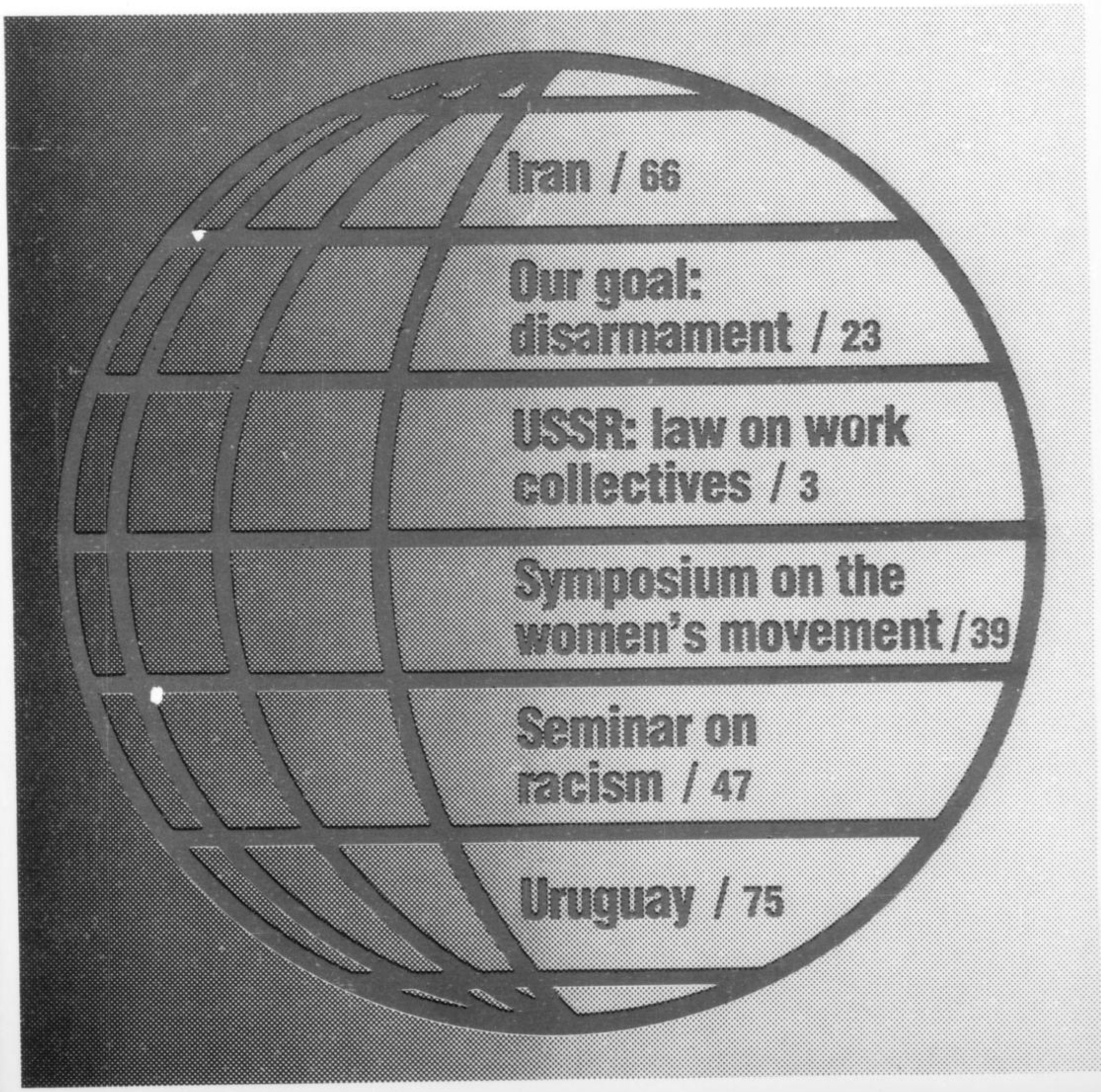
WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

March 1984, Volume 27, Number 3 $1.00



Workers of all countries, unite!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

March 1984, Vol. 27, No. 3

1 In memory of Yuri Andropov

Features

3 USSR: the nucleus of socialist society
G. Aliyev

11 Anti-communism and the threat of war
M. O'Riordan (Ireland)

17 At a difficult, steep turning point
N. Ashhab (Palestinian CP)

23 Our goal: disarmament
J. Phillips (Canada)

The party

28 Turkey: spokesman of the masses
H. Kutlu

33 Britain: together with the whole labor movement
I. McKay

38 New experience

Exchange of views

39 Central demand of the women's movement
International symposium

47 What makes racism dangerous today?
International seminar

Viewpoints

53 GDR: a society's class structure — dialectics of development
R. Weidig

60 What has changed in Egypt
M. Kamel

66 Iran: torturing the party to tear up the revolution
A. Khavari

70 Peru: seeking radical changes
C. Jimenez

75 Uruguayans reject the dictatorship
S. Behak

80 In memory of a comrade

In memory of Yuri Andropov

Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a Hero of Socialist Labor, died on February 9, 1984, in his 70th year, after a prolonged illness.

An outstanding leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and of the international communist and working class movement has passed away. With his name are inseparably associated the further consolidation of the unity of the party and the people, the improvement of the society of developed socialism, the raising of the people's well-being, the strengthening of our motherland's economic might and defense capability, and the implementation of the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy.

Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov was born on June 15, 1914, into the family of a railwayman at the Nagutskaya station in the Stavropol Territory. He began to work at the age of 16 years. He was a worker in the town of Mozdok in the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. At that time, in 1930, he joined the ranks of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League. Upon enrolling at the Rybinsk Water Transport Technical School in 1932, he combined study with work on various ships of the Volga Shipping Line as crewman, helmsman and mate. Later he studied at the Petrozavodsk State University and completed a course at the Higher Party School under the CPSU CC.

In 1936, Yuri Andropov was elected full-time secretary of the Komsomol organization at the water transport school in Rybinsk, Yaroslavl Region. He was soon promoted to YCL CC Komsomol organizer at the Volodarsky Shipyard in Rybinsk. In 1937, Yuri Andropov was appointed department head, and then elected Secretary, and in 1939, First Secretary of the Yaroslavl Regional Committee of the YCL. That same year, he became a member of the Communist Party. In 1940, Yuri Andropov was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Karelia YCL.

From the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, Yuri Andropov was an active participant in the partisan movement in Karelia. He organized the Komsomol underground and carried on political work among young people on Soviet territory temporarily occupied by the enemy, dispatched combat groups behind the front-lines and directed operations in the enemy rear.

Following the liberation of the city of Petrozavodsk from the fascist invaders in 1944, Yuri Andropov was promoted to party work: he was elected Second Secretary of the Petrozavodsk City Committee of the party, and in 1947, Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Karelia. In 1951, Yuri Andropov was transferred to the apparatus of the CPSU CC, where he worked first as an inspector, and then as head of a sub-department of the Central Committee.

In 1953, the party assigned Yuri Andropov to diplomatic work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and in 1954 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR to the Hungarian People's Republic.

In 1957, Yuri Andropov was appointed department head at the CPSU CC.

At the 22nd congress in 1961, and at all the subsequent party congresses, Yuri Andropov was elected a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU. From 1962 to 1967, he worked as a Secretary of the CPSU CC.

In 1967, he was elected an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC. From 1973 on, he was a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC.

From 1967 to 1982, Yuri Andropov was assigned by the party to work as Chairman of the Committee of State Security of the USSR.

In May 1982, Yuri Andropov was once again elected a Secretary of the CPSU CC.

The extraordinary plenary meeting of the CPSU CC held on November 12, 1982, elected Yuri Andropov General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Yuri Andropov was a deputy of the third Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and of the sixth to the tenth Supreme Soviets of the USSR. At the eighth session of the tenth Supreme Soviet of the USSR in June 1983, Yuri Andropov was elected Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

In all the posts in which Yuri Andropov worked at the party's behest he vividly displayed his loyalty to Lenin's great cause. He dedicated all his strength, knowledge and experience to further strengthening the party's political and organizational activity, enhancing its leading role in the life of Soviet

society and each communist's sense of high responsibility to the party and the people. Yuri Andropov displayed constant concern for the unflagging observance of the Leninist norms of party life and assertion of the collective approach in the work of party organs, from the CPSU CC Political Bureau to the local party committees.

Yuri Andropov's contribution to the theoretical elaboration of the pressing problems of our day is considerable. His speeches and works give a profound insight into the characteristic features of the present stage in the development of Soviet society and clearly define the current and long-term tasks of the party and the Soviet state in building communism.

He concentrated his attention on realizing the constructive plans formulated by the 26th congress of the party, and by the November 1982 and the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU CC. In his speeches, he set forth the tasks in enhancing the efficiency of production and the quality of workmanship, improvement of management, planning and the economic mechanism. He attached tremendous importance to the working people's initiative in the efforts to assert discipline and order, and to enhance the level of organization and responsibility.

His statement at the December 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC contains in-depth assessments and conclusions on the main lines of the country's further economic development. That important political document is a clear expression of the socio-economic policy of the party and the Soviet state at the present stage.

Lenin's nationalities policy was further developed in Yuri Andropov's report "60 Years of the USSR." It summed up the experience in realizing in our country the ideas of friendship and brotherhood of the peoples, and of the complete equality of all the big and small nations of our country.

Yuri Andropov showed constant concern for improving the party's ideological work, assertion of a high standard of morality, and utmost improvement of the working people's communist education.

As head of the Council of Defense of the USSR, Yuri Andropov displayed constant concern for the development of the armed forces of the USSR and for the maintenance of our motherland's defense capability at a fitting level.

Yuri Andropov put much effort into realizing the Peace Program. His statements and other pronouncements on foreign policy matters contain a deep class analysis of the contemporary international situation, identify the sources of tension and show the ways of combating the danger impending over humankind. These documents set forth the party's most important constructive initiatives aimed to strengthen world peace and international security. Yuri Andropov tirelessly campaigned for strengthening the cooperation, unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and the international communist and working class movement, and in support of the people's national liberation struggle.

He put much effort into asserting sound principles in international relations, the principles of détente, the strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, checking the arms race, and removing the threat of a nuclear war. This activity of Yuri Andropov's met with a whole-hearted response and unanimous support from the Soviet people and millions of men and women in other countries.

For his great services to the motherland, Yuri Andropov, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor in 1974. He was awarded four Orders of Lenin, the Orders of the October Revolution and the Red Banner, three Orders of the Red Banner of Labor, and medals.

The Soviet communists, all the working people, and our friends abroad regarded Yuri Andropov as an outstanding leader of the Leninist type. He was a compassionate and modest man. He enjoyed the Soviet people's profound respect and trust. His whole life — from worker to CPSU CC General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet — is a vivid example of selfless service and dedication to the party and the people.

The communists and all the Soviet people will always cherish in their hearts the memory of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, a fighter for peace and human happiness.

Central Committee of the CPSU,
Presidium of the USSR
Supreme Soviet,
Council of Ministers of the USSR

facts and figures

The nucleus of socialist society

Geidar Aliyev
Political Bureau member, CPSU CC,
First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

Existing socialism has enriched our civilization with immense social, political and spiritual values. We have every right to say that one of its achievements that is of worldwide historical importance is the ever broader assertion of the great principle of collectivism in every sphere of life in socialist society and the conversion of collectiveness into an organic and definitive feature of the new system.

This is vividly confirmed by the USSR Law on Work Collectives and their growing role in the management of enterprises, institutions and organizations which the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted at its session in June 1983. It is the first such law in our country's history, and it was met by the Soviet people as a document of great political importance and as another major stride in the development of socialist people's power. It is evidenced by the workmanlike and creative atmosphere in which the draft law was discussed with the active participation of actually all the working people in the country.

Here are some facts eloquently testifying that that discussion was truly nation-wide. Over a period of several months, all the country's mass media carried reports on the discussion. More than five million men and women spoke at meetings to discuss the bill, and over 100 million citizens attended the discussion meetings. Roughly 130,000 comments, proposals and remarks on the draft law were submitted, and many of these were taken into account when the final draft was written. As a result, changes were made in 21 of the 23 articles of the draft. In short, the USSR Law on Work Collectives, like all our documents of nation-wide importance, is an accumulation of the opinions and will of the whole Soviet people.

The law is a reflection of the unwavering Leninist line of the CPSU and the Soviet state in developing socialist democracy. It is a concrete application of the provisions of the USSR's constitution on the role and tasks of work collectives and defines their powers and prospects for their development. It is an accumulation of the advanced experience available in this and other fraternal countries.

The provisions of the law are organically related to the strategy for the country's economic and social progress as formulated by the 26th congress of the CPSU and reaffirmed in the decisions of the November 1982, and the June and December 1983 plenary meetings of the CPSU CC, and with the program for perfecting developed socialism as formulated in party documents and statements by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The law most forcefully demonstrates the constant concern which Lenin's party has for Soviet men and women, and for the creation of conditions enabling them best to display their capacity as workers, creators, masters of the country and active fighters for communism.

I

The classics of scientific communism provided incontrovertible proof that the collectivist order of social life is not just a pious hope. It is imperatively dictated by the objective laws of history, and above all by the paramount and crucial trend in the development of the productive forces. Its substance was defined by Marx as "the development of the productive power of *socialized labor* in contrast to the more or less isolated labor of individuals, etc., and together with it *the application of science . . .to the immediate process of production.*"[1]

Private property which allows the individual appropriation of the means and results of what is essentially collective labor runs into an irreconcilable contradiction with this uniformity, generating class antagonisms, dividing people and alienating them from the instruments of production and the products of their own activity. As a result, the capitalist system is capable of producing only "substitutes for the community," and "illusory community." Indeed, it was one of the major achievements of Marx and Engels that they showed the historical inevitability of restructuring society on truly collectivist principles as embodied in socialism and communism.

The conclusion drawn by the founders of

scientific communism concerning the collective nature of the new system was creatively developed by Lenin, who made an invaluable contribution both to the theoretical elaboration and practical realization of the idea of collectivism, when he presented the scientific arguments to back up the strategy of struggle for socialism in the present epoch, and led the world's first victorious socialist revolution.

The experience of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal countries shows very well that it is socialism that ushers in the truly collective social life. The socialization of the means of production, the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with all the other working people, and the planned management of the economy are all fundamental features of the new system which make it possible to direct the efforts of all the classes and social groups into a single channel for the attainment of common objectives, so making human labor free. Socialism does away with the private-property appropriation of the results of collective labor by organizing the distribution of all the jointly produced goods in accordance with the size and quality of the personal labor contribution of each. It creates an unprecedented moral and psychological climate in which a spirit of comradeship, cooperation and mutual assistance predominates in human relations.

In saying all this, we do not lose sight of the fact that the shaping of the socialist collectiveness is a difficult process which proceeds at a different pace and assumes different concrete forms in the various countries, depending on the historical conditions. We are also perfectly aware that in some spheres, like consciousness, residual elements of individualism and private-property mentality are fairly tenacious. The problem of finding an optimal blend of the interests of the whole people with those of the work collectives and the individual workers and a number of other problems defy easy solutions.

However, none of this is connected with the nature of socialism as a collectivist system. The whole diverse international experience of the world socialist community proves that progress in the new society, the realization of its advantages over capitalism, and the overcoming of the contradictions and problems which arise, necessarily involve consistent and ever fuller practical assertions of collectivist principles in every sphere: the economy, socio-political relations, consciousness, culture and ethics.

The CPSU has always believed that the key line in this work is all-round development of the work collectives and enhancement of their role both in production and in socio-political and cultural life. It is, after all, in the work collectives that our production and social plans are translated into everyday practice, and the goals set by the party realized. It is the work collectives — in which workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, the representatives of different big and small nations, work together and which interact with other collectives — that are the material embodiment of such features of our society as the indissoluble alliance of workers by hand and by brain, the Soviet people's ideological, political and international unity, and the Soviet citizens' labor and social activity.

In our country, work collectives have been developed and consolidated socially, economically and ideologically with the development and consolidation of the Soviet society as a whole. At the stage of developed socialism, they have undergone especially major changes in their make-up, status and role, and that is quite natural.

With the growth of the Soviet Union's scientific, technical and economic potential as a whole, there has been a corresponding growth in that part of it whose management is entrusted to each work collective. That means that the country's economic and social development and its pace increasingly depend on how skilfully and efficiently the work collectives use their material and labor resources, and how responsibly they treat the fulfillment of state plans and socialist commitment.

General educational, cultural and skill standards of all our classes and social groups have substantially gone up. There is a continued integration of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and intelligentsia into a classless society. In social terms, work collectives in the USSR are becoming ever more homogeneous and organically alike.

The Soviet society has made great advances in molding the new man and woman. The overwhelming majority of our citizens have firm ideological convictions, political culture and moral maturity, they take an enterprising attitude to their work and have profound concern for the success of their comrades and for satisfying the requirements of society as a whole.

The Soviet people's socio-political activity has risen to a new stage. Work collectives are ever more broadly involved in the management of the affairs of their enterprise or institution, and in taking decisions on matters that are of importance for the whole people and the state.

The work collectives' qualitatively new role

in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the Land of the Soviets is reflected in the CPSU's principled conclusion that in the society of developed socialism, work collectives have become the nucleus not only of our economic, but also of the whole of our social and political organism. This conclusion, written into the 1977 constitution of the USSR provides the groundwork for the USSR Law on Work Collectives.

What are the functions of work collectives in the society of mature socialism?

First. Under socialism, Lenin said, "for the first time after centuries of working for others, of forced labor for the exploiter it has become possible to work *for oneself* and moreover to employ all the achievements of modern technology and culture in one's work."[2] This idea of Lenin's has been borne out by life. As the working people in socialist society work for themselves, they shed the old attitude to the whole people's property as belonging "to someone else" or "to no one," and develop a sense of being masters of production and of the whole country, displaying a vital concern for highly productive labor for the common good. It is the prime duty of every work collective to assert and develop this new attitude to work and its results, and to ensure a rational, efficient and truly thrifty use of the means of production, of the material, manpower and financial resources entrusted to it.

