, control and communication centers to ensure effective control of operations in conditions of nuclear war;

- highly destructive conventional weapons deployed in Western Europe for the North Atlantic bloc to wage war at a pre-nuclear level.

Currently, the greatest danger of an outbreak of a nuclear conflict is posed by the implementation of the December 1979 NATO decision to deploy ground-based Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe.¹⁰ The point is that Pershing-2 missiles are the only first-strike weapon ready to be used even now. Their principal performance characteristics are great speed which leaves little time for response and extremely high accuracy. Targeted against the chief political, military and economic centers of the Soviet Union, they are designed to cripple them with one blow. Besides, according to the "flexible response" concept, Washington expects Pershing-2s to enable it to use nuclear weapons from Western European territory, thereby reducing the risk of a Soviet return strike against the United States.

This strategy, briefly outlined above, was based on the NATO long-term "rearmament" program adopted in 1978, the NATO missile decision, Presidential Directive 59 endorsed by Jimmy Carter in 1980, and the enormous growth of military spending. After the advent of the Reagan administration this strategy was called a "decapitation" doctrine.

Its theoretical basis is set forth in several policy documents — above all in a classified Pentagon directive on large-scale war preparations and in National Security Decision Document 13, drawn up on instructions from Ronald Reagan. The latter document states for the first time that a global nuclear war is winnable.

According to these directives, nuclear weapons are seen not only as a means to "offset the shortage" of conventional armaments or as

a tool of political pressure and threats, but also as a "fully acceptable" and "usable" combat system. In fact, we are dealing with a new NATO strategy.

Colin S. Gray and Keith Payne, the authors quoted above, describe the essence of this concept as "credibility of expanded U.S. deterrence." "If the nuclear might of the United States is to serve U.S. foreign policy goals," they note, "the nation should be capable of fighting a nuclear war rationally."¹¹

There is only one meaning to this: "deterrence" is sufficient capability for fighting a "successful" war against the Soviet Union. Under this strategy, the NATO missile decision has particular significance.

The NATO decision and the strategy of superiority

In 1981 Ronald Reagan declared that he accepted the possibility of nuclear war in which only tactical weapons would be used, without its level inevitably rising to an exchange of strategic strikes. We know that a major part of the NATO tactical nuclear systems is located in Western Europe and comprises the new U.S. missiles too. The latter are designed to deliver "surgically accurate" strikes against political and military targets in the Soviet Union; therefore, in Washington's view, they are the decisive means of "limiting" nuclear war and keeping it at a distance from the United States.

Washington entertains the illusion that Soviet return strikes would be directed at Europe. Colin S. Gray has proposed the creation of a "deterrence" system in which "Soviet retaliation could, in quantitative and qualitative terms, be intercepted, absorbed and generally reduced to an 'acceptable' level."¹²

It follows that the aim of the new strategy and of the missile decision it underlies is to offer to Washington a large choice of options for fighting and winning a war. A concomitant objective is to create new opportunities for a worldwide policy of threats and blackmail at a level lower than the war threshold. This also explains the almost completely open U.S. course toward wrecking the Geneva talks and unconditionally going through with the plan to deploy the missiles.

Obviously, the Soviet Union will not put up with such plans. Should the Geneva talks collapse, it will be forced to take military counter-measures it was declared.

By making the Federal Republic of Germany and several other NATO countries a theater of operations in a new, nuclear war, Washington is turning them into hostages of its imperial ambitions and putting their very survival in

danger. Awareness of this has become a powerful factor behind the emergence of a strong movement against the NATO decision. In August 1983 Herbert Mies, Chairman of the GCP, noted in his speech at the eighth plenary meeting of the party's Board:

"The peace movement is supported by a popular majority. That is its strength. The politicians advocating the missile deployment are acting on behalf of a minority and therefore lack confidence. That is their weakness. On the other hand, however, that is also the danger of the present situation. It prods the most reactionary forces to push ahead..."¹³

And so, the strategic goals of U.S. imperialism can be summed up as follows: to eliminate the USSR and the entire socialist system politically and militarily, as "rejects of history," to force a ruinous arms race on the socialist countries, to "declare war" on them in economic terms and drive them into bankruptcy. Washington is striving to restore U.S. hegemony over its allies and to consolidate the imperialist bloc. Its chief task is to force back and reverse progressive developments throughout the world and to impose a world order shaped by monopoly capital.

In the present situation the imperialist attempts to implement the new strategy will succeed or fail largely depending on whether NATO carries out its decision on missile deployment. That is why this decision was the last straw which ended people's patience. The drive to prevent the missile deployment is a highly important factor forging a diversity of forces into a powerful peace movement.

Here we must remember that imperialism has lost the historical initiative. The world socialist system, the working class movement in capitalist countries, the national liberation movement and the forces of peace limit the scope of the policy aimed at confrontation.

Heated debates are going on among the ruling quarters of capitalist countries, above all in the United States, as well as between Washington and some of its allies, focusing on whether imperialism can attain its goals by pursuing confrontation.

Many monopoly capital interests see the strategy drawn up by Ronald Reagan, Caspar Weinberger et al as risky and unrealistic, and the price of its implementation as unacceptably high. There is a wide range of counter-proposals advanced to offset it — from attempts to secure superiority without precipitating confrontation to moves for reviving détente.

Having closed its eyes to the fate of Europe, having forgotten the solemn oath to prevent German soil from ever becoming the source of

war, after the Bundestag debates of unprecedented importance and intensity, against the will of three-quarters of the country's population, the ruling majority, by using the machinery of bourgeois parliamentary "democracy," confirmed its agreement to the deployment of U.S. Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in the FRG. The German Communist Party responded to this turn of events by an appeal not to recognize or accept the decision of the right-wing coalition in the Bundestag.

"We appeal to all forces concerned about preserving peace, to all working people in our country," the Presidium of the GCP Board said in its statement. "Do not agree with the Bundestag decision and with the deployment of the missiles which is beginning..."

"The upsurge of the nation-wide movement must make the sinister missile decision of the Bundestag politically unfeasible. There can be no peace if U.S. offensive first-strike weapons are deployed in our country.

"With renewed vigor we must fight together:

" — for a halt to the deployment of the missiles in our country and for a repeal of the decision on this deployment;

" — for a freeze on the manufacture, testing and deployment of all types of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction and for their complete expulsion from the Federal Republic;

" — for an agreed ban on the first use of nuclear weapons and for the conclusion of a treaty on non-aggression and renunciation of the use of force between NATO and the Warsaw Pact;

" — for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe..."¹⁴

The GCP advocates a nation-wide referendum on the deployment of the new U.S. missiles.

There is no reason to believe that the insane course toward World War III will eventually prevail. The broad, global movement to defend peace can make an important contribution here. It is sufficiently strong to expect to succeed.

1. Jurgen Reusch wrote this article in November 1983. — Ed.

2. *Der Spiegel*, February 21, 1983, p. 170.

3. Quoted in: G. Neuberger/Hrsg., *Der Plan Euroshima*, Cologne, 1982, p. 21.

4. Quoted in: Karl D. Bredthauer, Klaus Mannhardt/Hrsg., *Es geht ums Überleben*, Cologne, 1981, p. 182.

5. Quoted in: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, No. 3, 1983, p. 415.

6. *SIPRI-Rüstungsjahrbuch 1981/82*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1981, p. 21.

7. See: *Der sowjetische Standpunkt. Über die Westpolitik der UdSSR*, Munich, 1981, pp. 133, 129 ff.

8. *Pravda*, September 29, 1983.

9. *Ibid.*

10. The plan is to deploy a total of 572 U.S. medium-range missile systems in Western Europe, including 108 Pershing-2s (all in the FRG) and 464 Cruise missiles (160

in Great Britain, 112 in Italy, 96 in the FRG and 48 each in Belgium and the Netherlands). — Ed.

11. Quoted in: Karl D. Bredthauer . . . , pp. 183, 182, 188.

12. Quoted in *Blatter* . . . , p. 1252.

13. *UZ-Eigenbeilage*, No. 191, September 1, 1983, p. 40.

14. *Unsere Zeit*, November 24, 1983.