The historical experience of our country and of the whole of existing socialism shows that it takes a long time and much effort to solve this problem. "To get the rights of a master and to become a true, wise and thrifty master are not at all the same thing," Yuri Andropov emphasized. "Having accomplished a 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 public wealth — preparing themselves for it both economically, politically and, if you like, psychologically, developing a collectivist mentality and behavior."[3]

This fully applies both to society as a whole, and to the work collectives. Their effective use of the vast reserves latent in socialist property and free collective labor requires constant improvement of the economic mechanism, of the forms and methods of economic management and of the socialist state system, and a higher level of political-organization activity. It calls for thoughtful ideological, educational and propaganda work.

The decisions of the November 1982, and the June and December 1983 plenary meetings of the CPSU CC and the recent decisions taken by our party's Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers mark an important stage in realizing these requirements. They exemplify the complex and mutually tied-in approach to the vital aspects of our country's economic, social and spiritual progress. The USSR Law on Work Collectives is an organic component part of this line. It creates a sound juridical groundwork and favorable conditions for the work collectives' successful implementation of the measures mapped out by the party and the state in ensuring the Soviet society's dynamic and all-round development.

The provisions on the powers and duties of work collectives in deciding on matters of the economic activity of enterprises and organizations are established by the law, give great scope for realizing the measures for improving the economic mechanism, planning, administration and management which the country has started to implement. They give the enterprises more leeway and extend their rights and responsibilities, assert economic calculus, create better economic potentialities for displaying socialist enterprise, rational organization of production and establishing a thrifty attitude to their material and labor resources, and to the whole of the social wealth. These outlined measures are now being put to a practical test in some sectors of the Soviet economy and in the individual Union Republics.

The law provides an effective means for realizing the party's program of the ideological education as formulated in the documents of the June 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC. Whether it is educating the need for honest work for the common good, tightening discipline and labor organization, shaping a new type of economic thinking, or seasoning the working people ideologically, politically and morally, in the solution of each of these tasks set by the plenary meeting the law offers the collectives effective instruments of influence, material and moral incentives and also sanctions with respect to negligent workers.

Second. The work collectives are invited to so arrange their work as to secure the right blend of state, collective and individual interests, while being mindful of the priority of the state and the whole people's interests. This is especially important at the present stage, with the Soviet economy an integrated economic complex and very much more intricate interrelations between various regions, sectors and spheres. The supreme criterion of each collective's activity is respect and care for the interests of other collectives and society as a whole, and scrupulous and unconditional fulfillment

of state plans, obligations and contractual deliveries.

Neglect or underestimation of the state and whole people's interests — something which, regrettably, is not all that rare either — amounts not only to a downright breach of the norms of socialist economic management. It is also a gross breach of the principle of collectivism, and a fact which deserves a principled and all-round social, political and moral evaluation in the work collectives. Indeed, that is what the law explicitly says.

Whether collective labor is to yield high results, and the interests of society, the collective and the individual are to be correctly combined largely depend on the consistency and manner in which the work collectives practise the principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Many collectives take a very exacting attitude and see to it that the remuneration of labor is correct, in strict accordance with its quantity and quality, so leaving no room for wage-levelling and erosion of personal responsibility, and closing the loopholes for idlers, slobs and botchers. The law orients the work collectives to intensifying their activity in practising Lenin's precept on the need for accounting and controlling the measure of labor and measure of consumption.

Third. The socialist work collective provides an indispensable field for bringing out every individual's creative powers, capabilities and endowments. Our ideological adversaries claim that the socialist system tends to suppress individuality because it is based on the principles of collectivism. But the whole record of history drives home the fact that it is not collectivism but private property in the means of production that devastates and oppresses the individual and breeds egoism. By contrast, the system which is based on social property gives the broadest scope for displaying creative individuality and developing intellectual and moral qualities. The law entrenches the necessary prerequisites for the individual's development in the collective, through collective work, through cooperation in realizing common objectives and fulfilling common tasks.

Fourth. Free labor, the right to which is effectively guaranteed by society, is socialism's greatest gain. But from this it does not at all follow that under socialism the need for work and the new attitude to it take shape automatically. The CPSU and the Soviet state have been working to make every kind of socially useful labor not only more productive but also more meaningful, attractive and creative. Much has already been done to achieve this, even more remains to be done. The law invites the work collectives to do more to accelerate scientific and technological progress, improve working conditions and labor organization, and to reduce manual, low-skilled and arduous physical work.

The work collectives are a powerful instrument for accelerating the Soviet society's economic, social and cultural progress, and the most important condition for making effective use of it is the working people's own creativity, initiative and energy generated by socialist democracy.

II

The Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries have every reason to take pride in their achievements in ensuring genuine popular power, which means democracy not in word, but in deed. It is in socialist society that the principles of democracy have been consistently realized for the first time in every sphere of life, including the economy, which is the crucial sphere. It is socialism that has first filled the citizens' rights and freedoms with real content, including those of them which relate to the very foundations of human life in dignity: the right to work, housing, health protection, security in old age or illness, choice of occupation, and satisfaction of cultural requirements. It is under socialism that the working masses and the work collectives have been given social, political and juridical opportunities for real participation in running the country.

Taking a justifiable pride in these accomplishments, the Soviet people are far from believing that they are the ultimate achievement. We do not idealize that which has been done and is being done in our country in this sphere, said Yuri Andropov. Together with the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, the CPSU believes that its primary task is to see to the perfection of socialist democracy, with ever broader and effective participation by the working people in the management of production and social and state affairs, because "living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves."[4]

The USSR Law on Work Collectives is a new and major stride in realizing this line of our party. It contains a number of new principles extending the powers of the work collectives, especially in the management of labor and production:

— the law extends the range of matters — production, social and educational — within the ambit of the work collectives' managerial activity;

— according to the law, work collectives do not confine themselves to submitting proposals and recommendations, and have the right to take their own, mandatory decisions on many matters;

— the law defines better forms and methods for the work collectives' realizing their powers, it extends their direct participation in the management of enterprises, institutions and organizations as component parts of the integral economic organism.

The work collectives realize their most important powers directly through general meetings (conferences). In between meetings, the powers of the work collectives are realized jointly by the management and elective organs of party, trade union and Young Communist League (Komsomol) organizations, a practice which has been firmly established in most Soviet work collectives, and which has entirely justified itself in our country.

Publicity and systematic information of members of the collective on the activity of enterprises, institutions and organizations, and consideration of public opinion are necessary prerequisites for more effective participation of work collectives in management. On this depend the relevant knowledge with which industrial and office workers discuss and decide various matters, and their concern in working out and realizing decisions.

Here is a summary of the main lines of activity of work collectives and of their powers as provided for by the law.

Among the powers of the work collectives, the law gives pride of place to their rights in economic and social planning, and that is entirely justified. Socialism and planned development are integrated concepts. Our planning does not amount to some bureaucratic prescriptions from above. It is based on a consideration of the requirements and resources of the society as a whole, and of every enterprise, institution and organization. Participation in elaborating plans by a work collective aware of its actual potentialities should be especially tangible. From this standpoint, the provision of the law that plans should be submitted for approval by state agencies only after they have been examined by the work collectives is one of the fundamental innovations.

Readjustment of plans deserves special attention. The upwardly-adjusted plans spring from mass initiative and are designed to amplify the state plans, to put at the service of society the reserves brought out at the enterprises, and to make socialist emulation more meaningful. The law consolidates the juridical basis for spreading the experience available in this field to every part of the country.

The law fully reflects the key problem of realizing our economic and social programs: of switching the economy to a mainly intensive way of development, enhancing efficiency and the quality of workmanship in all the work collectives, and fulfilling economic plans with a smaller number of personnel. This ultimately amounts to raising the productivity of social labor, which is the main factor in economic growth and in our advance.

The law clearly defines the rights and duties of the collectives in tackling this task. Their efforts are concentrated on making full use of the potentialities of hardware and technology, skilled personnel, progressive forms of labor organization, and mass enthusiasm for accelerating the growth of labor productivity.

It is of primary importance to safeguard and rationally use the so-called material elements of the economy fully. Our country has at its disposal gigantic fixed assets now valued at a total of two trillion rubles. An increase in their returns by only one per cent gives the country an additional national income of about five billion rubles a year. Sizable reserves of efficiency are latent in the more economical use of raw materials, fuel, electric power and other material resources. All these and other reserves can be set in motion chiefly through the work collectives.

The present scale of the Soviet economy and the requirements of its development demand a further tightening up of state, planning and labor discipline. The CPSU, its Central Committee, and the Political Bureau have formulated the need to enhance the responsibility of the central planning and economic agencies, of the work collectives, and of each individual worker for the rigorous fulfillment of all the indicators of the state plans, and for scrupulous observance of the laws aimed to safeguard social property.

This line of our party has met with wholehearted support from virtually all the Soviet people. It is indicative that possibly the largest number of proposals submitted during the discussion of the draft law related precisely to matters of discipline. The working people sharply censure those who do slipshod work and who want to get out of society that which they have not earned, those who abuse the goods and benefits of socialism. The working people emphasize that in our country the same discipline applies to everyone, regardless of post or status.

The provisions of the draft law on the powers of the work collectives in tightening up discipline were amplified in the light of the Soviet

people's unanimous opinion. They reflect most fully Lenin's injunction that the crucial role in the education and strengthening of conscious discipline belongs to the working people themselves. The work collective now has the possibility of exerting a greater influence on the work of every working person and to display strict comradely exactingness more effectively. It is the highest instance in deciding on the kind of sanctions to be applied in every concrete case of breach of discipline.

The rights and duties of work collectives in tightening up discipline, as provided by the law, have been elaborated in concrete terms in a recent resolution passed by the CPSU CC, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions "On Intensifying Work to Strengthen Socialist Labor Discipline." Soviet citizens all over the country met it with profound satisfaction and approval, because it expressed their demands and wishes.

Work collectives, teams, sections, farms and shops now meet regularly to discuss the state of labor discipline and cases of absenteeism and other breaches. They not only use measures of social influence, but whenever necessary, also urge management to take administrative measures against offenders in accordance with the laws in operation. Another important thing is that fuller account is now taken of the results of work by industrial and office workers and collective farmers in determining the period of holidays, the allocation of housing and accommodation at holiday homes and sanatoriums.

I should like to emphasize most resolutely that the new rules of Soviet labor law have nothing in common with any "infringements of human rights," as the enemies of our country and of existing socialism claim. These rules stem directly from the USSR constitution, and are in no way at variance with the statutes of international labor conventions which the Soviet Union has ratified. They contain all the necessary guarantees enabling a worker to appeal any management decision which he believes to be unfair.

The resolution orients the work collectives toward active use of the means provided by the law for influencing the work of every citizen, holding out incentives to front-rankers, and applying penalties to those who break the rules in production. Party and trade union organization see to it that in every work collective there is an atmosphere of strict exactingness and responsibility.

But the CPSU and the Soviet state have not lost sight of yet another aspect of the problem, which is creation of the necessary conditions to enable the work collective to fulfil assignments successfully, to avoid shortcomings in planning, material and technical supplies and organization of production which result in stoppages and overtime work. It is especially important here for senior management personnel and government functionaries to display responsibility, because on their competence, principled approach and perseverence largely depends the state of things in production.

Efforts to tighten up discipline and heighten the sense of responsibility at every level — from the worker to the minister — to establish order in every sector of life in our society, raise the level of consciousness, and labor and social activity of Soviet citizens and work collectives are yielding tangible results. Thus, in 1983, industrial output increased by 4 per cent, as against 2.9 per cent in 1982. In that period, labor productivity in industry went up by 3.6 per cent, as compared with 2.1 per cent the previous year.

We find, therefore, that there is evidence of a trend in Soviet economic development toward an improvement of the basic indicators of economic activity. In his address to the December 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC, Yuri Andropov said: "But that is only the beginning. *The most important thing now is not to relax the pace and the general positive mood to get things going and more actively to develop the positive processes.*"

Economic development under socialism is designed for increasing the people's well-being and providing ever fuller satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements. The law markedly extends the rights of work collectives in tackling the relevant problems, ranging from control over the remuneration of labor and the use of incentive funds, to the allocation of housing, marketing, public catering, everyday services, and health protection, in short, everything mapped out by the party's social program. The law draws the attention of work collectives to the importance of creating favorable conditions for mothers, displaying concern for pensioners and their involvement in social life and labor, and educating the young. That is yet another manifestation of the humanism of the socialist system.

The functions of the work collectives are not confined to production and social activity. They take over the concerns of education from family and school, and for their part exert a great influence in the assertion of the Soviet family's moral foundations, the ideological and political seasoning of young people, and the molding of their feelings of loyalty to their great

Soviet motherland, and readiness and ability to defend it.

The role of the work collectives in educating the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism needs to be especially noted. Today, virtually every work collective consists of men and women of different nationalities tackling common tasks together in fraternal unity. Multinational work collectives are the medium in which the spirit of internationalism and the sense of being one great family are fostered best of all. Indeed, they must be largely credited for the fact that the internationalist mentality has become an organic feature of the Soviet character and the distinguishing feature of our relations both with the peoples of the fraternal countries and with the working people of the whole world.

Labor and political activity and the practical results of the activity of work collectives directly depend on their moral and psychological atmosphere. When discussing the draft law, working people spoke emphatically about the need to eradicate hard drinking, hooliganism, money-grubbing, consumer attitudes, the philistine mentality and other opposites of communist morality. They branded as a great social evil things like mismanagement, the stealing of social wealth, bribe-taking and the issue of low-quality goods. Relentless struggle against these negative phenomena is a direct duty of every work collective and an indicator of its moral maturity.

The growing role of the work collectives in the management of production is most visually expressed in their growing influence in deciding personnel matters. The law has juridically entrenched the principle that the work collective has the right of making an all-round appraisal of the activity of persons in office and other members of the collective. The appointment and dismissal of management personnel at enterprises, institutions and organizations is now effected with an eye to the opinion of the work collective. Consultation with the work collective is a good guarantee of advancement for competent workers and an impediment for those who do not know their business, are unable to work with others, display haughtiness and rudeness, and abuse their official positions. It is a guarantee that is already working quite well.

Our state has at its disposal experienced managerial and administrative personnel in every sphere, and they enjoy well-merited authority and do their jobs well. They do not set themselves apart from the work collective, and are its members. At the same time, management also has to act in every case as a body appointed to direct the enterprise, institution or organization and take full responsibility for its mandatory decisions. The law takes account of this: it does nothing to infringe the functions and powers of the executive personnel, but does substantially enhance the stringency of demands made on them.

The diverse functions of work collectives are visually and effectively realized in the activity of teams, and so there is good reason why the law gives them primary attention. Experience shows that the team form helps to harmonize best the individual interests of workers and those of the collective, and the requirements and tasks of the society as a whole. With the right approach in the teams, there is a more rapid growth of labor productivity and quality of workmanship, a reduction in the loss of time and material resources, establishment of a spirit of genuine collectivism and mutual exactingness, development of management skills, and consolidation of planning and labor discipline. Today, almost 60 per cent of workers in industry are organized in teams. The recent resolution of the CPSU CC, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on the further development of the team form of labor organization in industry has amplified the provisions of the law and enhanced the role of teams as the basic production and social cell of the work collectives.

The extent of the working people's actual involvement in social life and in the affairs of enterprises, institutions and organizations is directly determined by the vigor, perseverence and militancy of the primary party organizations, of which the country now has almost 420,000. These primary party organizations do not substitute either for the management of enterprises and institutions, or for state agencies, or for social organizations. Being the political nucleus of the work collectives, they carry on their activity in the midst of the masses, at the points where the material and spiritual values are created. Their organizational and educational activity helps to fulfil economic plans, guides and coordinates the activity of trade union and Komsomol organizations, groups and posts of the people's control, and of other social bodies, through which they develop the working people's social activity and initiative. That is why primary party organizations have a leading role to play in the practical realization of the rights and duties of the work collectives.

The law has introduced many new elements into the activity of the trade unions, which are always actively involved in the exercise of all the powers of the collectives, whether they re-

late to the development of production, improvement of working and everyday conditions, protection of the working people's rights and the raising of their well-being, or any other social sphere. The law holds out to the trade unions opportunities for fuller use of collective agreements, a well-tried instrument of production democracy.

All these lines of work and forms of the working people's participation in management constitute an integral complex which is an organic component of the system of socialist people's power.

III

There has been a broad international response to the Law on Work Collectives. In the fraternal socialist countries, it is seen as another major advance in developing Soviet democracy and enhancing the initiative and activity of the working people of our country. There has also been a positive response to the law from progressive opinion in the non-socialist part of the world.

By contrast, bourgeois propaganda has tried and is still trying to minimize its importance and to misinterpret its content and meaning. The main point our class adversaries have tried to drive home is that the law does not allegedly give freedom to the enterprises. What kind of freedom do they mean? Is it the freedom of ruthless competition, in which the strong trample on the weak and gobble them up? That kind of "freedom" does not and cannot exist in our society. Our law extends the powers and potentialities of the work collectives in the management of enterprises on the strength of the principles of our society of free labor and social justice, a society which has, in effect, become one great collective comprising the whole people.

In the Soviet Union, there is genuine socialist self-administration by the people, which is developed in the course of communist construction, gradually growing into communist social self-administration. "We think that this will happen," said Yuri Andropov, "through the further development of the state of the entire people, and broader involvement of the masses in managing the affairs of the society."[5] The Law on Work Collectives is precisely an advance in this direction based on strict scientific evaluation of the society's material potentialities, and the level of the people's political consciousness and culture.