From gunboat diplomacy before to outright aggression now

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U.S. imperialism is starting war in Central America and the Caribbean. In line with its adventurist militarist policy, the Reagan administration is trying hard to stem the national liberation movement in the region, resorting even to direct armed interference in the affairs of sovereign nations, as the aggression against Grenada has shown.

The USA has sent a powerful fleet to the Nicaraguan coast and thousands of troops to Honduras on the pretext of a military exercise that is to last six months. The exercise, known as Big Pine 2, involves about 28,000 troops, three aircraft carriers with missiles on board, 16 other warships, over 200 planes and helicopters, and numerous transport and auxiliary vessels and planes. During this undisguised show of force, a trial troop landing is rehearsed not far from the northern coast of Nicaragua. As many as 5,000 U.S. marines reportedly participate in operations whose details were worked out during the invasion of Grenada. Other large-scale maneuvers are taking place simultaneously with Big Pine 2.

There is but one step from gunboat diplomacy to outright aggression. "It's my front garden," the present occupant of the White House said arrogantly, speaking of Central America. "But growing in it are weeds like Nicaragua and El Salvador . . . It will take napalm and bombs to get rid of them."¹

In propaganda terms, the U.S. policy of armed intervention and aggression, exemplified by the operations mentioned above and the attack on Grenada, is based on the proposition that the revolutionary movement developing in the region is a result of interference by Havana and Moscow. This argument is so untenable, to put it mildly, as to be resented even among members of the U.S. ruling group.

Central America's problems are not due to the alleged expansionism of Cuba or the Soviet Union, any more than to Nicaragua's mythical aggressiveness toward its neighbors. Their roots lie in internal factors operating in countries of the region, in these countries' social, economic and political dependence on U.S. imperialism, which has gone back to its big stick policy. The United States sees this policy as entitling it to decide who should rule other countries and what road they may follow.

Washington has raised international terrorism to the rank of government policy. The armed invasion of the sovereign state of Grenada is a case in point. Reagan has moved on from threats to a real war against national liberation and revolutionary movements, to the disgraceful practice of international brigandage. Washington affirms that it is prompted by the desire to defend "human rights" and "democracy." Nothing could be more cynical or hypocritical than this assertion, for it is used as a pretext to drown in blood the right of a people to a free and independent existence. The U.S. government has demonstrated with deeds its complete disregard of the universally accepted standards of international law and trampled the lofty principles of the UN underfoot. The facts show that when it comes to achieving its expansionist aims, the White House refuses to reckon with the right of nations to independent development and defies their will and public opinion with frank arrogance.

All over the world, many governments, diverse parties, sober-minded politicians and people of culture sharply condemn the U.S. policy of armed intervention, rejecting Washington's attempts to blame the situation in Central America and the Caribbean on the "East-West" conflict. The Socialist Inter-

national likewise refused to back these attempts in a statement adopted at its 16th congress in Portugal. In fact, spokesmen of social democracy pointed out that the policies of the Reagan administration had "seriously deteriorated an already difficult and dangerous situation."²

In a bid to strangle the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua and insurgents' movements in other countries of the region, U.S. imperialism has involved most of Central America's governments in its bellicose policy. The ruling camarilla of Honduras is its mainstay in Central America. On coming to power late in January 1982, it adopted a policy pursuing two aims. First, assigning the army the functions of a gendarme operating against the peoples of neighboring countries, and thus filling the vacuum left by the elimination of Somoza's National Guards. Second, restoring the public prestige of the armed forces as an institute in the subregion, if only to a degree, for they had forfeited it by backing the dictatorship of the Somoza clan. These are the actual aims of the present Honduran government, which poses as democratic yet gives in to imperialist pressure. There is no other explanation for the formation of the Cordova-Martinez alliance, which seemed impossible until the Liberal Party took over.

The "strong man" of Honduras, Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, and the ruling camarilla commit terrible crimes, flouting the nation's dignity and sovereignty. The territory of Honduras has been turned into an operational base of imperialism against the peoples of Central America. Flocking together in the country are "experts" in the most refined forms of repression and murder, past masters of genocide — CIA agents, veterans boasting "Vietnam experience," and "advisers" from Israel, Chile and other countries. Their task is to train 15,000 former Somoza guards and other mercenaries for raids on Nicaraguan territory as well as to lead these raids. The bandits' rear and operations are covered by the Honduran army and U.S. troops involved in the military exercise mentioned earlier. The U.S. government is also using Honduras as an accomplice of the criminal Salvadoran army against the people, against the forces of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF).

The Salvadoran government, which has with Washington's help gone to war against its own people, is less and less capable of resisting the pressure of the revolutionary movement led by the FMNLF despite growing military aid from the USA. This is why the White House now counts above all on the more "reliable" regimes

of Honduras and of Guatemala, where it inspired a coup in August 1983.

There is no doubt that President Efraim Rios Montt of Guatemala was toppled on direct instructions from Washington. Oscar Humberto Mejia, who assumed this post, had talks with high-ranking U.S. military men in Honduras a few days before the coup with Gen. Martinez mediating. Immediately after the coup he declared in support of Reagan's policy and instructed his Foreign Minister, Fernando Andrade, to boycott the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group (Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela), which had proposed a plan for a negotiated political settlement in Central America. The very first steps of the new President of Guatemala included also active participation in attempts to galvanize the Central American Defense Council and the offer to use Guatemalan territory for military bases and training centers like those existing in Honduras.

The puppet regimes of both Honduras and Guatemala stepped up repression to ensure the implementation of the policy demanded of them. In Honduras hundreds of political assassinations and kidnappings have occurred under Liberal Party rule. The reign of terror has not subsided in Guatemala, either.

The social democratic administration of Costa Rica, too, has repeatedly betrayed its complicity in the schemes of the White House. Counter-revolutionary bands of anti-Sandinists are operating with the knowledge of highly placed members of the administration in areas bordering on Nicaragua. However, pressure from a large body of public opinion and protests from a section of the ruling party (with due regard to the line of the Socialist International) compel the cabinet under Luis Alberto Monge to maneuver and now and then to take a stand at variance with the common line of other Central American regimes.

Reagan's military ventures meet resistance in influential political quarters even in the USA itself, as we have noted. They fear that the country is being led to a "new Vietnam." This also finds reflection in the U.S. press. Many Congressmen condemn White House plans. Public anger in the United States is growing from day to day, taking the form of numerous protest actions. Nearly half a million people joined in the anti-war march on Washington in August 1983. Many Latin American and European governments which are allied with the USA and generally identify themselves with the White House, have refrained from giving it their unqualified support on the issue of Central America and the Caribbean and some of

them disagree outright with Reagan's policy, as they have done in particular since the invasion of Grenada.

In these circumstances Washington is making clumsy efforts to camouflage its plainly militarist moves with protestations of a "desire for peace." While paying lip-service to the proposals of the Contadora Group for a peaceful settlement of the problems of the region, Reagan is engaging in open provocation by sending armed forces to Nicaragua's frontiers.

The White House has failed to respond to the constructive initiatives of Cuba, Mexico and France. It stubbornly ignores all of Managua's proposals for a political settlement in the region, either keeping silence or advancing numerous preconditions which no sovereign country can possibly accept.³

U.S. puppets proceed similarly. The Honduran government widely advertised through Foreign Minister Edgardo Paz Barnica the so-called "policy of internationalizing peace," which amounted to making a peaceful solution of the Nicaraguan "problem" conditional on multilateral talks. Only July 19, 1983 Nicaragua announced its willingness to join in such talks. The Sandinist government also proposed signing a non-aggression treaty with Honduras and declared for the complete discontinuance of arms deliveries to the adversaries in El Salvador so as to enable the people of that country to solve their problems without foreign meddling. Managua made a call to end the militarization of the region and the use of foreign territory for aggression against any country, respect their right to self-determination and renounce the setting up of military bases on foreign soil. All this could undoubtedly have helped bring about peace. However, the Honduran government invented various pretexts to reject the talks proposed by itself and as for the USA, it escalated its aggression, alleging as it did so that the "left government of Nicaragua" was the chief obstacle to peace in Central America.

The White House has allocated many millions of dollars for subversion against Nicaragua. This money is being spent on training counter-revolutionaries and terrorists, supplying them with arms, and carrying on economic and financial sabotage and smear campaigns. The CIA, which has been entrusted with anti-Nicaraguan operations, has discarded all pretence and is acting openly. Transport planes of the U.S. Air Force land at Ilopango airfield near San Salvador, according to U.S. press reports. Salvadoran pilots and U.S. mercenaries using S-47 planes violate Nicaraguan air space at least a dozen times a week to drop supplies in

areas where Somozist thugs are operating.

As a result of U.S. acts of aggression, hundreds of Nicaraguans lost their lives in the last nine months of 1983 and the economy suffered a loss estimated at 1.2 billion cordobas.⁴

In view of the mounting threat to its security, Nicaragua is compelled to take additional steps to strengthen its defenses. It adopts measures to improve the protection of major economic installations and reinforce battalions of reservists and the territorial people's militia. The Nicaraguan people are closing their ranks behind the Sandinist National Liberation Front. In this crucial period, their finest qualities, their loyalty to their patriotic duty and their readiness for self-sacrifice are more evident than ever.

The CIA has admittedly instructed counter-revolutionaries to hold any patch of Nicaraguan territory that they may seize for at least a few hours and to announce the formation of a "government" there, which is to be the signal for mounting massive imperialist aggression. However, all of the counter-revolutionaries' attempts to dig in on Nicaraguan soil miscarry. The combat preparedness of the Sandinist People's Army, militia and Sandinist Defense Committees is steadily increasing. In spite of aggression and an enormous defense effort, Nicaragua goes on effecting social and economic changes and promoting revolutionary legality.

The patriots of El Salvador score gain after gain. They control vast areas, thwarting the punitive operations of an army trained by U.S. officers, who often go beyond the role of advisers to personally lead troops into action. The patriots free major communities, seize important sectors of highways and destroy important military objectives firmly retaining the initiative.

The revolutionary organizations of Guatemala are likewise unfolding an armed struggle. All punitive expeditions notwithstanding, the regime has been unable to divide the insurgents, let alone break their morale. More and more new fighters join in the resistance movement.

In the atmosphere of the worst socio-economic crisis in the history of Honduras and Costa Rica, the peoples of both countries are fighting with growing determination for a better life, the right to work, land, democratic freedoms, human rights and peace in the region. This fight is gaining in intensity as the crisis goes deeper and the war menace increases.

The bellicose policy of the USA has turned Central America and the Caribbean into one of the trouble spots of the planet, into a charge whose explosion could have unforeseeable

consequences. World opinion is concerned about the tensions in the subregion resulting from Washington's policy of aggression.

All communists and whoever else treasures world peace see their duty in working to frustrate U.S. imperialism's criminal designs and in showing still greater solidarity with the just

struggle of peoples under attack from aggressors.

1. *Afrique-Asie*, Paris, No. 298, 1983, p. 46.
2. *Trabajo*, No. 17, 1983, p. 48.
3. See Jeronimo Carrera, Otto Sanchez and Jaime Barrios, "Nicaragua Threatened with Aggression," *WMR*, No. 12, 1982. — Ed.
4. Ten cordobas equal \$1. — Ed.

What the U.S.-NATO intervention in Lebanon has shown

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More than a year after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, U.S. imperialism, which has helped and protected the invaders in every possible way, has finally been forced to take a direct part in the aggression, which up to now has still not fully achieved its aim. No one — not the Israeli militarists with their arsenal of the most deadly and destructive U.S.-made weapons, not the local fascists, armed to the teeth by the Israelis, not the Lebanese army, built on a confessional (religious and communal) principle and under the command of the Phalangists, not Arab reaction, which has blessed and supported Tel Aviv's aggression — managed to bring the Lebanese people to their knees. And then, challenging the entire international public, including the U.S. public, the United States came on the scene. Some other NATO powers were brought into the interventionist actions. This was done in pursuit of the main, "old-new" (if it may be put that way) aim, from which the U.S. imperialists have never moved an inch — to subjugate the Lebanese, turn our country into the second link of the Camp David chain, which has been modified in line with the Reagan plan, force Syria to retreat, write off the Palestinian problem, and subject the entire Middle East to its domination.

Like the Israeli aggression which went before it, the U.S.-NATO intervention has been going ahead against the background of a dangerous growth in international tension, which has been sharply whipped up by U.S. imperialism, especially since the Reagan administration came to the White House. The situation has been aggravated in the extreme, and threats are being openly made to resort to "limited" or even universal nuclear war. Feverish militarist preparations are in full swing, preparations designed to upset the military-strategic parity and

give imperialism the possibility to realize its aggressive plans. More and more countries and peoples are becoming victims of armed intervention; warship armadas roam the seas and oceans; rapid deployment forces are being based in foreign lands and military bases installed. Major military exercises are organized one after the other in many of the world's "neuralgic" spots.

The Middle East is one example. Last autumn the regular maneuvers code-named "Bright Star 83" were held with the participation of U.S. troops. Navy vessels of foreign powers constantly plow the seas in the Persian Gulf zone. Steps are being taken to form and train military contingents on a joint basis — with the participation of the Pentagon and the armies of some Middle East states. Washington has not abandoned its efforts to knock together in our region a bloc based on some sort of "strategic consensus," which is served up with different dressings — to "counter the critical situations in the Persian Gulf region," to "ward off the threats to the oil sources and transport routes," and so on. The real objective is to get an opportunity to interfere directly in the affairs of the countries situated here, stifle the struggle of their peoples, try, as pointed out in the September 20, 1983, statement of the communist and workers' parties of Arab countries, to pin the Middle East "to the United States' aggressive strategy, which is aimed against the Soviet Union and international peace, and gradually to lure the region into NATO's militarist plans."

Events in Lebanon have confirmed the correctness of this assessment. Washington obviously intends to consolidate its hold on the Lebanese bridgehead for a long time and to create a base of occupation troops there. The

White House's sworn assurances that the U.S. marines have come to Beirut for a short time and with a very limited task — that of "separating" the opposed parties, and guaranteeing Lebanese and Palestinian civilians' "security" — have long been discarded and forgotten. The U.S. administration and Congress have agreed on a minimum 18-month extension of the interventionist troops' stay in Lebanon. Ships of the U.S. 6th fleet have entrenched themselves off our coast.

Under the hackneyed hypocritical "self-defense" pretext, the U.S. militarists have unleashed an undeclared war against the Lebanese people, taking the castigators' baton from the hands of the Israeli aggressors. The use, at the discretion of the expedition corps command, of the entire combat might of the U.S. marines, fleet, and aircraft concentrated here has been sanctioned at the highest level. President Reagan had the audacity to proclaim our country a "sphere of U.S. vital interests," while State Secretary George Shultz has declared that even if the situation in Lebanon stabilizes Washington will still have an interest in maintaining its presence there in some strategic areas. In the words of U.S. officials, the multinational force should not necessarily be restricted to Beirut. If the Lebanese government so requests, the area in which they are located could be extended to the Chouf in the hills of Lebanon and to the new Israeli troops deployment line along the Awali River.

All this makes manifest the real aims and results of the strategic alliance between the USA and Israel. It is now quite clear that there is no essential difference between the two — U.S. and Israeli — "drafts," so to speak, for a Middle East settlement. Tel Aviv's hardline course and its big stick policy is of maximum benefit to Washington.

Such is the essence of the matter. The disagreements which at times arise between the partners are exclusively tactical ones caused by the demands of the global strategy of the USA, which is trying to link its steps in one place with the measures planned in different corners of the extremely complex and contradictory Arab world.

In Lebanon, the United States' political and military actions have been making the situation tense in the extreme and leading to great loss of life among the martyred civilian population. Washington is not only destabilizing our country but also consciously and cold-bloodedly ruining it and undermining the very basis of Lebanon's statehood and sovereignty. This fully coincides with the aims of Israel, which is now entrenching itself in the south of Lebanon

in an attempt to reinforce its occupation of this area, sever it from the rest of the country and realize its plans to seize and absorb new Arab lands.