Not much time has elapsed since the USSR Law on Work Collectives came into effect, but one could safely say that it is already successfully standing trial by life and practice.

Let us note first of all the much greater authority and effectiveness of general meetings and conferences regularly convened to hear progress reports from management on the results of the economic activity of enterprises, organizations and institutions, and fulfillment of social development plans, to make critical remarks and submit constructive proposals. As a rule, measures are worked out by members of the management and trade union organizations on the results of such meetings and conferences in order to eliminate the shortcomings, and realize the proposals designed to improve the work of enterprises and institutions.

Life shows that the law reliably helps to deepen the interaction of management and collective at the enterprise. When an order issued by the director or any other member of the management of an enterprise, association or institution takes account of the opinion of the work collective it acquires additional force.

The law induces an organic and flexible combination of one-person management with the working people's broad participation in management and consideration of public opinion, so providing a good guarantee against attempts by individual functionaries to emphasize group, local or narrowly individual interests to the detriment of the whole people's interests.

The work collectives' active and consistent use of their powers to tighten labor discipline and arrange order has yielded tangible results. Where the law is applied correctly and consistently, and where party and trade union organizations have vigorously got down to their business, the number of cases of absenteeism and late-coming has markedly dropped, better use is being made of working time, and the management has shown greater awareness of its responsibility. It is important for this line to be conducted in the work collectives constantly and perseveringly.

The work collective has markedly increased its role in the selection, appointment and advancement of leading personnel. In this context, interest is attached, for instance, to the establishment of commissions for the certification of personnel which now operate at several enterprises and institutions in the country. At the same time, we realize that even more should be done to have the work collectives realize more fully the right held out to them by the law in the conduct of personnel policy.

It is quite natural that, as in any new endeavor, there are difficulties and shortcomings in the practical application of the law. But there is already no doubt about the main result: the law is in action, helping the work collectives to

exercise their role as the nucleus of socialist society and the most important institution of the people's socialist self-administration.

The Law on Work Collectives is a reflection of our peaceful frame of mind, of our urge to fulfill our great tasks in an atmosphere of tranquillity, confidence and mutually advantageous international cooperation. The law orients the work collectives to making their work more efficient, and so will promote further growth of the country's economic potential, thereby further consolidating the material foundation on which the defense capability of the Soviet state and the CPSU's peaceful foreign policy rest.

The Law on Work Collectives meets the pressing needs of our society. At the same time it is an act of long-term effect. It will do good service in realizing the programmatic tasks of the Communist Party, of the Land of the Soviets. Its adoption opens up new and extensive potentialities for even more effective application of the Soviet people's creative powers, knowledge and experience.

---

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 78.
2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 407.
3. Yuri Andropov, "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Building Socialism in the USSR," *Information Bulletin*, Toronto, May 1983, p. 4.
4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 288.
5. *Information Bulletin*, August, 1983, p. 32.

Anti-communism and the threat of war

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ireland

The growth of the threat of a nuclear war has put humanity face to face with the chilling question of its survival, dramatically altered the ideological and political atmosphere in the world, and given added acuteness to the ongoing class struggle. In what way is anti-communism changing in this situation? How do these changes relate to the mounting war threat? Has present-day anti-communism's nuclear-missile regalia given it no more than a new form? Is it the selfsame enemy that, performing in different guises, strangled the Paris Commune, staged the intervention in revolutionary Russia, ran amok with the swastika on its banner, and proclaimed the cold war through the lips of Winston Churchill at Fulton? Is it the same as when, for the first time in 1933 this writer saw in Ireland an anti-Soviet exhibition mounted by a British arms manufacturer behind the cloak of a religious front named Pro-Deo (For God) Exposition?

It's the same and yet not the same. Anti-communism's class nature has, needless to say, undergone no change, and its orchestrators remain the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and other anti-socialist forces. This must be borne in mind constantly so that we do not lose our social bearings in the ideological struggle. But the evolution of anti-communism is by no means confined to an outward transformation. It is governed by general principles of development, in accordance with which, to use Lenin's words, not only phenomena "but the essence of things"[1] change.

In order to combat anti-communism successfully one must see that behind the modifications of its forms and manifestations there are deeper changes that affect the content and inner structure of the class adversary's ideology and policies. The war threat accentuates these changes and shows that its own growth is directly linked to them. This gives anti-communism new qualities, turning it into a global ideological and political prop of imperialism's military course, into a factor actively opposed not only to existing socialism and the international communist movement but also to all other peace forces, in fact to the progress of all humanity.

Stake on strength

Anti-communism has never been reluctant to indulge in undisguised violence while at the same time serving as the ideological cover for this violence. We Irish communists remember, for instance, reaction's attempts to make short work of our party in the 1930s. And to this day, in Northern Ireland, British imperialism uses its jack-boot policies of mass repression to prevent the development of working class unity, recognizing that such unity would be directly against its interests, because it would open the way for the Irish people to take the path leading to socialism. Examples of a similar nature are to

be found in the history and present-day experiences of many countries.

The nazi policy of genocide showed how far anti-communism can go along the road of violence. Today it has become obvious that this is not the limit. Anti-communism is now prepared to go much farther — up to the critical line beyond which lies the threat of the total destruction of life on earth. This is what really lies behind the words: "Better dead than red."

You may wonder whether this is not an exaggeration. Are we not equating anti-communism with the nuclear-missile threat? The answer to this question lies in posing another question: Is this threat neutral in social and ideological terms and is it simply no more than a product of war preparations? No, missiles will not launch themselves. Somebody has to give the order, somebody has to press the button. But who specifically?

The Soviet Union has committed itself to not being the first to use nuclear weapons; its whole policy is aimed at preventing war, at ensuring lasting peace and international security. The real danger comes from imperialism's aggressive forces, chiefly the incumbent administration in Washington, which have set their sights on "putting an end to communism" with nuclear missiles and, with this in mind, they are escalating the arms race and planning a "pre-emptive strike," a "preventive war," prodding the world ever closer toward a global catastrophe.

The threat of a nuclear war is thus inseparable from anti-communism, which gives that threat a clear-cut ideological and political slant and, at the same time, stimulates its growth. This gives anti-communism a new and more definitive quality and puts it in an ideological and political context that differs from the context in which it was traditionally considered and evaluated.

In the first place, the ideology of imperialism and the class consciousness of the bourgeoisie mirror the new historical situation that has arisen under the impact of the profound changes in the balance of strength in the world.

A key factor giving rise to this situation was the establishment in the 1970s of a military-strategic equilibrium between socialism and imperialism.

Although it is exceptionally important, this is not the only factor that predicated the change in the world situation.

First of all the balance of strength in the world cannot be reduced solely to military proportions. It is a much broader and varied phenomenon that includes economic, social, political and ideological questions. There are also scientific and technological factors, plus those of a moral and psychological nature. The results of their interaction have likewise not been following a pattern in favor of imperialism.

Second, it has not a bipolar structure (Warsaw Treaty-NATO, USSR-USA), but a more complex composition of intertwining "power lines." These consist of the contradictions between social systems, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between imperialism and the developing nations, between national and international monopoly groups, in the exploiting classes themselves, and so on. By the end of the 1970s the aggregate operation of these contradictions had created an atmosphere of political and ideological isolation around imperialism as a system. On the one hand, this system was subjected to dramatically heightened pressure from the broad front of anti-imperialist forces and, on the other, its traditional partners and economically dependent social strata, including a growing section of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, began to distance themselves from it.

The new realities were dissimilarly assessed in imperialist circles. Seeing that there had to be a long and all-sided struggle over the issue of "who will beat whom" by peaceful means, their most sober-minded political representatives took the road of détente. However, other influential imperialist circles, blinded by their anti-communism refused to recognize that the new balance of strength was both inevitable and irreversible and tried to turn the clock back to the time when, having nuclear superiority, they could count on a real or hypothetical possibility of defeating socialism militarily.

Ideology of global hegemony

Anti-communism is at the root of these notions implicit in imperialist reaction, of the latter's inability to interpret soberly the specific historical changes that have taken place. Influenced by these notions the anti-communists see the actual processes of the world's renewal in a distorted light: the recognition by the ruling circles of the USA and NATO in the 1970s that there was military-strategic parity with the socialist countries resulting from the objective changes in the international balance of strength was assessed as the outcome of miscalculations and mistakes by these circles; the diminution of imperialism's spheres of influence and the loss of its dominance over many developing countries were attributed to "interference" on the part of the USSR and other socialist countries; the strengthening of the positions of the left forces in some regions of the capitalist system

was seen as the geographical "spread of communism."

On the whole, the spokesmen of anti-communism depict the social and political realities in such a way as to give a picture of a "free world" being eroded by "waves of communism," of the bastion of "democracy" and Western civilization being surrounded by hostile forces — in short, of a capitalist world that has to be urgently saved from the "communist threat." But how is this to be achieved? By correcting the "errors" made in the past, rejecting détente, restoring the lost military-strategic superiority over socialism, and destroying socialism as an existing system and an idea, by turning back the clock. Such, in effect, is the program for the anti-communist "crusade" proclaimed by the American President Ronald Reagan, and of direct concern to the Irish people is the fact that it is so vehemently backed in Western Europe by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

But is this merely a reconstruction of the old ideological and political clichés of anti-communism?

The Reagan program unquestionably mirrors many of the political guidelines, ideological doctrines, and propaganda stereotypes used earlier against socialism and the communist and anti-imperialist movement. It represents a sort of synthesis of anti-communist traditions, which are, however, reproduced on a new material basis (imperialism's nuclear missile potential) put into effect in a broader — global — range of aggressive aims, and tied in more closely with imperialist strategy, defining its ideological substance, its socio-political orientation.

That, in our view, is why it is not just a case of a new form of anti-communism. Its aim is not merely to "roll back" communism, as it was during the years of the cold war, but to "root it out" completely, in order to restore imperialism's global rule. With the threat of nuclear war to fall back on, the ideology of global hegemony has found full expression in the expansionist ambitions of the most reactionary circles of imperialism. As they see it, the achievement of global hegemony is quite feasible, and this is recorded in the U.S. Defense Department's military-political directive as an official objective, namely, to destroy socialism as a socio-political system.

In line with this adventurist objective, the U.S. government torpedoed the Geneva talks on intermediate-range systems in Europe and began the deployment of first-strike missiles in some West European countries, thereby dramatically lowering the nuclear threshold and setting into operation new mechanisms for escalating the arms race.

The guideline toward regaining global control prescribes a wide sphere of expansionist actions, in particular the creation of "positions of strength" in relation not only to socialist but also to developing nations. Imperialism arrogates to itself the choice of so-called zones of "vital interests" in any part of the globe and the use of repressive military units capable of speedily moving to restore or establish control over territories, resources, communications and, on a broader plane, the socio-political development of nations. The USA's Grenada adventure demonstrated in practice the methods and aims of the policy "ideologized" by saber-rattling anti-communism. There is the threat of similar consequences in Washington's actions in the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa, and other regions, where the imperialists are endeavoring to direct forcibly the development of various countries into becoming dependent capitalist states and thereby keeping them in the sphere of their political influence.

While some contradictions clearly exist between the USA and its NATO allies, a number of West European imperialist powers are playing their own specific role in the aggressive strategy mapped out by the White House. In the nuclear sphere three West European governments have become willing recipients of U.S. first-strike nuclear weaponry, while the Thatcher cabinet continues to use the mythical "Soviet threat" as the reason for endowing Britain's "defenses" with a nuclear first-strike capacity in the shape of Trident. In the Middle East, Britain again, along with Italy and France, is an accomplice of the United States, participating in the so-called peace-keeping force, the main aim of which is to build in Lebanon a reactionary bulwark against the progressive movements in the region.

It should be noted that the ideology behind imperialism's aspiration to re-establish its power is not exclusively reserved for the foreign scene. Imperialist domestic policy also reflects it, what with the curtailment of the working people's democratic gains and the increased attacks made upon the workers' anti-monopoly movement. Moreover, it sets the related tasks of reinforcing the position of conservative, militarist quarters in society and cutting back the influence of the left forces, of the communists in the first place for they rank among the most consistent fighters for the interests of working people and for peace. These aims are to be achieved by strengthening the front of war and undermining the front of

peace, which would create additional socio-political prerequisites for the growth of the war threat.

Dangerous illusions

To those who cherish peace, anti-communism is a deadly enemy prepared to take the risk of unleashing another world war.

In the USA anti-communism is embodied by the ruling group, which is convinced that a hardening of the military confrontation is less of a risk for imperialism than decisions which, in its opinion, spell out "surrender to communism."

This group represents armaments monopolies, the military-industrial complex lobby, institutes that have been engaged in military research for many years, and racist, chauvinist and other reactionary circles for which anti-communism has always been a vital credo. It began to call the tune in American politics in the mid-1970s, as was seen in the anti-communist "human rights" campaign, the active inclusion of the ways and means of psychological warfare in the arsenal of the government's foreign policy, and in the imperial claims of American imperialism. It is then that the think-tanks of the military-industrial complex developed the concept of global hegemony through a "victorious" nuclear war. In 1980, Colin S. Gray, who was subsequently appointed an adviser to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the State Department, wrote that victory or defeat was possible in "nuclear war, and such a war may have to be waged to that point; and the clearer the vision of successful war termination, the more likely war can be waged intelligently at earlier stages ... The United States should plan to defeat the Soviet Union and to do so at a cost that would not prohibit U.S. recovery. Washington should identify war aims ... and the emergence of a postwar world order compatible with Western values."[2]

In spite of all the obvious facts and irrefutable conclusions of science that if a world nuclear conflagration were started it would destroy civilization and all life on earth, the spokesmen of American anti-communism continue to force upon their people and the people of Western Europe, with the connivance of their NATO allies, the horribly dangerous idea of "survival" in that conflagration.

However, it is an illusion for the American strategists to count on creating a strategic arsenal that would make it possible, if not to achieve the desired goal of using nuclear weapons with impunity then at least to compel the socialist states to accept imperialist dictation by upsetting the military-strategic balance.

This anti-communist policy is producing extremely dangerous consequences. It is leading to a continuation of an unbridled arms race, shattering the stability of the military-strategic situation in the world, increasing international tension and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and complicating the relations between states.

Pivot and instrument of expansionism

The "Atlantic" policy of U.S. imperialism is operating in the same direction. Its makers are taking into account the fact that the character of the government-to-government relations of capitalist countries and the depth of the contradictions inherent in these relations are in one way or another affecting the confrontation between the two world systems and undercutting the potentialities of the militarist forces for influencing international political processes and achieving their aims in different parts of the world. Hence the striving to modernize old and evolve new political and ideological concepts that could consolidate the capitalist world.

Anti-communism is the pivot of these concepts. It is the basis of Washington's appeal for solidarity and ideological affinity among capitalist countries and it is their reserve of strength that would presumably help them survive in the face of the "communist threat." Moreover, it is more and more playing the role of the ideological instrument for settling inter-imperialist conflicts, "resolving" them in the self-serving interests of the USA.

This role began growing in the situation created by détente, when many bourgeois and reformist statesmen in Western Europe came to realize that peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems was both necessary and possible and that European security could be consolidated on that foundation. The ruling circles of European capitalist countries were objectively interested in preventing an armed conflict, which, breaking out in Europe, would inescapably become a global nuclear conflict. The quest, in this context, for peaceful ways of competing with socialism led a section of these circles to renounce the narrow Atlantic approach to the settlement of the problems of security in Europe. This is what in the 1970s brought the leaders of some capitalist powers round to understanding, albeit in a narrow sense, that joint efforts with socialist countries to turn Europe into a continent of peace were expedient and indispensable.

But, at the same time, the imperialist circles of the USA were developing a relatively new tactical line, trying out what they felt were, in

the existing situation, more suitable concepts for bringing anti-communist influence to bear on individual capitalist countries and on the overall situation in the capitalist world. There was only one purpose, namely, to restore and revive militarist methods of fighting socialism, to move toward a military confrontation. The USA strongly pressured its Atlantic allies in order to draw them into the arms race and the drive to kindle war hysteria.

This set the scene for the 1979 Brussels decision to deploy new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. However, in the subsequent years the relations between the USA and its NATO allies have not been trouble-free. Inter-imperialist contradictions have manifested themselves with particular strength in the refusal of West European countries to comply with the U.S. embargo on trade with the Soviet Union and in their criticism over the U.S. invasion of Grenada. While both of these incidents show that there are real differences between Washington and the other imperialist powers, the invasion of Grenada highlights the more swashbuckling nature of U.S. imperialism. The public denunciation by the NATO allies of this action is also an indication of the growing strength and influence of the peace movement throughout Europe.

The most ardent supporter of U.S. policy among West European leaders has been Margaret Thatcher whose anti-communism and lust for the arms drive have needed no coaxing from the other side of the Atlantic. Indeed, her anti-communist outbursts sometimes give the impression that she is seeking to outdo the U.S. President in bellicose anti-Soviet statements. On top of that the "crusade" against communism acquired a distinct international structure when the most powerful conservative and Christian Democratic forces in Western Europe and the USA held formal meetings in some NATO capitals with the participation of the heads of state of a number of West European nations. The aim was to persuade the ruling circles of these countries to do their utmost to defeat the "communist menace."

Massive ideological and political pressure is being brought to bear not only on the USA's NATO allies but also on other, including neutral, capitalist countries. This is constantly felt by our country as well. With the assistance of British imperialism, Washington is trying to compel Ireland to abandon its policy of neutrality and use it in one way or another in the military-political interests of the USA and NATO, in the anti-communist "crusade."

This was exemplified in September 1983, when the Irish government, in the aftermath of the incident over the South Korean airliner, expelled two Soviet diplomats allegedly for spying. Under the headline "It's Back to the Cold War," the *Irish Socialist*, newspaper of the Communist Party of Ireland, explained the significance of this provocation: "The real point is that the whole story was concocted by British Intelligence. It was designed . . . to compromise Irish neutrality and to tie this country closer to NATO . . ."