But the ruling Zionist clique has set itself the task of rising to an even "higher" level of aggression — a start to the full dismemberment of Lebanon and the other Arab states on a religious and communal principle. This is the whole meaning of the "Israel's strategy for the 80s" document, which was prepared by the World Zionist Organization and later reprinted by the Lebanese newspaper *Al Nida*. The authors of the document are convinced that Lebanon has already broken up into Maronite-Christian, Sunni, Druze and Shiite cantons and that its fate foreshadows what is in store for the entire Arab world.¹ In particular, it is planned to set up an Alawite-Shiite mini-state on Syria's seaboard, a Sunni state in Haleb and another Sunni state in Damascus, but one hostile toward its northern neighbor. The intention is that the Druze will also create their own state, perhaps including the Golan Heights. Similar projects are being worked out for Egypt, Iraq, the Arab Peninsula countries and even Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. Warring mini-states to be created after the model of the Zionist state, which arose on the religious-confessional basis, are meant to provide Israel with "truly secure borders" and give it a chance to establish its hegemony in the region and guarantee imperialism's interests.

Yet why, in pursuit of such aggressive plans, was the United States, with all its powerful and up-to-date military weapons and equipment, forced to become involved in a war against the Lebanese people?

The answer must be sought in the fortitude displayed by the bulk of the Lebanese, who, through armed actions, mass activities, strikes and demonstrations, have been opposing the Israeli occupation, the Phalangists' control over the state apparatus, and the bringing of the Lebanese army units into the hills of Lebanon and other areas held by the national-patriotic forces. Our people reject the Lebanese-Israeli-U.S. agreement, which legalizes the system of occupation, sanctifies the severance of Southern Lebanon, undermines the country's sovereignty and independence, turns it into a protectorate of the United States and Israel, and isolates the Lebanese from the rest of the Arab world. It also jeopardizes Syria's security and lets the Israeli aggressors reap all the main fruit for which they had hoped when they carried out the invasion.

It should be recalled how the situation was

shaping up on the eve of the U.S.-NATO intervention.

The failure of the agreement concluded in May 1983 between Lebanon and Israel under the U.S. aegis became obvious not only to its opponents but also to its supporters. On the basis of the categorical rejection of this agreement and the demand for an unconditional and full withdrawal of the Israeli troops, the National Salvation Front emerged in our country, rallying the majority of Lebanese. Syria also resolutely rejected the shameful agreement and supported the Lebanese patriots. The impasse thus created was in fact an impasse for those who were trying to make deals behind our people's back — Israel, the Lebanese authorities and the USA.

The internal political situation in Israel was influenced by the heroic operations of the Lebanese national resistance forces, operations which constantly inflicted material and human losses on the occupationists. It became obvious that it was impossible to keep troops for long on the positions seized earlier. The Zionist clique was faced with a dilemma: either take "preventative" measures to defend their army or move to the offensive. The prospect of a fresh aggression to pave the way for realizing the agreement with the Lebanese authorities began to loom very clearly.

However, the determination of the forces fighting the aggressor, support of every possible kind on the part of the USSR, and the latter's many-sided assistance to Syria have all created a new situation for Israel and its overseas backers. The difficulties (but not at all the impossibility) of the aggression impelled Tel Aviv to try to get out of the dead-end through a partial withdrawal of its troops to supposedly secure positions.

Eventually the Lebanese authorities, which had been against withdrawal, agreed to it, thereby giving their blessing to the occupation of Southern Lebanon, and also of a sizable part of the hilly regions and the Bekaa Valley. In return they hoped for U.S. support for their efforts to "subdue" the zones of the hills of Lebanon controlled by the national patriotic forces in order to subject Western Beirut and the capital's southern suburbs as well to its domination. The authorities tried to get out of the dead-end through preparations for a sharp confrontation in the hilly regions which is jeopardizing the situation throughout all of Lebanon.

Through its envoy Robert McFarlane, who later became the U.S. president's national security adviser, the United States, whose efforts had brought the shameful agreement into be-

ing, hastened to put forward "new ideas" for a settlement of the Lebanese crisis. These ideas boil down to this: support for Israeli consolidation in the south of the country, and also in the parts of the Bekaa Valley and the hills of Lebanon captured by Israel, and pressure on Syria to force it to make a troop withdrawal, after which the areas controlled by the national-patriotic forces would be at the mercy of the army and the fascist militia.

Damascus' refusal to accept these proposals deepened the impasse into which U.S. policy in Lebanon and the Middle East had gotten. Furious, the Washington administration threatened Syria and the other peace-loving progressive forces of the region, and then resorted to open intervention as well.

What have been the results? The Lebanese army was not able to penetrate into the hilly areas and Beirut's southern suburbs. The authorities had to agree to a ceasefire, which was a victory for the resistance fighters and all the national-patriotic forces opposing with unparalleled courage the hurricane of shelling and bombing of the aircraft of the U.S. fleet and the ships of other NATO powers.

But as soon as the ceasefire and the creation of a national dialogue committee was announced, all the internal and external forces unhappy with this outcome began feverishly to try to side-step and thwart the agreement reached. These attempts became particularly intense when the work of the committee, which was meeting in Geneva, began to yield certain positive results, above all as regards the steps being planned to end the Israeli occupation and annul the infamous May 17, 1983, Lebanese-Israeli agreement. Imperialism and reaction are hell-bent on driving a wedge between the Lebanese national-patriotic forces, Syria and the Palestinian resistance movement. The United States has made steps toward an expanded strategic alliance with Israel in order to draw it into the new aggression under preparation against Syria and Lebanon's national-patriotic forces. At the time of writing it is not yet possible to say with certainty what will be the outcome of these ploys, but if they are successful it would mean that we are on the verge of a new explosion, a new round of armed conflict.

Today there is a need for the greatest vigilance, readiness for any turn of events, further cohesion of the ranks, and the suppression of the attempts to sow anarchy and chaos in the areas controlled by the national-patriotic forces. But in any case, through its agents inside and outside the Lebanese regime, the United States is, of course, going to do every-

thing possible and impossible to take the dialogue out of a genuinely national channel. This can only be prevented by categorical rejection of the agreement with Israel, insistence on a complete and unconditional withdrawal from the country of the Israeli and also all other foreign troops, and by opposition to the dominance of the fascist Phalangist Party in the bodies of the state apparatus. Only on this basis is genuine national reconciliation possible, reconciliation envisaging restoration of the country's independence and territorial integrity, confirmation of its status as part of the Arab world, reconstruction of the life of the Lebanese society in its various aspects, and the guarantee of the Lebanese people's right to democratic development.

Our country has recently become a center of grave international events, but it should be borne in mind that the situation here is a reflection of the explosiveness and unsettled state of the situation in the Middle East as a whole. The plot of U.S. imperialism, Zionist and Arab reaction is not only directed against Lebanon but also against the entire Arab world. How have the Arabs themselves reacted to this plot? It must be admitted with bitterness that in the main they have done so weakly and passively. Suffice it to say that not one mass, powerful protest demonstration has been organized anywhere against Israel's seizure of the territory of an Arab country — Lebanon, the almost three-month long destruction of its capital, and the open U.S.-NATO intervention. Only in Israel itself were such demonstrations held! What is the reason for this and how can this be explained?

One sometimes hears that the problem is supposedly one of repression of the masses, the influence of petrodollars, the spread of the consumer way of life, etc. All these are, of course, very important factors which do make an impact, but, as we see it, that is not the essence of the matter. Analyzing the situation, the fourth congress of the Lebanese Communist Party (1979) stated: the Arab national liberation movement is experiencing a crisis which affects only the leadership of the movement and not the masses.² And the main reason for the crisis is the class character of this leadership.

It is well known that the socio-economic transformations carried out by the petty-bourgeois-led regimes have not changed the dominant production relations, which are capitalist in content. Economic dependence on the world capitalist market was also not eliminated; at best attempts were made to improve their situation in the capitalist system of world economic ties. In the states with such regimes,

socio-economic progress continued to meet with obstacles, the process of capitalism's development and expansion went ahead apace, and the impact of the ailments and critical phenomena inherent in the world capitalist economy intensified. New forms of dependence on the so-called transnational corporations, mostly U.S., arose and deepened.

With time, the operation of these objective circumstances, in combination with the dual nature of the petty bourgeoisie, led to the alienation of the élite at the helm of state leadership from the social interests and national aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the petty bourgeoisie itself, not to mention the workers, peasants, and other working people.