Our party emphatically condemns such attempts. "The threat to the neutrality of the Republic of Ireland and the undermining of its sovereignty," says the *Appeal to the People of Ireland*, "cannot and must not be ignored by the labor movement in particular nor by any of the forces which stand for the right of the Irish people to determine their own future. The abandonment of neutrality by the Irish Repulic through a 'common foreign policy' with Britain or the submersion of its sovereignty in a 'federal system' with Britain would be a greater betrayal of the Irish people's right to self-determination and social emancipation than the Act of Union in 1801."[3] We want Ireland to pursue a policy of active neutrality that could serve to reduce the threat of war and strengthen European security.

An invitation to suicide

With this aim is closely linked our fightback against anti-communism, which is dangerous not only because it underlies the reactionary policies of the ruling class but also because it reaches the mass consciousness through the influence of bourgeois propaganda and thereby misleads some sections of the anti-war movement. The anti-communist campaign conducted on a global scale is directed toward stamping out in the minds of large segments of the population of capitalist countries the ideas of peaceful coexistence and cooperation and the belief that it is possible to combine the efforts of states with different social systems for settling the vital problems worrying all humankind.

A prime example of this was the complete black-out in the Irish media of Yuri Andropov's replies to questions by *Pravda*, in which he spoke of the Soviet commitment to arms reduction and the Soviet Union's desire to ease international tension.

Instead, day after day it is preached in the Western mass media that strength, chiefly military strength, determines and will go on determining world developments. The myth of a "Soviet military threat" is being fanned to provide the screen for the militarization of thinking at all levels, including the manipulation of

public opinion. As any other anti-communist myth, it is, above all, an invention based on primitive notions about reality, a product of ignorance, deep-seated prejudice, and a deliberate distortion of the truth. In practice it is a wide-embracing and far-reaching set of ideological and political guidelines that keep the growth of the people's awareness of the threat of war and of the actual reason for it behind the growth of the threat itself.

In exposing the propaganda myths of the class adversary the Irish communists have shown the untenability of all the attempts to impute an "equal responsibility" to the USA and the USSR, to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization for the growing threat of war. While imperialism entered the 1980s with programs for escalating the arms race, with threats and expansionist ambitions, socialism holds out to the peoples, for the current decade, a substantive program of constructive steps to consolidate peace and stimulate détente and disarmament. Whatever specific Soviet proposal we take, whether it is on reducing strategic armaments, limiting medium-range weapons, building up confidence in various parts of the world, creating nuclear-free zones, zones of peace and stability, or steps aimed at settling international crises, or ending military conflicts, we shall find that it is motivated by the desire for world peace.

To bring this irrefutable fact to the consciousness of all the participants in the anti-war movement is, in our view, one of the cardinal tasks of the present fightback against anti-communism and, thereby, against the threat of war. This task is especially important for Western Europe, where the anti-Soviet, anti-communist forces are rapidly intensifying the nuclear-missile threat. Whatever dangerous illusions are used for a cover, this exactly is the aim of the deployment of new American nuclear missiles. In the NATO capitals there is now no dearth of bombastic statements about "strengthening the security of the free world," but it is a fact that the more they look for security in an escalation of the arms race the more spectral it becomes. It is only the consciousness of the conservative and reactionary circles, twisted by anti-communism, that cannot perceive this self-evident truth. Let me give a characteristic example. At the close of 1983, when the deployment of intermediate-range missiles began in Britain, an editorial in *The Economist* of London under the heading "Welcome" declared: "The first American Cruise missile has arrived in Europe, and Europe is a slightly safer place as a result."[4]

These words are an invitation to suicide. This is to bury in oblivion the lessons of history, the positive experience of détente. They spell out irresponsible acceptance of the U.S.-imposed prospect for turning Western Europe into a "regional theater of hostilities" and West Europeans into Washington's nuclear hostages.

How can the British feel "safer" when new targets for retaliatory nuclear strikes have appeared on their land? Can we Irish feel the same when right next door to us they are laying the fuse for a nuclear war that would jeopardize our country's existence? As a matter of fact, is there anyone in Europe who can now sleep peacefully?

* * *

Every person who has not succumbed to anti-communist propaganda and is under no illusion about "nuclear safety" realizes that the threat of a global catastrophe is mounting. In a situation witnessing a heightened confrontation between opposing social and political forces and a rapid and frequently abrupt change of the forms and methods of struggle, the propaganda machine of anti-communism is working in top gear to give people a distorted picture of what the ongoing confrontation is all about. However, awareness of the processes dangerous to the very life on the Earth taking place in the world, an awareness awakened by irrefutable facts, leads millions of people, regardless of social status, ideological persuasion or party affiliation, to basically correct conclusions. In the international anti-war movement there is a growing understanding that the threat of a catastrophic world war comes not from spontaneous developments but from the class choice of the most reactionary imperialist circles, the policy of aggression and the arms race.

The war preparations inspired by anti-communism are not only a threat to the future but the most disturbing problem of the present. The entire world is in danger, and the fundamental program aim, proclaimed by the communists, of ridding the world of military catastrophes and the causes giving rise to them is now of greater epochal and universal significance than ever before. "An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence — such is our ideal," Lenin declared.[5]

In keeping with this ideal, the socialist countries and the international communist movement are countering anti-communism with active humanism, the ideology of global hegemony with the idea of peaceful coexistence, and nuclear illusions with a realistic course toward preventing war. This is a course that takes the specifics of the present complex situa-

tion into maximum account, a course toward lasting and dependable security, of which humanity is so acutely in need.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 254.
2. *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1980, pp. 20, 21.
3. Ireland's parliamentary autonomy was abolished on January 1, 1801 in accordance with this Act: its parliament was dissolved and "in exchange" Irish representatives received some seats in the British parliament. — *Ed.*
4. *The Economist*, November 19-25, 1983, p. 16.
5. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 293.

At a difficult, steep turning point

Naim Ashhab
CC Political Bureau member,
Palestinian Communist Party

The developments in the Middle East have entered a new and dangerous phase. The USA and Israel have started what amounts to a colonial war and it is seriously imperilling world peace. The present intervention in Lebanon fits squarely into the pattern of the collision course steered by imperialist adventurists, notably the U.S. administration, against the socialist world and other forces of freedom and democracy. The objective of this course is to win hegemony in the world, while for the time being at least to get into a position to dominate individual regions.

The Middle East is particularly attractive for the imperialist vultures on account of its strategic location, not least its nearness to the frontiers of the Soviet Union, and on account of its enormous natural, chiefly oil, resources. Control over this region allows them not only to make fabulous profits but also to bring pressure to bear on circumvented competitors and, if necessary, blackmail them into making political and other concessions. That is what makes the U.S. ruling circles so eager to dominate the Middle East. Little wonder that one of the first indications of a re-orientation in Washington toward increasing international tension was the scrapping of the 1977 U.S.-Soviet agreement to convene a conference in Geneva on a settlement in the Middle East.

In the USA they have now finally dropped the mask of "impartial mediator" in the Arab-Israeli conflict and have gone over to the use of force, including military force, to pressure those who are resisting U.S. dictation and Zionist expansionism. This is most strikingly shown by the formation of the militarist Washington-Tel Aviv axis on the basis of the deal concluded at the close of last year. As a result, the military-strategic and political cooperation between the USA and Israel now acquires the hallmarks of close coordination of aggressive actions against Arab peoples.

The USA has, in fact, always extended Israel unlimited military assistance, political support and propaganda cover. The only new thing is that now the U.S.-Israeli alliance is flaunted and even touted. The U.S. imperialists and the Zionist élite of Israel are showing that they are prepared, without caring about the methods they use, to recarve the political map of the Middle East as they see fit.

The main thrust is against those contingents of the Arab national liberation movement that are now on the front-line of the battles — Syria, the Palestinian Resistance Movement, and the national patriotic forces of Lebanon. Today, after Camp David, which marked Egypt's withdrawal from the front of resistance to the enemy, our party sees their staunchness and steadfast fighting alliance as the principal obstacle to the designs to subordinate the Middle Eastern nations to unchallenged rule by imperialism, Zionism and reaction. That is why the enemies of the Arab peoples are going to such lengths to split this alliance, drive a wedge into the relations between its members and, in parallel, activate subversive actions against each of them.

The Palestinian Resistance Movement now faces formidable difficulties. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was a frontal assault on the Palestine Liberation Organization, and it reached its peak in the almost three-month-long siege of Beirut. Following the withdrawal of the Palestinian fighters from the Lebanese capital, where the PLO had considerable freedom and independence of action, the forces of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction began concentrating on smashing the PLO from within. The PLO is now experiencing, in our view, its

---

This is another contribution on the Arab national liberation movement and the aims of the revolutionary forces in the light of the situation taking shape in the Middle East. See *WMR*, No. 1, 1984.

most severe crisis since its formation in 1964. The mainsprings and causes of this crisis can be pinpointed only on the basis of a class analysis.

The outcome of the fighting for Beirut led to a change in the political posture of the Palestinian, particularly big, bourgeoisie. It was reduced to despair, stopped believing that any effective assistance could come from the Arab world, most of which remained an indifferent observer of events, and lost the hope that it would be possible to create an independent Palestinian state. Moreover, the bourgeoisie in the occupied territories has been frightened by the hardening policy of the Israeli authorities — the further confiscation of Arab lands on a growing scale, the continued building of Zionist settlements, the intensification of economic harassment and, lastly, the public statements by Tel Aviv leaders that these territories are an inalienable part of the State of Israel. The dispirited Palestinian bourgeoisie has begun to clutch at straws. And it was at this time that the "Reagan plan" was sprung as the most dangerous trap set precisely for it.

It must be understood that the Palestinian bourgeoisie will never get along with the Israeli invaders. The contradictions between the Palestinians, including the bourgeoisie, and the invaders are of an antagonistic character. This is due above all to the fact that the occupation regime is of the colonialist-settler type, its objective being not merely to subjugate the seized territories but expel the Palestinian people from these territories, and thereby get, as the Zionist ringleaders had always wanted, uninhabited land. For its part, the Reagan plan promises the illusory prospect of deliverance from occupation, hinting to the bourgeoisie, as it were: "Your future and the future of your homeland *may be* the subject of negotiations." However, in its next breath Washington adds that there can never be any question of creating an independent state.

The Palestinian bourgeoisie has decided to sacrifice the slogan of the creation of such a state in exchange for assurances that its interests will be guaranteed by the Jordanian regime, for economically it does not fear a return to the Jordanian umbrella. The call of "save what you can" was issued. The apologists of this attitude, along with the proponents of the plan for a confederation of Jordan and the Palestinian lands (when these are delivered from Israeli occupation) and supporters of the idea of setting up an "emigré Palestinian government,"[1] in short, the big Palestinian bourgeoisie, began to bring increasing pressure to bear on the PLO leadership. Regrettably, it must be acknowledged that it has begun to succumb to this pressure.

Soon after the fighting for Beirut ended, our party pointed out that in the new and extremely complex situation there would inevitably be a sharp deepening of the differentiation, the polarization of forces on the Palestinian scene. This process is pushed mainly by internal factors, but we should not discount the fact that after it lost its positions in Beirut the Palestinian Resistance Movement came under massive pressure from the enemy camp, including Arab reaction. Nor was the temptation to resort to pressure withstood by some patriotic Arab regimes that wanted more influence over the resistance movement and, in some cases, impose their own viewpoint and even confine the Palestinian revolution to definite limits. The demarcation spurred by all this led to a split in Fatah, the largest and, in socio-political terms, extremely heterogeneous Palestinian organization.

After the Beirut battles we warned that there might be the threat that two dangerous trends among the Palestinians would be vitalized. The first is conciliatory and capitulatory (precisely this trend is backed by the big bourgeoisie prepared, as I have already noted, to abandon the idea of creating an independent Palestinian state). The second is the so-called "rejection" trend, whose adherents continue to be vocal about the "total liberation of the whole of Palestine," absolutize armed methods of struggle, and bluntly declare that they reject the decisions of the Fez summit and the 16th session of the Palestine National Council.[2] One or the other is the principal threat at various phases. It is our party's view that in the post-Beirut period this danger emanates from the trend toward conciliation and capitulation.

However, it would be wrong to believe that the situation on the Palestinian scene is determined by the influence of solely the two trends I have mentioned. There is also the leading trend represented by large sections of the people and influential political forces, including our party. Both in word and deed they are championing realistic patriotic slogans — the creation of an independent state on the territories seized by Israel in 1967, the settlement of the refugee problem in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions, and recognition of the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine. It was owing to this trend, in the first place, that a healthy objective attitude prevailed at the 16th session of the Palestine National Council. Moreover, it may be said that the results of that session mirrored the then balance of strength between the right-

capitulatory and left-extremist trends.

But that was only a transient armistice. The struggle in Fatah later erupted into internecine bloodshed. Neither the aggressive actions and terrorist campaigns of Israel's rulers nor the bloody crimes of Arab reaction have ever created as serious a threat to the future of the Palestinian national movement as the clashes between brothers-in-arms, who only recently had fought side by side and jointly demonstrated miracles of heroism.

The enemies of the Palestinian people are rubbing their hands. The Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has stated quite frankly that "it is good for Israel that there are domestic quarrels, breakups and divisions within the organization of the PLO."[3] "All we want from the PLO," he said, "is that it disappear from the face of the earth."[4] All the elements who follow in the wake of U.S. policy and pin their hopes on American "decisions" are likewise impatiently awaiting the day the PLO either ceases to exist or degenerates into a cover for carrying through capitulatory plans. This is the objective of Arab reactionaries and the shady elements that have penetrated both warring groups.

The internecine collisions are undercutting the Palestinian national movement's principal achievement in its hard struggles over a period of three and a half decades. This achievement is not of a material (for not an inch of Palestinian land has so far been liberated) but of a moral and political order: it is embodied in the support given by the international community, by progressive public opinion for the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state, and the recognition of the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The discord among the Palestinians undermines this recognition and provides the pretext for anybody else — agents of Israel and supporters of the Jordanian regime — to claim the right to speak on their behalf. In particular, attention is attracted by King Hussein's repeated statements that if the conflicts in the PLO did not cease it would be necessary to reconsider the question of how far it could be seen as representing the Palestinian people. Also noteworthy is that for the first time in the past 10 years the king convened the Jordanian parliament, whose members include Palestinians who formerly were deputies from the West Bank.

The Palestinian masses in and outside the occupied lands have strongly denounced and deplored the fratricidal clashes. Nothing can shake our people's sense of belonging to one national entity fighting for its legitimate rights, which can only be realized with the creation of their own independent state. Precisely this is the objective foundation for the PLO's existence as the sole lawful representative of the people of Palestine. All patriots should strive to "cleanse and not destroy the temple."

The Communist Party is steadfastly working for an effective cleansing of the Palestine Liberation Organization of corruption, which has reached menacing proportions, of the influential bureaucracy perverted by petrodollars. We attach very great significance to democratic inner reforms, to the reorganization of the PLO structure, particularly of its Executive Committee, so that it should be composed of representatives of all the forces active on the Palestinian scene — in and outside the occupied lands — in accordance with the role and influence of these forces in the national struggle. We hold that the principles of democracy should underlie the working out and adoption of political decisions, and also the relations between the different Palestinian organizations. We consider that the PLO should in fact acquire the form of a genuine national front, in which none of the participants would have a monopoly over decision-making.

The processes taking place on the Palestinian scene cannot be understood in isolation from the situation in the Arab world as a whole. This situation strongly affects these processes, as will be seen if it is taken into account that the Palestinian freedom fighters have to operate not only on the land of their forefathers.

The Arab national liberation movement is at present experiencing a period of crisis. Israel has been in occupation of vast Arab territories for nearly 17 years and an end to this occupation is still not in sight.[5] There has been an unfavorable change in the alignment of political forces in the Arab world as a result of the departure of some regimes, notably Sadat-ruled Egypt, from the course of struggle with imperialism and Israeli aggression; the initiative has passed to reaction headed by the rulers of Saudi Arabia.

When, with massive U.S. aid and support, Israel invaded Lebanon, the Arab liberation movement was once again unable to put up effective resistance to the aggressor. However, the developments in Lebanon helped to define more clearly where the movement's basic weakness lies. The staunchness and courage displayed by Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian fighters reaffirmed that it is quite feasible to repulse aggression. However, the prospects for achieving this task cannot be considered outside the context of the processes influencing

the character and class nature of the anti-imperialist regimes regarded as the bulwark and assault force of the Arab national liberation movement.

In order to go deeper into this problem, let us look back to the relatively recent past. The 1950s and the early 1960s were a period of the most substantial revolutionary advances of the Arab peoples. It was then that the majority of the Arab countries shook off the fetters of foreign oppression, while in some of them members of the petty and middle bourgeoisie came to power. They fought against various forms of colonialism, rebuffed the attempts that were made to draw them into imperialist war blocs, and opposed Israeli aggression. Upon launching some progressive social and economic reforms, part of which were characterized as anti-capitalist at the time, these regimes moved to a higher phase of their struggle to consolidate their independence. The objectives of national liberation fused ever more closely with the objectives of social liberation. These regimes began to play a leading role in the Arab liberation movement.

The emergence of progressive, patriotic regimes of this type was a phenomenon to be observed in the entire zone of national liberation, and in the Arab world it was most clear-cut, I would say. But, at the same time, this was a historically new phenomenon whose analysis entailed quite a few problems. In particular, it proved to be not easy to make an accurate assessment of the revolutionary potential of such regimes. It was sometimes exaggerated, while the negative features implicit in these regimes were belittled. From this stemmed the certain blurring or disregard of the distinctions between the ideologies of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, between their historical roles, roads and destinies.

Representatives of the petty bourgeoisie came to the helm of power with the ideology and hallmarks of their class. These included, as Lenin pointed out, the petty bourgeoisie's "dual character, its two-facedness, its gravitation toward the minority which has emerged from the struggle successfully, its hostility toward the 'failures', i.e., the majority."[6] The levers of state power gave the ruling élite the possibility of "pulling itself up" to the propertied strata, which had "emerged from the struggle successfully," and made its hostile attitude to the working majority more dangerous in terms of consequences.

However, on account of its dual character the petty bourgeoisie is capable of following a different path. Under the influence of the aggravating class struggle its most revolutionary segment begins to draw ever closer to the ideological and political positions of the working class and, in the long run, adopts these positions. In practice this finds expression in radical social and economic reforms oriented toward the socialist perspective. Democratic Yemen is an example of this sort of development.

Alongside the indisputable successes of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples during the 1950s and the early 1960s some serious negative phenomena sprouted and developed and these later led to a crisis of the Arab liberation movement. Suspicious of and even hostile to the actions of the masses and wishing to bring them under their tutelage, the ruling circles began muzzling democratic freedom. Among the people this fostered indifference and passiveness, which, as the Lebanese events have once more demonstrated, have not yet been surmounted. On the other hand, the opportunities for the activities of revolutionary organizations and parties have been drastically reduced to purely political issues. Everybody knows that the close ties of these organizations and parties to the people are founded, above all, on day-to-day work in identifying, championing and ensuring the satisfaction of their social and economic needs.

In the absence of people's control, the state apparatus, which has retained its bourgeois character, and the public sector of the economy, which in the beginning played a crucial revolutionizing role in social and economic development, have been turned into a huge incubator for the growth of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Its interests coalesced ever more closely with those of parasitical and compradore capital. A social stratum emerged which seriously threatens national independence, for self-serving ambitions push it toward collaboration with the imperialist monopolies that pillage and exploit our peoples.

Petrodollars were one of the main factors facilitating the accelerated formation of a parasitical bourgeoisie and the change in its favor of the political balance of strength in a number of Arab countries (which was the reason for their departure from the former progressive, anti-imperialist course). Moreover, Arab reaction made wide use of its financial resources to influence various revolutionary-prone political movements and organizations, undermining their stability and preventing them from pursuing a policy at satisfying the aspirations of the masses.

The petrodollar influx has deformed the socio-economic development of Arab countries. When oil revenues are virtually the only

source of income, this leads to the emergence of an ugly deformed consumer society. A striking result is the intensification of individualistic tendencies and feelings among quite large sections of the population, with the accompanying erosion of patriotism. This ailment is affecting not only the reactionary oil-producing states but also countries closely linked to them financially, one of which is Jordan.

Another factor that must not be discounted is the migration of labor, which in our region has reached extremely large proportions. More than three million Egyptians are working in foreign countries. More than 300,000 persons went abroad in search of a livelihood from Jordan, whose own population does not exceed 2,500,000.[7] On the other hand, in Saudi Arabia, where the native population is actually only about four million,[8] the number of non-Arab immigrant workers alone is over 1,250,000.[9] According to IBRD estimates, by 1985 the numerical strength of immigrants in the working class of seven Arab states (Bahrein, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) may reach 57 per cent, or a physical total of nearly 3,550,000 persons.[10] In the United Arab Emirates and Qatar foreigners now comprise over 85 per cent of the economically active population.[11] The largest group among the immigrants consists of non-Arabs, and they are chiefly from South and Southeast Asia. The newspaper *Al-Khaleej*, published in the United Arab Emirates, writes of them: "They are those coherent and militarily trained groups who live in camps and are brought into the country by foreign companies." It is not hard to see that this situation is conducive to discord among the working people, makes it hard to consolidate and organize the national proletariat, hinders the development of its struggle, and slows down the maturing of the revolutionary alternative.

Socio-political differentiation is steadily deepening in the Arab world and the tension of the class battles is rising. But the forces of national liberation and social progress encounter a situation that differs from the situation of the 1950s and the early 1960s. We find that today development in almost the entire Arab world has begun to follow the capitalist pattern. Some formerly anti-imperialist regimes, headed by Egypt, as I have already noted, have clearly degenerated and joined the enemy camp, while others have halted their movement along the road of progressive development and have begun, so to speak, to mark time.

There has been a change both in the class make-up of the government in these countries and in the status of the ruling sections. At present, with few exceptions, the governments in the Arab world are neither in the hands of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, nor express their interests, although the leadership circles in many cases abide by this class way of thinking and even continue to act in the way typical of it. The apostasy of the ruling élite in, for example, Egypt, is by no means an indication that the petty and middle bourgeoisie (to be exact, their majority) no longer belong to the Arab liberation movement or, as individual proponents of extreme views are inclined to assert, have betrayed their class. On the contrary, the class is being betrayed by renegades and apostates who are going into the service of the social forces not only standing outside the Arab national liberation movement but belonging to the camp of that movement's adversaries.

This is where the mainspring of the present crisis lies. It is a crisis of the leadership of this movement: with lightning speed, in historical terms, it has lost its leading role. The way out cannot be found by transferring power to some other petty-bourgeois stratum or group. This would threaten further and even more serious and tragic consequences. The only alternative, as we see it, is a national-patriotic alliance, with the working class playing an increasingly more influential and effective role.

In the light of the actual reasons of the crisis and the bankruptcy of the degenerate section of the petty and middle bourgeoisie there is absolutely no credibility in the attempts, following the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, to shift the responsibility for the failures and defeats to other social forces, to their ideology and political organizations, including the working class and its party. We emphatically reject these attempts. Throughout the entire period that the petty and middle bourgeoisie headed the Arab national liberation movement the role of the masses has been forcibly reduced to zero, and the working class together with its political vanguard, the communists, have been constantly persecuted and harassed. Can they be blamed for the failure of the bourgeois-nationalistic recipes for the solution of national problems, including the Palestinian problem and the problem of Arab unity? Has there ever been an attempt to give effect to the program of the working class on these issues? Has the working class ever been in power in any of the countries that failed to stand up to imperialist-Zionist aggression?

It is one thing to point to this or that shortcoming, miscalculation, or mistake of the Arab communists (and there have unquestionably been some) and quite another to allege that the communist parties themselves and the revolu-

tionary alternative proposed by them are in crisis. Every day brings further confirmation that the program guidelines and aims of the parties of the working class in Arab countries are fundamentally correct. The section of Arab nationalists leaning toward revolutionary feeling is drawing ever nearer toward support for these guidelines and aims. To speak of a crisis of the revolutionary alternative in this situation is to shut out the promise of any future for the masses, instill despair in them, and give the impression that there is no way toward victory.

Our belief that it is possible to surmount this period of difficulty experienced by the Arab national liberation movement and that our strategic course is correct does not reject but, on the contrary, presumes the constant improvement and quest for new tactics and methods of activity to bring them into line with the changing situation. Of course, each party develops its own tactics and methods in accordance with the specific situation in its own country. However, it seems to us that there is a number of general practical issues that concern the entire Arab world.

First, it is vital to accelerate the maturing of the revolutionary alternative, which can be accepted and supported by the masses. But this requires tireless struggle for democratic freedoms. Nothing drops out of the sky. For the working people democratic freedoms include not only the right to state their ideological and political views and attitudes but, above all, the opportunity to articulate their main grievances and needs and seek their satisfaction. More than political slogans are needed to win the confidence of the masses and draw them into the struggle. There must be unflagging attention to socio-economic problems. This is borne out by our party's experience in the occupied territories, where it employs diverse organizational ways and means of championing the day-to-day interests of the indigenous population oppressed by the invaders.

Second, the Lebanese events have shown that solely general national motivations and problems concerning the entire Arab world cannot set the masses into motion. It is important to avoid being hemmed in by the boundaries of the Arab world because international solidarity on the scale of our entire planet has shown that it is highly effective. We should be more energetic in combining actions on general national issues with the broadest movement in support of the fighters for peace, democracy and social progress in different parts of the world. Here, the initiative should be taken by the communists, who should develop forms of cooperation and coordination among themselves and also with other progressive-patriotic forces, parties, organizations and movements in the Arab world and on the international scene, in the first place with the socialist countries and the parties of the working class of other states.

Third, it cannot be expected that in repulsing the onslaught launched by imperialism, Zionism and reaction there will be equal success across the board. Weaknesses and cracks in the enemy camp must be looked for with closer attention and care. It is our opinion that in order to take the initiative from the adversary and change the situation, which is still unfavorable for the Arab national liberation movement, it is vital to avoid any useless scattering of forces and to strike the main blow where the most suitable conditions take shape for a revolutionary breakthrough.

Fourth, all the indications are that the time of revolutionary changes is drawing near. It may be presumed that in many aspects these will follow new and unexplored patterns. This makes it imperative to become proficient in all forms of revolutionary activity and struggle, so that the communists and other progressive patriotic forces are not caught unawares by unexpected turns and shifts in the situation.

Fifth, we do not believe that the return of the revolutionary forces, parties and organizations to the leadership of the Arab liberation movement will be a simple repetition of the past. There are bound to be qualitative changes, especially as regards the role of the working class and its party as the core of the revolutionary alliance undertaking to direct the struggle. It is hardly necessary to say that this role can neither be decreed nor ensured by solely subjective desires.

Giving effect to the revolutionary alternative does not in any way imply disregard for the ruling regimes that are opposed to imperialism and Israeli aggression, nor does it imply a scornful attitude to their ability to contribute to the liberation struggles. But, on the other hand, the revolutionary movement should not accommodate itself to these regimes, especially if they vacillate or display weakness. It is our view that efforts should be made to enlarge their participation in the general liberation struggle. A powerful growth of this struggle can compel even reactionary regimes to join in it in one way or another (as was seen in the past) and create the conditions for the Arab national liberation movement to mount a counter-offensive.

The present complex and dangerous situation requires urgent and coordinated energetic action by all people who cherish peace, democ-

racy and social progress. The freedom, national independence, and even existence of our peoples are in jeopardy. It is the duty of the communists to the working people of their countries, the international proletariat, and all other people in the world to disrupt the sinister plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction and prevent the Middle East, which is the cradle of ancient civilizations, from being turned into the place from which humankind is destined to begin a climb to the nuclear Golgotha.

1. Naim Ashhab, "The People's Will Is Unbroken — The Struggle Goes On," *WMR*, No. 10, 1982; Faik Warrad, "A New Development in the Balance of Strength in the Middle East," *WMR*, No. 5, 1983. — *Ed.*

2. Naim Ashhab, "Firm Principles, Flexible Tactics," *WMR*, No. 2, 1983. — *Ed.*

3. *International Herald Tribune*, June 27, 1983.

4. Ibid., January 5, 1984.

5. It goes without saying that the replacement of Israeli troops of occupation in the Sinai by military contingents from NATO powers cannot be seen as liberation.

6. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 221.

7. *Theses of the Program of the Jordanian Communist Party*, May 1983, p. 33 (in Arabic).

8. Official figures put the total at roughly 8,000,000. — *Ed.*

9. *The Middle East*, No. 100, 1983.

10. Ibid., p. 34.

11. J.S. Birks, C.A. Sinclair, "Economic and Social Implications of Current Development in the Arab Gulf: The Oriental Connection." In *Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf*, London, 1980, p. 154.

Our goal: disarmament

Jack Phillips
Alternate member, Central Executive Committee, CC,
Communist Party of Canada,
CPC representative on *WMR*

COMMENTARY

The deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, in defiance of the will of the European peoples, has aroused indignation in wide circles of public opinion. Concerned by the extent to which peace is endangered, many people of good will, irrespective of social position, party membership and ideology, are taking a more active part in the anti-missile movement. To undermine and crush this movement, pro-war forces have organized an unprecedented propaganda campaign. The people of Western Europe, the United States, Canada and other capitalist countries have been the target of a stream of misinformation, half-truths, doctored facts and unsubstantiated assertions designed to spread confusion.

A wide spectrum of tricks is being used in the massive "brainwashing" operation. However, within this flood of political speeches, newspaper articles and radio and television broadcasts, one can discern two major falsehoods which are being spread in order to justify the militaristic acts of the U.S. administration and its allies.

Big Lie No. 1. The arms race and the sharpening of the international situation is blamed on socialism. It is alleged that the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles is not more than a response to aggressiveness by the USSR.

Big Lie No. 2. It is claimed that, far from increasing the danger of war, the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe will pave the way for successful negotiations on disarmament.

Let us examine these big lies, by which means imperialism is trying to discredit the struggle against the nuclear threat, and to divert millions of people in Europe and America from anti-war action.

So, who is to blame for the arms race? The communists have always believed and continue to believe that "disarmament is the ideal of socialism."[1] This has been the basis of Soviet foreign policy since the formation of the world's first worker and peasant state. On April 10, 1922, in Lenin's lifetime, the Soviet delegation made the following statement to an international conference at Genoa: "The Russian delegation intends to propose ... general limitations of armaments and to support all proposals which could tend to relieve the burden of militarism, on condition that this limitation applies to the armies of all countries and that the rules of war are such as to ban without exception its most barbarous forms."[2]

The history of the Soviet Union testifies to the fact that it does not regard the attainment of general and complete disarmament as a single act, but as a long-term process which calls for perseverance and patience. Since the end of the Second World War, the USSR has made over 100 proposals for limiting and eliminating the weapons stockpiles. On its initiative, close to 30 multilateral and bilateral treaties and

agreements along these lines, and a number of important UN documents aimed at reducing the arms race, have been adopted since 1969. It should also be noted that the Soviet Union has publicly committed itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and has called upon the other nuclear powers to make the same commitment. These facts speak for themselves.

It is a matter of common knowledge that in the post-war period there has not been a single type of weapon of mass destruction which the Soviet Union was the first to develop and bring into production. Such weapons appeared on the socialist side only in response to what the imperialist powers had done. Indeed, the leaders of the socialist countries have repeatedly declared that there is no type of weapon that the USSR and its allies would not be prepared to reduce, ban and liquidate on a basis of reciprocity.

We find a totally different picture if we turn to the record of the United States and its allies. While paying lip service to the need to lower the levels of armaments through negotiations, imperialism has effectively opposed disarmament and has failed to honor even those agreements which have been concluded. Let us recall that the U.S. side frustrated the entry into force of SALT-2, which was signed in Vienna in June 1979. Today, the White House is undermining the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, which was concluded in 1972. Also the United States has failed to ratify the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests and the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. Further, the United States unilaterally broke off the talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons, on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, on the limitation of military activity in the Indian Ocean and on anti-satellite systems.

There is an accelerated build-up of the U.S. strategic offensive forces in line with the program for "rearming America" and attaining "military superiority" over the Soviet Union. Full-scale production of neutron bombs and chemical ammunition has been started. The arms build-up, says an official document entitled *Military Posture for the Fiscal Year 1983*, which came from the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, should enable the United States "to project power quickly and effectively to areas where it presently has little or no forward-deployed capability."[3] If any one had any illusions as to Washington's intentions, those illusions were finally dispelled by the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the aggressive actions of the U.S. Armed Forces in Lebanon. It is no mere coincidence that the extraordinary session of the Presidium of the World Peace Council, held in West Berlin at the end of January 1984, voiced a strong protest against the acts of state terrorism by the USA and its satellites and called on the peace-loving forces to support those countries which are the victims of intervention.

Consequently, even a general comparison warrants the following conclusion: for the USSR, disarmament is the cornerstone of its foreign policy; for the United States, the cornerstone of its foreign policy is a build-up of armaments that would enable it to dictate its will in every part of the world. If imperialism has agreed to some partial measures for limiting the arms race, it has been forced to do so, under pressure from the anti-war forces, and under the impact of the factors favoring social progress.

The completely opposite approaches of the parties to disarmament were exemplified in the course of the recent Geneva talks on medium-range missiles in Europe, at the talks on strategic arms limitation and reduction (START), and at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

At the START talks, the Soviet Union proposed step-by-step reductions and qualitative restrictions to apply to all components of strategic armaments of both sides in their totality on the basis of equality and equal security, which would take into account intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and heavy bombers. The Soviet proposal means reducing the military parity to the lowest possible level while maintaining that parity at every stage of the reduction. It is clear that such a limitation of the arms race would benefit everyone — both the participants at the talks and the world community of nations as a whole. The United States had something else in mind. It strove only for the elimination of the most up-to-date Soviet strategic armaments, primarily of a significant share of its modern, land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. That is unacceptable to the socialist countries as it does not take into account their security interests. Implementation of the U.S. proposal would result in a situation in which the U.S. strategic forces would have 50 per cent more delivery vehicles than the USSR. In terms of nuclear warheads, the U.S. side would have a 200 per cent superiority.

The strengthening of peace in Europe largely depended on reaching agreement at the Vienna talks. Here, the socialist states came forward with a set of constructive proposals giving equal consideration to the interests and secur-

ity of both sides. But here again, their sincere desire to lower the military potential in Central Europe on a reciprocal basis met with resistance from the United States and its allies,[4] whose aim was to secure military superiority.

Washington's policy aimed at disrupting the military equilibrium between the United States and the USSR, and between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries, led to the breakdown of the Geneva negotiations on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Before the start of the U.S.-NATO "additional armament," the situation in this area was roughly equal. The relevant data have been published and are well known. The USSR had 938 medium-range delivery vehicles (465 bombers and 473 missiles, almost one-half of them old ones), and NATO had 857 (162 missiles of Britain and France, and 695 bombers). But NATO had more nuclear warheads on these vehicles (3,056 as against the USSR's 2,153). Consequently, NATO's "additional armament" cannot be regarded as some kind of response to a "Soviet threat." On the contrary, it is an additional threat to the Warsaw Treaty countries.