This alienation is manifested in the formation from among those involved in the exercise of power of a stratum of civil and military bureaucracy with its special interests, which objectively merge with those of the bourgeois class. The state sector of the economy becomes a source of enrichment for the bureaucracy, a means of receiving various privileges. Simultaneously with the strengthening of the positions of private enterprise and in consequence of bad management, open sabotage and anarchy in production, this sector gradually begins to lose its progressive role and is used increasingly as a factor for encouraging and supporting capitalist development. The agrarian reform is interrupted, there is a rapid increase in the number of fortune-holders, whose influence grows steadily, and the process of improving the social condition of the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie itself slows down.

All this creates the basis for a move to the right, a reversal, and the re-assertion of the socio-economic and political interests of the classes whose positions had been seriously undermined. This is also the source of the erroneous approach to the imperialist-Zionist aggression and the ways of struggle to wipe out its consequences. This is the reason for the inclination to shift national tasks into the background, become closed in within one's own country, infringe on the rights and interests of the national and religious minorities, and fan the flames of inter-communal conflicts. This also gives rise to the tendency to adhere to a line of compromise with Arab reaction and imperialism and to treat the USSR not as a strategic ally with whom it is necessary to develop very close and all-round relations but as one of the elements of a "political balance," a source of support, an arms supplier or an argument in the attempts to come to an agreement with the imperialists. At times attempts are

even made to call Arab-Soviet friendship in question and to discredit it. Verbal declarations of loyalty to socialism are combined with non-scientific definitions of its essence and a guarded and hostile attitude to democracy and the masses. In the relations with communist and other progressive parties, vacillation is evident — from refusal to cooperate with them to the setting of a preliminary framework for such cooperation which makes it possible to monopolize power to the detriment of these parties' work of organizing the working class, peasantry and the other working people.

The communists cannot sit idly in conditions where the Arab national liberation movement is suffering setbacks and is characterized by critical phenomena. It is their obligation and duty to be in the vanguard of the fighters for fundamental change. We, the Arab communists, are faced with a fundamental question: will we be able to raise the role of our parties and gradually to take the working class to the point where it can fulfil its historical mission? Or will the way be open to the anarchists and the reactionary-religious, chauvinist and other forces for them to hinder and reverse the revolutionary process?

We are sure that a party which wants to become the vanguard does not do so thanks to verbal declarations. Everything depends on the real role it plays in a progressive front-type alliance and in all the areas of the political, ideological and other struggle on both social and national questions. A party becomes the vanguard when it directs the actions of this alliance against the main enemy without infringing on the role of the other partners but also without harboring any groundless illusions in relation to them. A party must preserve its independence as the vanguard of the working class without falling into pedantism and sectarianism. In the same way, a sincere and consistent desire for unity with allies should not develop into dependence on them. The main thing always is to win the masses to one's side.

The communists and all genuine revolutionaries have a single opinion on the fundamental question: thanks to its historical mission, ideology and position in society, the working class is more interested than all others in a resolute struggle to victory against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for a just solution to the Palestinian problem, for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis, progressive Arab unity, and peace, democracy and socialism. The working class must play the leading role in this battle, but this role is not decreed and is not realized at one stroke. It is won in a stubborn, complicated and

prolonged struggle, which, however, does not mean refusal to ally with other social strata or inevitable confrontation with them.

In our opinion, the present leadership of the Arab national liberation movement has shown that it is incapable of fully implementing even its own program on national and social questions, not to mention fulfilling the much more radical tasks which developments and unfolding battles constantly place on the agenda. As has already been said, we see the working class as the only reliable and definitive alternative. At the same time, proceeding from an analysis of all the objective and subjective factors, we believe that by itself the working class is not in a position now to provide the leadership which would be a guarantee of a new powerful upsurge of mass actions, of unswerving staunchness in the face of the hostile plots, and of the achievement of the objectives of the Arab national liberation movement. The tasks of the new stage of this movement's development can only be realized through the efforts of a progressive front type of class alliance built on truly democratic principles and relying on the broad masses. This is an alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the urban and rural petty and middle bourgeoisie, and the patriotic intelligentsia. It is expressed in the conscious uniting of the political forces representing these classes and social strata. Such an alliance would signify a break with the now prevalent line characterized by anti-communism and anti-democraticism, fear of the masses and their organized movement, and political arbitrariness which goes as far as monopolization of power and repressive campaigns.

At the new stage the alliance must acquire a new quality springing from an understanding that the allies' common interests require a policy based on principles of democracy and mutual trust. This is a policy aimed at organizing the masses, freeing their energy, raising their consciousness and drawing them into the discussion and taking of political decisions.

Within the individual Arab countries, these alliances should play the key role in resolving internal problems and mobilizing the forces for a national struggle. On the scale of the entire Arab world, the alliance is a necessary prerequisite for a rebuff to capitulation and treachery, and a guarantee of complete liberation, progress and unity.

In our view, this is the main thing which will make it possible to overcome the present leadership crisis of the Arab national liberation movement, strengthen and steel the anti-imperialist front, exert the necessary pressure on the reactionary regimes, and isolate them. In

addition, as we see it, in the present critical conditions the following tasks face the communists and all genuinely revolutionary progressive forces:

- continuation and activization of the efforts to formulate a joint action program at the level of the entire Arab world, a program which would set the tasks and goals and the means of achieving them, and also the methods of attaining real unity of the Arab revolutionaries;

- freeing of Lebanon from the clutches of U.S. imperialism, Israel and local reaction, which are threatening the rest of the Arab countries with the same fate;

- maximum mobilization of forces to support the Palestinian revolution, which is battling for the lawful national rights of the people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state; every kind of assistance to the strengthening of national Palestinian unity and the cohesion of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the face of any attempt to split it and the efforts aimed to harness the PLO to the chariot of Jordan's policy and to force a capitulatory policy on it;

- support for Syria's patriotic position, assistance to Syria in rebuffing the incessant encroachment of Israel, which is playing the boss with U.S. backing; doing everything necessary to prevent breaches in the front of the Syrian, Palestinian and Lebanese patriots and strengthen the front by giving each participant the chance to take decisions independently and to make concerted efforts consistently to oppose the U.S. "settlement" in the form of the "Reagan plan" and the "Jordan variant";³

- development of a patriotic movement to support all who are waging a struggle in various Arab countries to consolidate the positive tendencies, overthrow the power of reaction, and thwart the aggressive plans of imperialism and Zionism; taking of measures aimed to cool the hotbed of military danger in the Middle East, whose flame is a threat to peace not only in our region but also throughout the globe;

- realization of a qualitative step forward in Arab-Soviet relations, strengthening of bonds of the most sincere and close alliance with the USSR in order to safeguard the remaining positions and restore those lost.

The revolutionaries — the communists above all — bear the tremendous historical responsibility for fulfilling the tasks set by the present stage of Middle East development. The events in Lebanon and the dangers threatening the entire Arab world are creating an impetus for a new upsurge of our peoples' struggle. It is the cause and duty of the Lebanese patriots to

support it. The blood which has been and is being shed on the soil of our homeland appeals for this.

* * *

Editor's Note. Comrade Samhoun's article expresses the Lebanese Communist Party's point of view on a number of major fundamental questions concerning the assessment of the present state of the Arab national liberation movement, the character of and reasons for the difficulties being experienced, the paths to overcoming them, and the tasks for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the progressive patriotic forces in the face of the united front of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. These questions are today being widely discussed by all Arab patriots, including the communists. We intend to continue publication of material on this problem reflecting the opinions of a number of other fraternal parties of the Arab countries.

1. Unfortunately, some people in our country also raise the question of a "Maronite state," for example, Fouad Afram al-Boustani, Charles Malik and other "ideologists" of the right-wing Christian Lebanese Front. It is their belief that favorable historical conditions for this now exist and they substantiate their position with various arguments like the thesis that in Lebanon there is "civilized pluralism" or "Mediterranean civilization."

2. See Georges Haoui, "Flexibility of Form, Firmness of Principle", WMR, No. 9, 1979, for more details on the conclusions of the LCP's 4th congress. — Ed.

3. See Naim Ashhab, "The People's Will Is Unbroken — the Struggle Goes On," WMR, No. 10, 1982; Meir Vilner, "Break the Vicious Circle of Bloodshed," No. 11, 1982; Rafic Samhoun, "Lebanon: Between the Hammer and the Anvil," No. 4, 1983; Faik Warrad, "A New Development in the Balance of Strength in the Middle East," No. 5, 1983, for more on this. — Ed.