That is precisely the approach taken by the Soviet Union in its honest and constructive stand at the Geneva talks. It proposed a reduction in the number of nuclear weapons delivery vehicles by roughly two-thirds (down to 300) on both sides, with equal sublevels for missiles. The Soviet side also agreed that the total number of warheads on SS-20 missiles should not exceed that which Britain and France have on their missiles. Considering that these countries had a total of 420-430 warheads, while each Soviet missile carries three warheads, the USSR was prepared to leave only 140 missiles in Europe, that is, less than Britain and France have together (162).

The Soviet proposals demonstrated a sincere desire to strengthen peace by preventing any party from gaining military superiority. How did the United States respond? First, under the "zero option," it proposed that the USSR should liquidate all its missiles, leaving only its bombers, while NATO full retained all its nuclear weapons. As a result, NATO would have an advantage of 2 to 1 in delivery vehicles, and 3 to 1 in nuclear warheads. Then followed the "interim proposal," under which the United States "permitted" the Soviet Union to retain a part of its missiles, while it deployed the same number of U.S. missiles in Europe. Once again NATO would have an advantage of 2 to 1. Finally, without waiting for the completion of the talks, the United States began to deploy Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Europe, thereby making the talks meaningless and, in effect, torpedoing them.

However bourgeois propaganda may try to present the matter today, the negotiations at Geneva were supposed to *limit* nuclear weapons. But the deployment of U.S. missiles, on the contrary, signifies a *build-up* in nuclear weapons. Consequently, it is an act that undermines such negotiations and makes them meaningless. It is quite natural that the Soviet Union is not prepared to deceive the people by agreeing to continue the talks under those conditions.

Seeking to calm the public, the imperialist propagandists claim that nothing unfavorable has happened since the breakdown of the talks at Geneva. They say that the USSR has resumed negotiations, this time at Stockholm, and that the appearance of the new U.S. missiles in Europe will promote disarmament. That is an extension of the big lie. To begin with, for all the importance of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building, Security and Disarmament in Europe, it is a totally different forum, both in terms of substance and participants, than the talks on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons. For example, it has been agreed that its first stage is to deal only with confidence-building measures of a more limited nature. Consequently, it is no substitute for direct negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe. The deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in the FRG, Great Britain and Italy has already brought about a radical change in the military-strategic situation, endangering the security not only of the peoples of Europe but of the whole world.

In this context, Italian General Nino Pasti (retired), who was at one time NATO Supreme Allied Vice-Commander in Europe, makes this telling point: "The Euromissiles are first-strike weapons."[5] Pershing-2 missiles, capable of hitting targets on the European territory of the USSR and its allies within minutes, and radar-eluding Cruise missiles, increase many times over the temptation to "push the nuclear button" among the extreme reactionaries of imperialism. These reactionaries, in defiance of common sense, believe that the historical contest between the two socio-economic systems can be settled in favor of capitalism through the use of nuclear weapons.

Representatives of extreme, reactionary forces are now at the helm in the United States, the leading imperialist power. Reactionary circles are also in power in Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, the chief NATO

partners of the United States. All of this highlights the increased danger posed to peace by the appearance of new U.S. missiles on European soil.

Consequently, like the first big lie of imperialism, the second big lie also fails to stand up in the light of the facts. Far from helping to strengthen security and promote the cause of disarmament, the deployment of new Euromissiles has increased the danger of an annihilating nuclear catastrophe and has started a fresh round in the arms race.

That being so, can nuclear disarmament be discussed at all? The Communist Party of Canada believes that it can and must be discussed. What is more, greater efforts must be made to achieve disarmament. Humankind has no other alternative.

In 1982, the main resolution adopted by the 25th congress of the Communist Party of Canada gave a clear warning that "the world is faced with a clear alternative: the prospect of an endless arms race, which may become less controllable and whose end result could be a worldwide nuclear catastrophe and the end of civilization, or the road of genuine disarmament based on equality and equality of security and on peaceful coexistence of different social systems."[6] The fight for peace and disarmament is the constant and long-term line of our party and this policy is gaining increased support from the Canadian people.

At a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada in December 1983, General Secretary William Kashtan emphasized that the preservation of world peace is a priority task for the Canadian people as it is for the peoples of the whole world. "The key question now," said Kashtan, "is the mass movement, the fight for peace, the people's movements that need to enter into this battle . . . advance new slogans demanding the withdrawal of deployed weapons and thereby remove the nuclear threat, and slogans in support of a nuclear freeze. And for Canada the struggle now needs to be intensified around the issue of Cruise testing, which is part of the other side of the coin of the deployment of weapons in Western Europe."[7]

Communists are optimists, for optimism is an element of their Marxist-Leninist ideology. But they are also realists who take a scientific approach in analyzing any situation, however complicated and dangerous it may be, like the world situation today. This enables us to bring out those factors which promote peace, the main ones being the existence of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the mighty will of the peoples of all continents and the upsurge of the mass anti-war movement.

It is not "aggressiveness" but a desire to stop those who are playing with the peoples' future that impelled the Warsaw Treaty countries to take counter-measures in connection with the deployment of new U.S. missiles on European soil. The purpose is clear: it is to prevent imperialism from upsetting the military-strategic parity. That is why the socialist countries have not abandoned their struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons. Instead, they have intensified their efforts, working in the new and more complicated conditions to preserve peace, check the arms race and extend cooperation between states. This policy merges with the demands of the broadest circles of the peace movements in Europe and throughout the world.

With the deployment of U.S. missiles in the FRG, Italy and Britain, the anti-war movements have issued slogans demanding the dismantling and withdrawal of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles. The Soviet Union has stated that if the Euromissiles are withdrawn and the military-strategic parity which existed before their deployment is restored, it will be possible to return to the negotiating table at Geneva. "We have brought this question to the attention of the USA and its NATO allies," Yuri Andropov noted, "because we want to avoid yet another round of the arms race, at a new and even more dangerous level this time, a round which is increasing tension and instability in Europe."[8]

Peace fighters are convinced that in the broad context of the whole system of international relations, prohibition of nuclear weapons and mutual disarmament under appropriate control would be the best basis for equal security. A freeze on nuclear arsenals at the pre-November 1983 level could be the first step along this way.

This proposal is all the more feasible, considering that similar proposals have also been advanced by some influential political leaders in the NATO countries. For example, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau proposed the convocation of a conference of the five nuclear powers — USSR, USA, Britain, France and China — to reach an agreement on the freeze problem and then on a reduction in nuclear arsenals. This proposal received favorable comment in Canada, including the response from representatives of 11 churches. It was also supported in a joint communiqué by the Soviet Peace Committee and the Canadian Peace Congress.

The Communist Party of Canada has given

critical support to the Trudeau peace mission. In his report to the December 1983 meeting of the Central Committee, William Kashtan said this about Trudeau's initiative: "... Without creating any illusions about Trudeau, the peace movement and the progressive movement generally should call upon him to give substance to his statement in support of détente."[9]

Acting as a vigorous political force in the struggle for peace and disarmament, communists in capitalist and developing countries are taking a fresh look — in view of the increased nuclear threat — at the tasks before them, and reappraising their activities. More attention is being paid to linking the socio-economic and national liberation struggle of the people with the vital question of world peace. They are also aware of how important it is at this time for communists to step up the work of explaining to the masses the peace policy of the socialist countries and to win support for the idea of maintaining the military-strategic parity at the lowest possible level, starting with the removal of U.S. missiles from Europe. One could put it this way: being a true patriot in Canada, or in any other country, is consistent with supporting the peace policy of socialism, because that policy is in the best interests of people everywhere.

You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time. Neither Reagan, nor his team, nor the U.S.-NATO propaganda machine, can hope to conceal the true facts from the people of the world in respect to who is for and who is against disarmament.

Disarmament is the only way out of the dead-end of tension and the stockpiling of nuclear missiles. It would also release vast resources that could be used to better the life of humankind in every part of the world. The realistic and acceptable steps that should be taken to strengthen peace and the security of all nations should be based on acceptance of the principle of equality and equal security, and a genuine desire to achieve agreement.

Under the existing conditions the struggle for a world without armaments requires especially persevering, sustained and ever more massive efforts in all countries. The people can and must check the arms race and prevent a nuclear catastrophe. That is today the paramount task confronting humankind!

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 95.
2. *La politique étrangère soviétique: Textes officiels 1917-1967*, Moscow, 1967, p. 60.
3. *Military Posture for Fiscal Year 1983*, Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 14.
4. The Vienna talks were started in 1973, and in addition to the USSR and the United States involved another 17 countries. In December 1983, these negotiations were suspended without any definite date being set for the next session. — *Ed.*
5. Nino Pasti, *Euromissiles and the Balance of Forces. Propaganda and Reality*, Helsinki, Information Center of the World Peace Council, 1983, p. 73.
6. *A New Course for Canada. Documents from the 25th (60th Anniversary) Convention of the Communist Party of Canada. February 13, 14, 15, 1982*, Toronto, Canada, pp. 2-3.
7. *Canadian Tribune*, December 19, 1983.
8. *Pravda*, January 25, 1984.
9. *Canadian Tribune*, January 9, 1984.

Lessons of the B.C. Fightback

Maurice Rush

pamphlet $1.00

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Who is Violating International Agreements?

In U.S. publications, American politicians, scientists and disarmament experts corroborate the fact that the USSR maintains a responsible attitude to its international commitments, in contrast to the USA.

pamphlet 48 pp 1984 50 cents

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Spokesman of the masses

Haydar Kutlu
General Secretary,
CC, Communist Party of Turkey

The Communist Party of Turkey held its fifth congress in the autumn of 1983. The relevant communiqué of the CC CPT was received with deep satisfaction by all enlightened members of the Turkish working class, by all friends of our party.

We see the convocation of the congress as an achievement of historic significance. The fourth congress met as far back as 1932. Throughout the long years that ensued, the CPT fought on in the face of brutal persecution but was unable to convene its next congress. This time, however, the party registered a signal success, not only by holding its congress in conditions of illegality, but by largely healing the deep wounds inflicted on it by the military dictatorship [1] and overcoming uncertainty and factional, opportunist trends, which generally develop in periods of reaction.

Prior to the congress, all party organizations joined actively in an assessment of the work done by the CPT over the past years and in a discussion of the "Theses on the Centenary of the Birthday of Mustafa Subhi," [2] which became the basis for the new program of the party unanimously approved by the congress. Also, several party conferences were held. Thus democratic standards were respected as far as an outlawed party could do in a climate of sustained persecution.

The fifth congress emphatically reaffirmed the invariable loyalty of the CPT to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the party's determination to apply them creatively, according to the character of the class struggle going on in the country. It showed that the party had reached a level ensuring continuity of leadership and struggle in any conditions.

The opening address was delivered by CPT Chairman Ismail Bilen, who died not long ago, on November 18, 1983. He lived to see the congress, a joyful event for all of us, which he did much to bring about. He played a decisive role in ensuring that in the 70s our party took a new step forward by establishing links with the masses and becoming an influential force inseparable from national politics. The CPT and the Turkish working class will always remember Ismail Bilen, who dedicated his life to the struggle against imperialism and reaction and for the cause of the working class.

The new program adopted by the congress was drafted with due regard to the unprecedented growth of the threat of world war arising from the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and to the military coup in Turkey, a preventive counter-revolution leading to the imposition of a dictatorship that subsequently assumed fascist features. The party's tasks — forming broad alliances of peace-loving and anti-dictatorial forces and raising the level of mass struggles — were defined accordingly. The congress specified the strategy and tactics of the CPT.

The new program stresses the need to solve the following urgent problems set by life itself: contributing to world peace, preventing the destruction of Turkey in a nuclear war, frustrating plans for the transformation of our country into a regional gendarme of U.S. imperialism, and working for the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of national democracy. These objectives express the common interests and demands of the working class, the peasantry, small traders, handicraftsmen, patriotic soldiers, officers and NCOs, intellectuals, young people, small and medium employers, the Kurdish people, whose national rights are grossly violated, and other forces opposed to the dictatorship. The overall goal is to bring about the transition of power to the classes and social strata opposed to imperialism and the oligarchy collaborating with it.

The program provides that after the establishment of national democracy, in the course of an integrated revolutionary process and in step with the consolidation of the hegemony of the working class and the development of the anti-imperialist democratic people's revolution (which will go through several stages), a socialist system will be set up in Turkey. Thus the program not only reflects the pressing vital interests of the overwhelming majority of our society but formulates the long-term tasks of the working class and indicates

ways of accomplishing them.

Developments since the fifth congress have proved the party line correct.

The elections which the regime held on November 6, 1983 to disguise its fascist dictatorship with a parliamentary facade did not result, contrary to the allegations of Western imperialist quarters, in changing the domestic situation in a democratic direction. There are still tens of thousands of political prisoners. Strikes and collective bargaining are still banned, the press is rigorously censored, and martial law is still in force. After the elections the imperialists of the USA and Western Europe said in an attempt to justify their varied aid to the anti-popular, anti-democratic dictatorship, that Turkey (a NATO member) was going over to "democracy." Yet in the same days an Istanbul military court sentenced 23 leaders of the Turkish Peace Committee to harsh prison terms of up to eight years. The sentence implies that the defense of peace, détente and friendship among peoples, resistance to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression are "communist activity" and "serve Soviet interests." The military authorities of Istanbul even harassed *Hurriyet*, a major conservative daily, just for reporting Ismail Bilen's death.

The November elections actually carried the regime's crisis deeper. The Nationalist Democratic Party, though fully backed by the generals, polled the smallest number of votes. Election returns revealed the people's negative attitude to dictatorial methods and their desire for change. The communists and other left organizations called on the electorate to take a stand against the three parties which were allowed to join in the elections and supported the military regime. However, the dictatorship could not be struck a telling blow. In spite of our party's initiatives, the Left proved unable to achieve effective unity. As for the Justice Party, Republican People's Party and National Salvation Party, which advocate a bourgeois parliamentary system and have been stripped of political rights like the Left, they showed no determination even in defending their own objectives.

The Motherland Party (MP) took advantage of the people's negative stance on the dictatorship. It was fully backed by the USA and other foreign imperialist quarters as well as the Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie. These forces believe that their interests will be safeguarded all the better if the overtly repressive and terroristic regime puts on a civilian mask.

Turgut Ozal, Chairman of the MP, which by no means opposed the dictatorship's policies, was deputy Premier in the junta government for two years. This "technocrat," who won the elections and formed a new government, has close ties with transnationals, the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is evident that the two sides will try hard to settle contradictions between the generals and Ozal over specific problems of exercising power, doing it in a way to preserve dictatorial rule under a constitutional cover. The constitution now in force enables President Evren, former chief of the General Staff, to make decisions on all key issues.

The generals and Ozal are aware that the people want change. While this desire is not explicit, the people seek satisfaction of their demands, suppressed year after year, for work, bread, land and social justice. However, it will not be long before they realize that all its promises notwithstanding, the new government is not going to take a single step on these lines. The government program is geared to continuing the policy of its predecessor, the military government. It is aimed at adopting measures imposed by the IMF, practising "austerity" at the working people's expense, assuring foreign capitalists bigger profits, enabling domestic and foreign monopolies to exploit and plunder the country on a larger scale, escalating militarism, increasing arms spending and collaborating more closely with U.S. imperialism. In this context, the fifth CPT congress pointed out, we can look forward to greater activity by the masses and an upsurge in the mass movement.

The bourgeois opposition advocates a gradual transition to bourgeois democratic rule, operating within the limits set by the regime and seeking a bargain and accommodation. We consider, however, that it is necessary to solve the nation's vital problems radically, ensure full democratic rights and freedoms, destroy the foundations of fascism, remove the causes of military coups and exclude militarism from the life of society. Steps in this direction can be effective only if the roots of the evil are laid bare. The task is, the congress stressed, to undermine the positions of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and those of the oligarchy collaborating with it, restrict their domination over the economy and the state and put an end to it step by step.

This is more necessary than ever. After the November elections the military dictatorship carried out a series of measures assisting U.S. imperialism's aggressive plans in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Turkey allowed Washington to use the Incirlik base in the Adana area to support its barbarous air raids on Lebanon. The proclamation of a separatist

state in the north of Cyprus, occupied by Turkish troops since 1974, means that Turkey has set about partitioning the island as planned by NATO. After the deployment of Pershing missiles in Western Europe, the U.S. administration plans in the next phase of the nuclear arms race to deploy in our country missiles to be targeted on Turkey's neighbor, the Soviet Union.[3]

All these developments have increased to an unprecedented extent the danger of Turkish involvement in a war serving U.S. interests.

In Turkey today there are classes and political forces equal to fulfilling the tasks discussed at the fifth CPT congress. It is a matter of paramount importance for them to achieve unity under a common program.

What is the main requirement in seeking unity among all national democratic forces? Answering this in its new program, our party points to the need for "joint actions by millions of working people at the grass roots, in the course of everyday struggles." This pivotal Marxist-Leninist principle is particularly important in Turkish conditions.

In the past 10 to 15 years all the left and right-wing parties active on the political scene have gone through deep differentiation processes and conflicts. Political views have changed sharply. It has become obvious that even a limited bourgeois parliamentary system cannot last. The parties' role in the political system has been diminishing while the influence of the top echelon of the army and the secret services as well as of employers' organizations in the state and in politics has grown very noticeably.

These changes have to do with Turkey's multistructural economy (which is medium-developed and dependent on imperialism) and a structural crisis. There exist side by side production relations typical of the pre-capitalist period, the initial, the more developed and the latest stages of capitalism. Semi-feudal relations play a smaller part now but are still there. Small-commodity production remains widespread. And while capitalist relations have developed fast in a short time, small-scale production retains an important place in the economy. The national monopoly bourgeoisie, whose formation began in the 60s, has been rapidly gaining strength with the support of imperialism and the state and has captured important positions at a rather low level of economic concentration and centralization. The public sector performs the main function in extended reproduction, with the organized power of the state maintaining a relative balance between the various structures.

The big bourgeoisie goes on strengthening its positions. It now uses the potentialities of state-monopoly capitalism and political authority more openly to further its interests. Cooperation between domestic monopolies and foreign capital has increased and so has Turkey's all-round dependence on imperialism. The overall effect is greater economic imbalances. The class differentiation of society has quickened. But the productive forces are still at a low level and production shows signs of chronic stagnation. The crisis of the socio-economic system is at the root of bitter class struggles and recurrent political upheavals.

The development of relations typical of dependent state-monopoly capitalism is leading to an increasingly close interlocking of state and monopoly. With the army's seizure of power, the top military and the upper section of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie moved closer to the collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie. This gave rise to an oligarchic structure dominating the economy and the state apparatus. It includes the most influential big landed proprietors as well as intermediary and speculative capital. The only way in which the Turkish collaborationist oligarchy contrives to hold power is with the aid of fascist, semi-fascist or authoritarian repressive regimes.

The strengthening of the collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie at the expense of other bourgeois sectors hastened the formation of various fascist, reactionary, conservative and liberal trends within the ruling classes. The Justice Party, which represented the interests of large sections of the ruling classes in the 60s and 70s, is now divided and more reactionary than before.

The same process took place in the Republican People's Party, which defends above all the interests of the national bourgeoisie as well as those of the bureaucracy. In the late 60s and early 70s new political parties sprang up on the basis of groups that had broken away from the RPP and defended the interests of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

After a series of splits the RPP, which in 1973 advanced a bourgeois reformist program, came to express the interests of the national bourgeoisie, non-monopoly capitalists, the rural bourgeoisie and the middle strata. In the recent past this party split again into several factions. In addition to conservatives, they include advocates of a medley of social reformism and bourgeois liberalism and people who are trying to work out a populist line.

An important political force in the late 60s was the Kemalist revolutionary democratic movement, which remained loyal to the anti-

imperialist principles of the founder of the republic, Kemal Ataturk, and reflects the interests of a substantial part of the middle strata. The movement made a series of attempts at a coup but they all fell through. Its influence dwindled gradually and its forces today are split into diverse groups.

The "left radical" currents that emerged within the anti-imperialist general democratic youth movement in the late 60s have by now broken up into numerous big and small groups.

The Kurdish national movement championing the national and democratic rights of the oppressed Kurdish people likewise comprises numerous groups.

In the past the Turkish working class repeatedly played a far greater role than would have seemed to be commensurate with its social leverage. Trade union struggles in the 60s and 70s had a strong impact on the country. The industrial proletariat gained particularly valuable experience of political struggle. The fusion of Marxist-Leninist ideology with the working class movement made appreciable progress. The movement benefited other democratic forces, including youth, small producers, intellectuals and part of the RPP, Kemalist revolutionary democrats, the Kurdish national movement and left radical groups.

Socio-economic structural crises and ups and downs in socio-political development affected our party, in whose ranks there emerged "left" opportunist, factional trends. However, the party rid itself of them although this was difficult, and preserved and consolidated its ideological, political and organizational unity.

The party owes its gains to the strong links which it has established with the advanced section of the working class, its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and its unity with the world communist movement.

Developments of the past period and the situation that has shaped up of late invite definite conclusions.

Two opposed lines have now crystallized in the ideological and political struggle going on in Turkey. One of them is the line of pro-U.S., fascist and reactionary forces betraying the people's national interests, making the working people tighten their belts more and more, persisting in repression and terror and helping the Pentagon. The other is the line being pursued by the CPT, a line of struggle for peace and national democracy, for the interests of all national democratic forces.

The fifth congress stressed that national democracy can be established only if the working class plays the leading role, for it alone can unite all anti-dictatorial forces, and that no fundamental problem of the country can be solved without building up the strength of the CPT.

We consider that a halt could be called to division and conflict among progressive political forces. This demands closer links between them and the working class. The communists will have to step up their work among the masses, among all classes and sectors, primarily the workers, the bulk of the peasantry, the Kurdish people, the middle strata, intellectuals and urban poor. This must be done in every geographical area and every city and municipality with due regard to their specifics. To be sure, it is made difficult by the illegality of the party and unremitting police surveillance. But the experience of the past two years has shown that the CPT, the most consistent spokesman and chief defender of the people's national interests, is in a position to achieve much. The greater the number of communists operating in the forefront, where there is bitter fighting that requires readiness for self-sacrifice, the better they can help the people unite their forces. Unity is the main slogan of our party in the trade unions, cooperatives and other professional organizations, the youth and women's movements and the Kurdish national movement.

Speaking of the need to work for the unity of national democratic forces, we mean, first of all, left unity from top to bottom. The party is steadfastly taking steps in this direction, if small ones, that have begun to bear fruit. The key problem in this sphere is to overcome mutual distrust among progressives born of the negative experience of past years and to defeat the anti-communist and anti-Soviet views which the international social democratic movement and the so-called "new Left" are spreading among these forces.

Left unity can hasten the unification of all national democratic forces. However, the political leverage of the Left is still limited and a substantial segment of the population is still influenced by reactionary and reformist concepts. This makes it our chief task to search for a road to the masses in any situation.

In working among different sectors, we must understandably approach them differently, taking account of the specifics of Turkey, where social class differentiation is very strong while the formation of classes and the stabilization of their structure are still going on and where the influence of cosmopolitanism, extreme nationalism, chauvinism and religious fanaticism is still strong. Traditional moral values are rapidly disintegrating while a social moral-

ity based on class interests has not yet taken final shape. Besides, the ruling quarters are doing their utmost to keep the masses out of politics.

The CPT program meets the immediate economic, social, political and cultural requirements of diverse social sectors. The task is to work with due regard to the particularities of these sectors, approaching them flexibly and speaking to them in a language they can understand. At the same time we must firmly uphold our fundamental position and resolutely use the past and present experience of the struggle of the working class and the people. This will help pave the way for the accession of national democratic forces to power and for further progress.

The Russian Bolsheviks' historic example showed that a numerically small party operating underground can win enormous political influence by pursuing a correct policy and working with dedication among the masses. This Leninist experience illuminates our path.

Communists working among the masses realize the importance of heeding the people's national sentiments; it is also very important to take the right approach to the army, believers and the oppressed Kurdish population. The records of the fifth congress indicate that the CPT is firmly defending the national interests of the country from imperialist encroachments, upholding the Kurdish nation's right to self-determination and secession without strings attached and working to win over patriotic servicemen to the side of the working class.

Our class enemy realizes the depth of the chronic economic, social and political crisis in Turkey and the precariousness of the foundations of the exploiting system. This prompts him to carry on systematic subversion against communist ideology and the CPT in an effort to prevent the unity of national democratic forces. Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism are the enemy's chief weapon against our people.

The allegation that our party is "linked with Moscow" is one of the enemy's principal means of psychological warfare. Regrettably, assertions of this nature still have a certain effect on backward sections of the people misled by the lie about a "Soviet threat" as well as on some intellectuals, who let themselves be hoodwinked by slander about the "lack of democracy in socialist countries."

In resisting these ideological and political attacks, our party does not take an ostentatious stand for "independence from Moscow" to win the enemy's approval. We try to tell the masses the truth about the Soviet Union in simple terms. The achievements of the workers, intellectuals and other working people under socialism meet the aspirations of the Turkish people. This point of view, which has been proved correct by the recent experience of class struggle, is reflected in the new CPT program, which says that "the achievements of the socialist system are revolutionizing the working people of our country, inspiring the Turkish people in their struggle."

Imperialism is ruthlessly exploiting Turkey; interfering continuously and openly in Turkish affairs, it has turned our country into a bridgehead to be used for the attainment of its militarist aims. In these circumstances, the forces of democracy, national independence, social justice and progress cannot achieve their goals unless they firmly identify themselves with the peace forces the world over, primarily with that bulwark of peace, the Soviet Union. Such is objective reality and tomorrow the masses will see it better than today.

The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union offers tremendous opportunities for our explanatory work in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Stressing the increased role of Asian, African and Latin American countries in international affairs, Yuri Andropov said that the Soviet Union would continue "to pursue a course toward mutually advantageous cooperation with these States with full respect for their sovereignty and non-interference in their affairs . . . Our goal is not just to avert war. We are seeking to bring about radical improvements in international relations and to consolidate and develop everything that is good in these relations. We shall press for respect for the sovereign rights of states and peoples and strict observance of the principles of international law, which imperialism is more and more often trying to discard and trample upon."[4]

The fifth CPT congress, which led to the consolidation of the party, helped intensify its activity in West European countries, among immigrant workers and intellectuals. Closely cooperating with fraternal communist parties on the basis of proletarian internationalism, our organizations are doing their best to draw as many Turkish residents of these countries as possible into the struggle against new U.S. nuclear missiles and the policy of "austerity."

Inside the country the CPT is concentrating on the promotion of nation-wide resistance to preserve peace and establish national democracy, on the mobilization of the most diverse forces to carry out joint actions for the following ends:

— repealing the ban on strikes and collective bargaining; restoring and extending trade union rights;

— declaring a general political amnesty;
— lifting martial law;
— voiding the separatist move made in Cyprus;
— preventing U.S. use of our territory for aggression in the Middle East;
— stepping up the fight against plans to deploy Pershing missiles in Turkey and against the war danger.

These objectives, which flow from the congress decisions, will determine the main lines of our struggle in the period ahead.

1. Established on September 12, 1980.
2. Founder of the CPT (1882-1921). — *Ed.*
3. The CPT first told our people about the existence of such plans in February 1982 (see *Atilim*, No. 98, February 1982, and a special edition of the same paper dated February 4, of that year). "Turkey needs new U.S. missiles," said A. Codevilla of the USA (*Gunaydin*, November 27, 1983) at a seminar in November 1983 sponsored by the Political and Social Research Foundation, set up for the express purpose of influencing Turkish opinion in line with U.S. interests and spreading calumnies about a "Soviet threat."
4. Yuri Andropov, Speech at the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC, *Information Bulletin*, August 1983, pp. 34, 35.

Together with the whole labor movement

Ian McKay
Political Committee Member,
National Organizer,
Communist Party of Great Britain

The 38th National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain was held in London from November 12 to 15, 1983, and met against the background of the general election in June, which had seen a further sharp fall in the Labour vote and the emergence of the Social-Democratic Party (SDP)/Liberal Alliance with a substantial percentage of the total vote although not reflected in seats in parliament.*

The general election result was a serious setback for the labor movement. The assessment of the election and the development of a strategy that could effectively resist the many-sided attacks on working people by the present government and begin to lay the basis of a substantial fightback that can bring about political change in a left, socialist direction, was therefore the central question at the heart of the congress discussion.

The CPGB Executive Committee (EC) submitted three main draft resolutions: on the general election and the challenge facing the labor movement, on the key issues for trade unions, and on the relationship between the Communist Party and the People's Press Printing Society (PPPS), the organization that owns and publishes the *Morning Star*.

The main resolution before the congress "The General Election and the Challenge Facing the Labor Movement," was moved and discussion replied to by Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the party. The congress endorsed the main line resolution, improved by some amendments, with only two votes against.

Analyzing the key factors in the Tory victory at the general election the participants in the congress noted that the Tories managed to persuade many who had suffered directly from the present economic policies, including sections of the unemployed, that their problems were not the fault of the government, but of circumstances outside its control. The drop in the rate of inflation was used by the ruling circles to convince substantial sections that their economic interests lay in the return of the Tories. The government also succeeded to a large extent in carrying through its attacks on democracy in the guise of advocacy of individual freedom.

The atmosphere of false patriotism promoted during the Falklands War was successfully exploited to present Mrs. Thatcher as a resolute defender of the rights and inheritance of the British people. The failure of the Parliamentary Labor Party to challenge the decision to send the British Task Force to the South Atlantic and to insist on the alternative policy of meaningful negotiation, the only possible solution, contributed to this image.

The undemocratic electoral system played a significant part in the number of seats won by the Tories. While they lost nearly 700,000 votes throughout the country, they gained 58 seats.

The mass media in general played its customary role of support for the Tories, and of opposition to Labour.

*See the analysis of the election results by Gerry Pocock, "The Tories Once Again. Why?" *WMR*, No. 10, 1983 —*Ed.*

The Labour leadership did not identify the crucial issue of stopping the deployment of the Cruise and Trident in Britain as being decisive to its defense policy. Labour lost votes among its traditional supporters and responded inadequately to important changes in the composition of the working class and the outlook and social situation of millions of workers. The Tories and SDP/Liberal Alliance exploited grievances among these sections on social and economic questions — e.g., health and welfare, municipal housing, the activities of nationalized enterprises and the lack of democracy in public social institutions.

The assessment of the congress was that while the labor movement had made considerable efforts, it had not as yet succeeded in building sufficiently strong alliances with other forces, such as the women's, youth and ethnic minority movements. The Labour Party's approach to this problem remains still essentially an electoral one seeing the various strata and sections only as potential Labour votes, rather than respecting their autonomy and recognizing that their contribution can be of mutual benefit.

As a result, the great potential strength of all those who are affected by government policies, was never fully mobilized. While the primary responsibility for Labour's long-term decline and their defeat at the recent general election must be placed on the right wing, there are lessons that the left too must learn. The left in the Labour Party has fought over a period of time to win left policies and positions of leadership within the movement, but the major weakness has been that it has not conducted a consistent enough political and ideological battle for those left policies among the masses, including millions of trade unionists. So while the Labour Party entered the election with clearly a more left policy position than previously, insufficient mass support had been won for these policies.

It was of course necessary for the congress to make such an assessment of the reasons for Labour's electoral setback. But the crucial issue is how the movement will fight its way out of the present situation. The resolution says in this regard that the fightback will take place in conditions of deepening social and economic crisis in Britain and throughout the capitalist world, in which there is fierce inter-imperialist rivalry and bitter struggle between multinational corporations of the different capitalist countries. The attack on the working class is intensifying in each of the capitalist countries, it is particularly sharp in Britain because of the severity of the crisis here.

The congress emphasized that extra-parliamentary struggle, including industrial action, against anti-trade union and anti-working class policies, has to be developed on the widest possible scale. Trade unions have a duty to challenge and defy undemocratic laws as they did at the time of struggle against the Industrial Relations Act. The fightback must be led with a mass campaign for the preservation and creation of jobs, for increased social and public services, in the localities, workplace and other walks of life. The delegates believed that it was important to popularize the idea of public ownership.

We think that the Labour opposition in Parliament should associate actively with the extra-parliamentary struggle. Labour, communist and all progressive councillors have a particular contribution to make in mobilizing opposition to Tory attacks on local government democracy and services.

Given the recent siting of Cruise missiles in Britain and the Thatcher government's support of Washington's dangerous nuclear arms strategy, the development of the peace movement is one of the crucial tasks. A new upsurge of the movement is necessary to compel the dismantling of the Cruise missiles already deployed. In this a key question is the degree of involvement of the trade unions, especially in workplaces. Mass opposition to the Cruise inspires further action to secure cancellation of the Trident program, open the way to nuclear weapons freeze, and help to win new support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, for the important peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. All this will contribute to multilateral nuclear disarmament and world peace.

The congress noted that every effort must be made by the Communist Party and all sections of the labor movement to strengthen the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) as the main peace organization in Britain. It is important to win understanding that the burden of arms spending means reduction of living standards and social services.

The congress was addressed by the General Secretary of CND, Bruce Kent, who paid tribute to the role of the communists in Britain's peace movement. Our party is proud of this role as we are of our role in the labor, trade union, and in other broad democratic movements.

Solidarity with national liberation movements throughout the world remains a constant task of Britain's progressive forces. The Communist Party and the whole labor movement, it was stressed, must intensify their efforts for a democratic solution in Northern Ireland and

help secure the right of the Irish people alone to decide their future.

The labor and trade union movement, in alliance with other democratic and social forces can thus expand their activities and build a great anti-Tory movement of mass action. The congress discussion highlighted the fact that if such a fightback is to be successful then working class unity must be strengthened in order to build a political majority against the Tories. To achieve this there must, however, be an awareness of the differences, and sometimes conflicts, between different sections of the working class. These differences must be overcome if real class unity is to be forged.

The resolution of the congress points out, for example, that one major difference is between those in and those out of work, particularly the long-term unemployed and young people who have never had a job. The intense impact of mass unemployment can lead to working people's disaffection with the labor movement and the democratic process as a whole.

It follows that it is not enough to rely on those working people and their organizations who continue to support the labor movement in the election. Their struggles in isolation will be defeated. For this reason, the delegates emphasized that it is necessary to reach out and begin to draw in the many other workers at present not organized or influenced in a decisive way by the labor movement, building solidarity with them and recognition of common class interests.

Such unity, built in struggle, will be fragile and temporary if there is not also a persistent battle to develop class and socialist consciousness. Such a battle is particularly necessary among non-manual workers and their organizations.

In our opinion, it is a major issue for the left to find the way to present their policies in a convincing way to millions of people through more active political and ideological work. It is at the same time necessary to make it possible for Labour not only to recapture support among those who formerly backed it, but to win new support, especially among all sections of the working class, among women, the young and Black people.

In the present conditions further work by the left in developing its policies on a wide range of issues is especially important. It is also necessary to work out the implications of its alternative economic and political strategy for particular industries, cities and communities. The call from the congress was for a coming together of the left in public campaigning for a platform of immediate demands. These are:

— stop the siting of further Cruise missiles and remove those already deployed;

— step up action against mass unemployment;

— defeat anti-union legislation;

— oppose Tory cuts of expenditures for social purposes;

— win higher wages/pensions and benefits;

— combat all forms of racism;

— support demands of women's liberation.