Bourgeois Economic Thought 1930s-70s

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Common sense, realism, a high sense of responsibility

1983: SOVIET PROPOSALS ON
REMOVING THE WAR DANGER

imperialist propaganda is striving to shift the blame for the intensification of the arms race and the continuing aggravation of international tensions onto the Soviet Union. The stake here is on the uninformed and the gullible, on those unfamiliar with the actual situation, with the tireless efforts the Soviet Union has been making to halt the accumulation of armaments and reverse it — reverse it toward arms reduction, above all nuclear arms reduction, and disarmament. The USSR advanced a series of major peace initiatives in 1983. Here is a summary of these moves, published upon requests from readers.

January

Proceeding from the principled position expressed in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states concerning the creation of nuclear-free zones in the North of Europe, in the Balkans and in other regions in Europe, the Soviet Union supported the Swedish proposal on the creation in Europe of a zone free from theater nuclear weapons about 300 kilometers wide — that is, 150 kilometers on either side of the line dividing Warsaw Treaty and NATO states. Simultaneously, the Soviet Union proposed expanding the zone to 500-600 kilometers so as to reduce the nuclear threat.

February

On behalf of the socialist states directly participating in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, the Soviet Union submitted new proposals:

— reducing the strength of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty armed forces to an equal collective level of 900,000 men each, irrespective of the current strength of either side;

— withdrawing, within 12 months, 20,000 Soviet servicemen together with their armaments from the area (in addition to the same number of servicemen and the one thousand tanks withdrawn from the GDR in 1979-1980), should the United States withdraw 13,000 servicemen;

— freezing after an initial reduction of Soviet and U.S. troops as a joint example — the armed forces and armaments levels of all direct parties to the talks.

March

At the Soviet-American Geneva talks on strategic arms limitation and reduction the Soviet delegation submitted a draft treaty stipulating a stage-by-stage reduction, by 1990, of the aggregate number of launchers for intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles and of heavy bombers down to 1,800 on either side — that is, 25 per cent lower than the initial level established in the SALT-II Treaty. Simultaneously, the aggregate number of nuclear warheads on these delivery vehicles would be reduced to an equal agreed level.

May

Following up on its earlier initiatives concerning nuclear arms reduction in Europe, the Soviet Union proclaimed its readiness to have no more missiles and warheads on them than possessed by NATO in each agreed period. Should the number of warheads on British and French missiles diminish, an equal reduction would be applied to Soviet medium-range missiles. This approach would also cover airborne medium-range systems deployed in Europe. Thus the USSR came out in favor of equal nuclear capabilities in Europe both in delivery vehicles and warheads on them — naturally, taking into account the relevant armaments of Britain and France. If implemented, this proposal would mean that there would be considerably fewer medium-range missiles and warheads on them in the European part of the USSR than before the appearance, in 1976, of the missiles described in the West as SS-20s.

As the first, easiest and most effective step — until agreement was reached on reducing both nuclear arms in Europe and strategic weapons — the Soviet government, in its statement of May 28, 1983, again proposed freezing the number of these armaments and restricting

their qualitative modernization as much as possible.

June

On instructions from the USSR Supreme Soviet the Soviet government proposed to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and China that all powers possessing nuclear weapons freeze them in quantitative and qualitative terms. In advancing this important initiative, the message stressed, the Soviet Union did not at all view the freeze as an end in itself but as an effective first step toward reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear armaments completely — and therefore toward the removal of the nuclear threat as such.

Reiterating its support for the Finnish proposal on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe, the Soviet Union expressed its readiness to discuss with interested parties, the question of making the Baltic Sea nuclear-free.

August

In his talk with a group of U.S. senators in the Kremlin Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, put forward a series of new important proposals on preventing militarization of outer space. The USSR, the Soviet leader said, considered it imperative to negotiate a complete ban on the testing and deployment of any space-based weapons designed to strike targets on the ground, in the atmosphere and in outer space. The Soviet Union was ready to negotiate the elimination of the already existing anti-satellite systems and the prohibition of new ones. Moreover, the USSR pledged not to be the first to deploy any type of anti-satellite weapons in outer space as long as other countries, including the United States, refrained from deploying any such weapons there.

On the eve of yet another round in the Soviet-American Geneva talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe, the Soviet Union declared it was prepared to take another major step toward disarmament. In his interview to Pravda, Yuri Andropov said that should mutually acceptable agreement be reached, including the U.S. renunciation of the deployment of new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union would, in the course of reducing its medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR down to a level equal to the number of British and French missiles, scrap all the missiles subject to reduction. In that case a considerable number of SS-20s, the latest missiles, would be scrapped too.

September

With the Soviet proposal about negotiating complete elimination of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe remaining in force, the Soviet Union expressed its readiness to achieve a far-reaching solution under which both sides would renounce the deployment in Europe of any new medium-range nuclear weapons systems and reduce the already existing such weapons by about 30 per cent, maintaining equality in both medium-range delivery vehicles (missiles and aircraft) and the warheads on them at the minimum agreed level between the USSR and NATO as a whole.

October

The Soviet Union proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the 38th UN General Assembly of an important and urgent item — "Condemnation of Nuclear War." According to the relevant draft declaration submitted by the USSR the world community would:

- condemn nuclear war resolutely, unconditionally and forever as running counter to human conscience and reason, as the most monstrous crime against nations and as a violation of the foremost human right, the right to life;

- denounce as criminal acts the development, advancement, dissemination and propaganda of political and military doctrines and concepts designed to substantiate the "legitimacy" of the first use of nuclear weapons, as well as the general "acceptability" of the launching of nuclear war;

- urge all states to pool and step up their efforts to remove the nuclear war threat, to end the nuclear arms race and to reduce nuclear armaments up to and including their complete elimination.

Maintaining that the condemnation of nuclear war must be effectively supported by practical moves to curb the nuclear arms race, the Soviet Union put forward a new important initiative at the General Assembly session. The Soviet draft resolution "A Freeze on Nuclear Armaments" proposes calling on all nuclear weapon states to agree to a freeze with appropriate quantitative and qualitative verification of all their nuclear armaments. Specifically, this would mean:

- an end to the buildup of all the components of nuclear arsenals, including all types of delivery vehicles and all types of nuclear weapons;

- no deployment of new types or makes of nuclear armaments;

— a moratorium on all tests of nuclear weapons and on tests of new types and makes of their delivery vehicles;

— an end to the production of fissionable materials for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

According to the Soviet proposal, this end could best be served if all the nuclear weapon countries simultaneously imposed a quantitative and qualitative freeze on these weapons. However, the Soviet Union also agrees to the *USSR and the United States being the first to do it on a bilateral basis, to set an example to the other nuclear states.*

The Soviet Union also submitted to the 38th UN General Assembly a proposal for the conclusion of a Treaty on Prohibiting the Use of Force in Outer Space and from Outer Space in Respect of the Earth.

In Yuri Andropov's interview to *Pravda* of October 27, 1983 the Soviet Union advanced new initiatives. Essentially, they mean that should the United States renounce its plan to deploy its missiles in Europe as scheduled, thus making it possible to continue the negotiations and the search for mutually acceptable solutions, the USSR would be ready to begin reducing its SS-4 missiles. Should agreement with the other side be reached on a just basis in Geneva, a considerable part of the existing SS-20 missiles would be scrapped. Besides, the Soviet Union agrees to reduce the number of SS-20 launchers to 140 — that is, a number noticeably smaller than that of British and French launchers for medium-range missiles.

November

Despite the breakdown of the Geneva negotiations on nuclear arms limitation in Europe through U.S. action, after the deployment of U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles on the continent had become a *fait accompli*, the Soviet Union stated firmly and unequivocally that it remained committed to its principled course of curbing the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, and of reducing and ultimately eliminating the nuclear war threat. Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, declared in his statement published on November 25: *Should the United States and other NATO countries display their readiness to return to the situation which existed before the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe began, the Soviet Union will also be ready to do so. Then the proposals it made earlier on questions of nuclear arms limitation and reduction in Europe would be brought back into force. In this case, i.e., should the previous situation be restored, the unilateral pledges made by the USSR in this regard would apply again too.*

* * *

The past year has shown that all those raising their voice against the insane arms race and for peace can rest assured: these are precisely the goals of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Summary prepared by the
WMR Commission on Scientific Information
and Documentation

Memorable dates in 1984

PAGES OF HISTORY

Numerous readers of *WMR* have asked us to inform them of memorable dates relating to the international communist and working class movement, the revolutionary liberation struggle and world history. Following is a brief list of dates falling in 1984.

In January it will be 60 years since the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great thinker and revolutionary, founder of the first socialist state in the world. Linked with Lenin's ideological legacy are the following dates: May, 80th anniversary of the appearance of "*One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*," an in-depth exposition of the doctrine of the party as the highest form of class organization of the proletariat, and June, 90th anniversary of the publication of

"*What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats*," which contains highly important conclusions about the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the need to found a united revolutionary working class party.

Dates relating to the legacy of the founders of scientific communism are the 125th anniversary of the appearance of "*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*" by Karl Marx (June) and the centenary of the publication of "*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*" by Frederick Engels (October).

The year 1984 is also noteworthy for memorable dates in the class struggle and the international working class movement. In April, 150 years will have passed since the up-

rising of the textile workers of Lyons, one of the early independent actions of the working class, which marked the shift of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to the center of social relations in the context of the capitalist mode of production. In September it will be 120 years since Karl Marx and Frederick Engels founded the International Working Men's Association, or the First International, which provided the prerequisites of founding mass working class parties in various countries and extending international proletarian solidarity.

The peoples of several socialist countries will commemorate revolutionary anniversaries. The 25th anniversary of the victory of the revolution in Cuba falls in January. July will see the 40th anniversary of the publication of the "Manifesto of the Polish National Liberation Committee," which proclaimed the transfer of state power to the people. In August Romania will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the national anti-fascist uprising that ushered in the people's revolution, and Czechoslovakia, the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising that paved the way for the national democratic revolution in the country. In September it will be 40 years since the Bulgarian people's armed insurrection whose victory resulted in establishing people's democratic rule in Bulgaria. In November the Mongolian people will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Republic and the adoption of the country's first constitution.

The year 1984 will also see the 50th anniversary

of the founding of the Iraqi Communist Party (March) and the Puerto Rican CP (September) and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Lebanese and Syrian communist parties (October).

Some of the anniversaries relate to the world communist press. Sixty years ago (February 1924) the first issue of "L'Unita," the Italian CP newspaper, came out. In April, "L'Humanité," which was founded by Jean Jaures, and subsequently became the national daily of the French CP, will complete its 80th anniversary. Also in April, it will be 60 years since "Kommunist," theoretical and political journal of the CC CPSU, was first published.

Further memorable dates are the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (January), the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution in Portugal, the fifth anniversary of the victory of the people's anti-imperialist revolution in Nicaragua (July) and the 10th anniversary of the anti-feudal national democratic revolution in Ethiopia (September).

Lastly, in August, 70 years will have gone by since the beginning of World War I. This date is particularly significant in view of the growing war danger and the unprecedented upsurge in the struggle of peace forces against imperialism's war preparations.

Many of the anniversaries and memorable events listed above will find reflection in the respective issues of *World Marxist Review*.

Do "redundant" people have any prospects?

Recent months have seen a certain upturn in business activity in the USA and other capitalist countries. This has led to a burst of affected optimism among their rulers as to the likelihood of solving the problem of mass unemployment, capitalism's most painful social problem today. The following survey, prepared by the institute for International Politics and Economics, GDR, reveals the proportions of unemployment and the groundlessness of hopes of eliminating it.

From 1975 to 1982, the number of registered jobless in the 24 industrial capitalist countries affiliated to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) rose from 15 to 32 million — a more than double increase.

By the end of the period this amounted to 8.5 per cent of their workforce. In other words, one in twelve able-bodied people had no job at all. In the autumn of 1983 the unemployed in industrial capitalist countries numbered as many as 33 million.

During the 1980-1982 world economic crisis there were massive layoffs in many countries. However, the increase in unemployment, unprecedented in the post-war period, is due not only to the crisis but to factors that have nothing to do with the capitalist cycle. These are the restructuring of production, capitalist rationalization of labor, raw material, energy and economic problems, and the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on the working people's condition. Revealingly, the

greatest number of dismissals took place in industries hit hardest by structural crises. Between 1974 and mid-1983, the workforce in the steel industry of the EEC countries diminished by roughly 300,000.

The trend and dimensions of unemployment in six major capitalist countries are shown in the following table.

Number and Percentage of Unemployed						
		1975*	1980*	1982*	1983	
					April	July
USA	I	7,830	7,637	10,751	11,620	10,590
	II	9.3	7.1	9.7	10.2	9.5
FRG	I	1,074	889	1,833	—	2,202
	II	4.9	3.9	7.5	9.4	9.4
France	I	840	1,451	2,015	—	1,894
	II	4.6	6.5	8.9	8.9**	8.3
Britain	I	978	1,668	2,924	—	—
	II	4.2	6.9	12.0	12.7	12.4
Italy	I	1,107	1,698	2,068	—	—
	II	5.6	7.4	8.9	12.2**	11.6
Japan	I	1,000	1,140	1,230	1,720	—
	II	2.7	2.0	2.5	2.6**	2.5

Note: I, thousands; II, percentage of the workforce.

*Annual average.

**March.

Sources: *Main Economic Indicators*, OECD (respective years); *Labor Force Statistics*, OECD (respective years); *The Economist*, May 14, 1983, p. 117; September 3, 1983, p. 97; September 10, 1983, p. 119.

In December 1982, the unemployment indicator in the USA stood at 10.8 per cent and was the highest since 1941. In Britain and France, unemployment assumed greater proportions than during the 1929-1933 world crisis, and in the FRG it was at the highest level since that state came into being. Unemployment growth rates vary; in 1982 the rate was 16 per cent in Japan and over 40 in the USA and FRG. However, the decisive trend is toward the highest indicator. Whereas the share of unemployed in this group of countries (with the exception of Japan) in 1975 varied between 4.2 and 9.3 per cent (a more than 5 per cent discrepancy), in July 1983 it varied from 8.3 to 12.4 per cent, the discrepancy being smaller (4.1 per cent).

Annual averages do not present a full picture of the extent of unemployment. In the USA the proportion of people who lost their jobs in 1981 was set at 23.4 million, or one-fifth of all wage workers. In Britain, the same year saw six million people, or one in every four wage workers, go jobless for a more or less long time.

Besides, official statistics discount the "hidden" reserve of jobless people, which ranges in some countries between 50 and 75 per cent of the registered "redundant" people. It includes those who have lost the right to unemployment relief, school leavers and graduate students who have failed to find a paid occupation, per-

sons switched to shorter working day and persons who have stopped looking for a job. In the USA there are, along with the officially registered jobless, 1.7 million people who are "too discouraged even to look for work." Trade union statistics set the number of fully unemployed at 14 million. Britain has over four million of them. In Japan the actual unemployment rate is estimated by independent agencies to equal from four to eight per cent of the workforce depending on the economic situation and not 2.6 per cent.

The labor market has lately been characterized by a longer search for employment, that is, by more protracted unemployment. In 1982, one-third of the jobless in Western Europe and about 22 per cent in the USA had been out of work for at least six months. The scourge of unemployment is at its worst in the case of the socially most defenseless, that is, women, youth, people over 50 and immigrants.

Relief does not encompass all the jobless. This is particularly typical of the USA. In December 1982, relief was paid to only 47 per cent of the officially registered jobless. This percentage is still lower if the "discouraged" are taken into account.

The growing proportion of disinherited people in the capitalist world is a direct result of the existence of millions of unemployed. In 1982, those who found themselves below even the official "poverty line" added up to 34.4 million, or 15 per cent of the population, in the USA; and to 30 million, or 13 per cent, in the EEC countries.

The evils of unemployment do not express themselves in material privations alone. More and more, they assume a psychological, social or medical character and include the following:

- a rising crime rate, especially among youth;
- expanding drug addiction;
- a growing incidence of mental disorders;
- a growing incidence of psychosomatic diseases (heart trouble, stomach ulcer, rheumatism, etc.);
- diffidence and depression;
- social isolation;
- family conflicts, anomalies in children's development, etc.

And now for some more data on unemployment in the main capitalist countries.

USA. In July 1983, with the average rate of unemployment at 9.5 per cent of the workforce, jobless whites made up 8.2 per cent, Blacks, 19.5 and persons of Latin American origin, 12.3 per cent. Work was denied to 22.8 per cent of all able-bodied young men and

*U.S. News & World Report, September 5, 1983, p. 22.

women under 20 (young jobless whites accounting for 19.5 per cent and Blacks, for 48.1 per cent). If we add 1.7 million "discouraged" people and 6.6 million partially employed to the officially registered unemployed, it follows that nearly 19 million people were hit by overt, covert or partial unemployment.

In February 1983, unemployment percentages in 30 out of the 50 states of the USA contained two digits. The number of states where over 10 per cent of the workforce were jobless grew in the previous 12 months by nine. A 21 per cent "record" was held by West Virginia.

The duration of unemployment lengthened markedly, especially in 1982. Compared with 1981, the number of people lacking a job for a period of 5 to 14 weeks rose by 760,000 (from 2.55 to 3.31 million); 15 weeks or more, by 1.2 million (from 2.28 to 3.48 million), the number of those left jobless from 15 to 26 weeks going up by nearly 600,000 (from 1.12 to 1.71 million); 27 weeks or more, upwards of 600,000 (from 1.16 to 1.78 million).

FRG. Early in 1983, unemployment exceeded two million and went on growing fast. The highest figure — 2,536,000 — was registered in February. For the first time ever, the unemployment indicator topped 10 per cent (against 7.5 in 1982). Altogether, the army of jobless increased by 2.1 million in 1981 and 1982, barring seasonal variations. Its rapid growth was a consequence of the deepening cyclical crisis in the second half of 1982.

Unemployment had a particular strong impact on skilled labor in all industries (it went up by 74.4 per cent in 1981 and 1982). It grew by 38.1 per cent among white-collar workers and by 38 per cent, among persons who had received a specialized secondary or higher education. Unemployment among those lacking vocational training increased by 40.9 per cent to a total of about 1,113,000. This group accounted for more than 60 per cent of all jobless.

Late in September 1982, 10.7 per cent of the unemployed were youth under 20 years of age, and women made up 46 per cent.

As regards the duration of unemployment, it grew in step with the deepening of the cyclical crisis. The number of those who had been out of work for more than a year nearly doubled between September 1981 and September 1982 to reach 21 per cent of the total.

France. At the end of 1982, unemployment reached its "intermediate" peak (2.16 million against 1.77 in 1981) and involved 9.5 per cent of the workforce. A greater increase was prevented by the more frequent pensioning of

those who had reached the established age, by a one hour reduction of the working week and steps to employ youth. Besides, official figures are constantly "rounded off" by discounting several hundreds of thousands, according to data released by the General Confederation of Labor. Ever since September 1980, registration rules have been so complicated that an estimated 15 to 20 per cent of jobless fail to register.

Over 57 per cent of the unemployed were women and over 42 per cent, young people under 25. Unemployment in 1982 lasted 263 days on the average.

In 1983, total unemployment diminished somewhat, mainly as the result of a steep rise in partial unemployment.

Britain. In January 1983 there were 3.22 million registered unemployed (13.8 per cent of the workforce), the greatest number since the 30s. Subsequently this percentage decreased somewhat (to 12.7 in April and 12.4 in July), but all indications are that the decrease will not last. Official statistics understate the unemployment figure. According to trade union estimates late in 1982 it was two million higher.

Unemployment among men and women differs in trend. Since 1975, it has increased nearly threefold (in relative indicators) in the former group — from 4.4 to 12.7 per cent — and more than fourfold, in the latter — from 1.6 to 7.1 per cent.

Italy. Unemployment has been growing ever since the mid-70s. In January 1983 there were 2,217,000 jobless, or 9.8 per cent of the workforce, against 8.9 per cent on the average in 1982.

Youth and women are affected most of all. In 1982, young people under 25 years of age accounted for nearly 63 per cent of the nation's jobless. Roughly 50,000 young men and women swell the ranks of the army of jobless every year. Unemployed women in 1982 made up 12.4 per cent of the female workforce and over 43 per cent of the total.

Japan. Recent years have witnessed growing unemployment even in this relatively "fortunate" country. According to official statistics, the number of jobless averaged 1.14 million in 1980 and 1.43 million in 1982; in March 1983, however, there were as many as 1.72 million (2.6 per cent of the workforce), or more than ever in the past 30 years. The trade unions set the unemployment rate at five per cent, or 2.5 million people at the least, plus roughly another four million partially jobless.

The table shows that in the first half of 1983 unemployment declined somewhat in the

main capitalist countries. Does this mean that the worst is over?

Let OECD experts answer this. An employment forecast published by them in September 1983 presents a most discouraging picture. By late 1984, unemployment in the OECD countries is expected to amount to 9.5 per cent of the workforce against 8.5 per cent in 1982. Their proportion should go up, according to the forecast, by five million and reach 34.5 million, with Europe accounting for 19.5 million (11.5 per cent of the workforce, against 9.5 per cent in 1982 and 10.75 in 1983).

To bring down unemployment at least to the 1979 level (19 million), the OECD as a whole would have to create 35 million new jobs in the second half of the 80s, or nearly twice as many as were created in the 1975-1979 period, when the capitalist economy was experiencing a boom. Even OECD experts consider this unattainable.

The situation in 1984 will, according to the same forecast, be particularly grave for youth and those who have been jobless for a long time. Twelve countries — the USA, Japan, the FRG, France, Britain, Canada, Italy, Australia, Finland, Norway, Spain and Sweden — had 9.1 million jobless under 25 years of age in 1981, 10.6 million in 1982 and 11.5 million in 1983. This last figure will remain unchanged in 1984, when unemployment among youth is expected to constitute 19.5 per cent (against 14.8 in 1981 and 17.3 in 1982). In some European countries this level will be higher, from what the forecast indicates.

Europe will also be in the lead as regards the share of those who have been jobless for more than a year (in the 12 countries listed above, one in eight unemployed belonged to this category in 1979 and one in six, in 1982). In eight European countries — the FRG, Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Netherlands, Sweden and Britain — one in three jobless in 1982 had been out of work for more than a year. In 1984, these long-standing jobless are expected by the OECD to make up 45 per cent of job-seekers in France (against 39.8 in 1982), about 40 per cent in Britain (against 33.3) and 33 per cent in the FRG (against 21.2).

In the USA, where the upturn in business began earlier than elsewhere, unemployment among youth and the proportion of those who have been jobless for more than a year are expected to be lower in 1984 (17 and over 10 per

cent respectively). However, economic restructuring there is expected to have far more adverse effects on labor. Their common content will be less employment in industry proper and a certain increase in the service sector and in trade.

The economic crisis has led in the USA to scrapping roughly three million relatively well-paid industrial jobs; at least 800,000 of them cannot be restored by 1985, as yet. At the same time, over 90 per cent of the total number of jobs to be created while the economic upturn trend lasts will be in the service sector and in trade. Most of these jobs require no high skill and are therefore relatively low-paid. The social and economic result is unfavorable changes in the real wages of workers that are already taking place in capitalist countries.

Mass unemployment also puts in action other levers of pressure on the working and living conditions of the working class. In particular, it compels the trade unions to lower their demands of the employers and the government and to give priority to the problem of preserving jobs rather than to that of pay. It is also indicative that the rulers of capitalist countries see one of the principal means of "solving" the problem of unemployment (this is also reflected in the OECD experts' forecast mentioned earlier) in a "redistribution" of jobs, that is, in increasing their number by cutting working time (and pay, of course). What we have in this case is, in effect, an attempt to reduce the number of fully unemployed by increasing that of partially unemployed.

The existence of a millions-strong reserve army of labor is due to the operation of objective laws of the capitalist mode of production. Even if the upturn that has set in were to continue in 1984 (which is highly questionable), it would certainly neither disprove these laws, nor end mass unemployment. What could happen at best would be only a certain (temporary) reduction of its dimensions. But for all their make-believe optimism, the captains of the capitalist ship and their apologists feel uncertain even of this. In a recent comment noting that each of the latest five economic cycles had increased unemployment in the USA, the *Washington Post* stressed that "there has been a circular trend to ever-higher levels of unemployment." We may add that this trend is in evidence in both the USA and most of the other capitalist countries.

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