A sharp discussion took place on how to end the decline in the membership of the party (July 1981 — 18,458, July 1983 — 15,691). The delegates pointed to the necessity of strengthening the branches of the party, extending and developing our mass work, winning an increase in the daily circulation of the *Morning Star* and building on the successful advance in circulation of the party's journal *Marxism Today*, developing our ideological work, improving our own Marxist education, strengthening the party's youth organization, the YCL, and extending the role of women in our party.

Amendments which challenged the party's position on the role of the working class in relation to the new social forces; aimed at restricting our electoral strategy; questioned our attitude to the socialist countries; which were critical of *Marxism Today*, and put forward an élitist concept of the Communist Party, were all defeated by the congress.

The second main resolution, "Key Issues for Trade Unions" was moved by Lou Lewis, member of CPGB Executive Committee and replied to after discussion by another Executive Committee member, Pete Carter. When amended to strengthen its basic approach, it was carried unanimously by the congress.

The discussion on it dealt with a whole number of specific aspects of trade union work and involvement. Special attention was given to the questions of: wages and conditions; free collective bargaining; youth-women-Black workers; health and safety; democracy and membership involvement; Trades Councils; Regional Councils and the Trades Union Congress (TUC); politics and the unions and the role of the Communist Party.

It was a discussion dominated by the fact that it was taking place at a time of mass unemployment in Britain. Since their election in 1979, the Tories have singled out the trade unions for fierce attack. The government is determined to undermine and attack trade union democracy, their rights and weaken the links between unions and the Labour Party. The defense of the unions, therefore, was the

central and immediate issue of the working people's struggle.

"The strength of the trade union movement," the congress resolution says, "has always caused deep concern to the employers, the ruling class and their political representatives, the Tories. They see the unions as a major threat to their profits, privileges and power. This is the basic reason for their implacable hostility to them."

Alarmed by left development and militancy of the unions, particularly through the 60s and 70s, they mounted a sustained offensive against the unions, including at various stages the introduction of anti-union legislation. Right-wing Labour policy contributed to this process, beginning with an anti-union bill "In Place of Strife."

The central and most dangerous feature of the Tory plan is the undermining of the working people's right to strike.

Far from strengthening trade union democracy, these Tory actions are an unwarranted interference in union affairs and an attempt to subject the unions to court decisions rather than being accountable to their members. The planned legislation also has the aim of breaking the link between the unions and the Labour Party.

Trade unions are not only the means through which workers fight for higher wages, advances in working conditions, shorter hours, job security and democracy at work. They are a powerful force in the wider movement to prevent nuclear war and for an alternative economic and political strategy which would take Britain on a new course.

Independent trade unions, free of state control, are basic institutions of any democratic society. To defend them is not a narrow sectional question. It is a great class and democratic issue of major concern to other democratic forces.

The essence of the position adopted by the congress was to make clear that the defense of the unions cannot be confined to parliamentary debate. It must encompass all forms of extra-parliamentary struggle, ranging from mass demonstrations through to strike action and defiance of the anti-union laws. We think that it is necessary to develop campaigning which can draw support from among the people as a whole, showing in the course of doing so why strong and independent trade unions are necessary to defend jobs, services, living standards, democratic rights and peace.

There were three amendments moved in the course of the debate on this resolution, all of which were defeated. These were: an amendment which sought the party to take a position of outright opposition to the present government's Youth Training Scheme; one which opposed the setting up of Black workers groups; and finally, one which called for the setting up now of a National Unemployed Workers Movement instead of keeping the issue under review as the Executive Committee proposed.

The third resolution, "The Relationship Between the Communist Party and the People's Press Printing Society" was moved by EC member George Bolton and replied to by EC member Dave Priscott. After a minor amendment it was endorsed by the congress with 155 votes for, 92 against and 2 abstentions. A major amendment taking a different view from the EC resolution was defeated 149 — 97, with 1 abstention.

The resolution points out that the campaign to extend the influence and circulation of the *Morning Star* is a major question for the labor and democratic movement in Britain, and a special responsibility of the Communist Party. The relationship between the Communist Party and the People's Press Printing Society is of key importance in the fight to save the paper. It is this relationship which ensures that the *Morning Star* expresses the full breadth of the policy of the Communist Party's program, *The British Road to Socialism*, and is not confined to a narrow and restrictive role. The program sets the objective of building a broad democratic alliance, led by the working class and embracing other democratic movements and forces.

Throughout the history of the *Daily Worker* and later the *Morning Star*, the resolution states, the Communist Party has made very great efforts to assist the paper to be the platform of the general left and democratic movement, and in turn to win that movement to support the paper. Due to the closeness of its ties with the Communist Party, no danger of the *Morning Star* adopting a narrow and sectarian, or a non-class approach arises. But such a danger could arise if those ties were weakened.

A rift in the relationship between the party and the paper could have other serious consequences, since it is mainly because of the support given by communists that the *Daily Worker* and *Morning Star* have survived over the years. It is therefore a matter of grave concern that differences concerning the relationship have emerged in recent months between the Executive Committee of the Communist Party and the Mangement of the People's Press Printing Society. The congress expressed its views on what that relationship should be.

The resolution adopted says, among other

things, that the *Daily Worker*, predecessor of the *Morning Star*, was founded by the CPGB. The transfer to the cooperative form of ownership was by decision of the Communist Party. The change of name from *Daily Worker* to *Morning Star* took place after a nation-wide Communist Party discussion.

When the People's Press Printing Society was formed there was never any question of a change in the paper's politics. It was always agreed that it would continue to express the policy of the Communist Party, while also providing a platform for the general left and democratic movement. This was decided by the paper's shareholders, who have reaffirmed the position on many occasions. It has always been the basis on which wider support has been sought. Both the Editorial Board, including non-communists, which existed before the PPPS was formed, and the many non-communist individuals and organizations which have since associated with the paper, were fully aware of and accepted the position.

But because the PPPS is a self-governing co-operative, the shareholders can, if they wish, take different decisions in the future. This is why, the resolution says, the Communist Party has the responsibility and the right to try to influence shareholders. This is the only guarantee that attempts to change the paper's editorial policy, such as have been made in the past, will not succeed in the future.

The congress urged all members of the party to take out shares in the PPPS and to try to attend the membership meetings. It was emphasized that policy is carried out by individuals and management questions impinge directly on the finances of the paper, and its capacity to survive. They are all therefore crucial and inter-related questions.

The Communist Party has on many occasions in the past exercised its rights and responsibilities in all these areas. There is no conflict between the democratic right of the Communist Party to express its views, and the democratic right of shareholders to accept or reject them. Nor does this right of the Communist Party mean that non-communists are excluded from the Management Committee. In the recent past a number of non-communists have been elected with the support of the party. Statements by the Management Committee, however, have denied the right of the Communist Party to make recommendations on the composition of the committee, have indicated the intention to try to restrict or remove that right by rule changes, and have also taken steps to alter the previous relationship with the party in other ways. The congress regretted these statements and actions by the Management Committee, and urged it to reconsider its attitude, so that the former relationship between the party and the PPPS can be restored and strengthened.

This includes the responsibility of members of the Editorial Staff of the *Morning Star* who are elected by the congress to the Executive Committee of the party, to participate in the work of the EC or its Political Committee in the same way as other members when matters relating to the PPPS are discussed.

The adopted resolution thus defined the relationship between the party and the *Morning Star*.

Among the many documents that were adopted by the 38th Congress, were an emergency resolution condemning the U.S. invasion of Grenada, declarations of solidarity with the peoples of Cyprus, Chile, South Africa, the Middle East, Central America and Iran. Fraternal delegates addressed the congress from the Communist Parties of Chile, South Africa, Ireland, GDR, FRG, Iran, Cyprus and from the ANC, SWAPO and the PLO. Thirty-five messages of solidarity were read out to the congress from brother parties.

The congress was attended by 256 full delegates of which 56 were women. The biggest number of delegates were aged between 26 and 40 years.

The congress reaffirmed the basic positions of the party's program and the strategic concepts for its implementation. It elected a leadership committed to carrying forward the fight for this program. A new Executive Committee of 42 members was elected, which included 13 new members.

The Communist Party's impact has been considerable and has contributed much to bringing about progressive changes in the labor movement. But we, of course, are fully aware that in the big class battles that lie ahead and in the fight for a socialist Britain, the influence of our party must be greatly increased in the movement and among the people.

The 38th Congress presents the CPGB with a great challenge of building our party, YCL, sales of *Morning Star*, increasing the Marxist influence in British politics and carrying forward the struggle on all the immediate issues confronting our people. So creating the conditions for the defeat of the Tory government, their replacement with a Labour government of a new type, and opening up the road to a socialist Britain.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

VOICE OF UNITY AND DEMOCRACY

Givaldo Pereira de Siqueira
Brazilian National Collective
of Communist Leaders member

Q. What fundamental tasks are being fulfilled by your party newspaper, Voz de Unidade?

I would like to note from the outset the uncommon and extremely complicated situation in which the paper is brought out, namely, the continuing ban on the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP). This makes it a priority task for us to seek legalization of the party and its full participation in national politics. Along with this, *Voz da Unidade* helps unite all opposition forces, the popular and trade union movement, which demand an end to authoritarian rule and a complete democratization of state and society. Without trying to conceal contradictions between diverse opposition trends, the paper does its best to contribute to processes making for greater unity and calls readers' attention to what brings progressives closer together.

A special effort is made to strengthen the Brazilian communists' unity. In view of divergences that have yet to be overcome, it is very important that the paper reflect faithfully and consistently the line of the national leadership of the BCP and open the eyes of those who err to their mistakes.

Q. What other subjects does the paper cover?

We give much attention to the struggle for peace and against the Reagan administration's policy of aggression, to the achievements of the countries of existing socialism, to solidarity with revolutionary forces and national liberation movements. There is a cultural section, sports fans get their share of news, and the paper devotes ample space to readers' letters.

As a general rule, every issue includes three commentaries on current topics. One of them deals with the domestic political situation, another with economic problems and a third with the latest international events. A special section carries articles, reports and interviews on the socio-political realities of Brazil and its constituent states.

Voz da Unidade is a weekly. As its size is not large we make a point of presenting the various items as concisely as possible, remembering, however, that they must be easy to understand and should arouse the general reader's interest.

Q. How do the editors keep in touch with the readership? In what way do they find out readers' views of items published in the paper?

Contact is maintained through three channels. One of them is numerous letters from readers the more interesting of which, including letters containing divergent opinions, we usually publish. Another channel is discussion of the work of *Voz da Unidade* in party collectives. Lastly, we carry out promotion campaigns and hold meetings with active contributors and persons responsible for circulation in various states of the Union. These people tell about the response evoked locally by this or that issue of the paper, offer us advice on problems that should be covered first of all, and so on.

Readers' views and suggestions often influence the content and presentation of the paper. I will give you just one example. Shortly after the first issue of *Voz da Unidade* came out — that was on March 25, 1980 — a group of comrades responsible for bringing out the paper took a stand that did not entirely correspond to the line of the party leadership. Needless to say, that also found an expression in what the paper carried. Communists and other readers reacted promptly. They demanded that the situation be discussed and shortcomings removed, and besides, refused to buy the paper until it fully corrected its line. As a result, the BCP leadership passed a resolution on *Voz da Unidade* and carried out changes in the editorial staff.

Q. How large is the paper's team of journalists?

I must say outright that it's small. We cannot afford to pay the staff we would require. We only have three journalists on the staff plus two comrades in charge of management, publishing and circulation. Everybody else works on a voluntary basis. They are journalists, intellectuals, trade union and party leaders and activists. They write editorials and reports and take interviews. The lack of special correspondents is made up for somewhat by the fact that BCP branches cooperate with the paper by sending it information on the working people's life and struggle in the localities concerned. In short, 90 per cent of what goes into the paper is a result of voluntary effort by comrades who want the communists to have a paper of their own.

Q. How does the paper reach readers?

The paper is published in some 20,000 copies now. Roughly 5,000 copies are sold through the wholesale and retail network. Over 2,000 are mailed to subscribers.

As for the bulk of the edition, communists circulate it in party collectives or right in the streets. Volunteers' teams made up of BCP members and sympathizers sell the paper in populous neighborhoods, near factories and offices, at railway stations and bus stops. They also do it during strikes, meetings, rallies, demonstrations and outdoor festivals. *Voz da Unidade* is sent to MPs, politicians, trade union leaders, newspaper offices and public organizations.

Q. What hampers the paper's task besides its being understaffed?

The main difficulty is limited funds. We have no printing facilities. We cannot pay for information offered by large news agencies. Our organizational weaknesses are a further obstacle to the publication of the paper, which is national in character, in a country as large and as complex administratively and geographically as Brazil.

Lastly, there is the negative impact of a contradictory domestic political situation and the inconsistency of the process of democratic change. Our paper has three times been an object of police persecution. We had planned a big folk festival in Sao Paulo with the participation of popular actors, singers, poets and men of culture. But the police banned the festival on opening day. Editions of *Voz da Unidade* have been confiscated to the last copy more than once.

However, we don't allow difficulties to dishearten us. Right now we have decided on a series of measures to bolster the paper financially. If we succeed it will be an important advance. We want to make the paper even more necessary to communists, to the working people, to all Brazilian democrats.

Central demand of the women's movement

"At factories and offices, in urban and rural communities, wherever you live and work, make a bigger effort to bring all women without exception into the battle for life.

"Time Does Not Wait. We Shall Do Our Duty. We Shall Win the Peace" (From the WIDF Appeal to the Women of the World, October 1983).

The concerns of women and their role in the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress were the subject of a symposium on the "Present Stage of the International Democratic Women's Movement" sponsored by *World Marxist Review* jointly with the Women's International Democratic Federation. This symposium was attended by prominent personalities of the international women's movement, representatives of a number of communist and workers' parties, and Marxist scholars.

The following is a resumé of the symposium's main propositions and conclusions.

In the face of a growing danger

The unity of women under the slogan of peace, said *Pavel Auersperg, CC member, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Managing Editor of World Marxist Review,* in the opening speech at the symposium, embodies their deeply felt concern for the preservation of the human race and for the welfare and happiness of people, and it is natural that in this disturbing nuclear age they are worried about the destiny of their hearths and the future of their children. Millions of women are becoming increasingly aware that the threat of war is impeding the struggle for equality, national independence, and economic and social progress. On the different continents they are now becoming more and more active in the ranks of the anti-war forces, against militarism, the arms race, and the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism and other NATO countries that are in real terms imperilling the very existence of all civilization.

Much of the focus at the symposium was on problems of the participation of women and their organizations in the struggle for peace.

The anti-war women's movement has now entered a qualitatively new stage, said *WIDF President Freda Brown*. It is characterized by innumerable forms and methods of struggle, by the wide spectrum of the class and national forces involved in it, and by the diversity and concretization of slogans, both regional and in individual countries. The movement's prestige has now to be reckoned with by state and governmental bodies.

Many speakers at the symposium cited concrete examples of this militancy. Women are canvassing for signatures under petitions demanding the removal of U.S. missiles from Europe and proclaiming streets, districts, parishes, towns, countries and the entire continent nuclear-free zones. They are staging demonstrations, picketing military bases, blocking roads leading to the launching sites where the deployment of American missiles has been started, and conducting action days and weeks for peace, frontier meetings, peace watches and anti-war marches.

British women have organized the first peace camp near the U.S. missile base at Greenham Common and thereby given an impetus to a broad international movement that has led to the appearance of similar protest camps at American bases in some other countries. Of course, under different conditions this movement is acquiring diverse forms and determines differently the main thrust of its actions.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, said *Claire Gautier, member of the Women's Commission of the Board of the German Communist Party (DKP)*, women are more and more clearly seeing that the stationing of American missiles in their country is creating a threat to all humanity. The DKP program on the women's question[1] speaks of the basic human right, the right to peace. The social consequences of the arms build-up are obstructing the emancipation of women. But peace and détente are sisters of such emancipation. That is why the Women's Resistance Day was held during the national Action Week against the deployment of American missiles in the FRG. Joint mass actions by women of differing views and persuasions are being organized and numerous demonstrations are being held in many towns and communities.

Developments are making it imperative that we act with greater determination for peace, said *Nancy McDonald, Central Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Canada, Director of the CEC's Commission on Work Among Women*. In Canada, many women's organizations, from the left to feminist and even representing bourgeois circles, are focusing on the anti-war struggle. Their actions are based on the common specific requirements of the present stage of the anti-war movement: to proclaim Canada a nuclear-free zone; cut the military budget by half; get Canada to withdraw from NATO and NORAD[2]; prevent Canada's conversion into a testing ground for American Cruise missiles; and secure the simultaneous disbandment of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

In Ireland, said *Lynda Edgerton, National Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Ireland, Secretary of the National Women's Committee*, women are combining actions against the nuclear threat with the struggle for Northern Ireland's liberation from British imperialist rule. In the Peace and Détente organization we expose British imperialism's role of accomplice of the USA in preparing for a nuclear war, show the untenability of the arguments about the equal responsibility of the superpowers for the arms race, and give people truthful information about the Soviet Union's policies and peace initiatives.

We in the Philippines, said *Aida Dizon, leadership member of the Association of the New Filipina*, regard the enlistment of women into the anti-war movement as one of our major aims. Various methods are used for this. For instance, in its drive against illiteracy, our women's organization, of which communists are members, uses visual aids to show clearly the horrors of a nuclear war and the danger that the U.S. bases are drawing to the Philippines, the problems arising from the arms race started by the USA, and the inhibiting influence of imperialism's policies on the restructuring of international economic relations. Many of the women who study in this system become activists of the anti-war movement.

In Sweden, said *Rodni Ohman, representative of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden on WMR*, the initiative in launching new forms of struggle for peace comes in most cases from women. Often prominence is gained by hitherto unknown women militants who see the need for action to prevent our planet together with all life from perishing in nuclear flames. A growing number of women are showing a willingness to help defend peace.

It was noted at the symposium that in some regions considerable difficulties have to be overcome in order to enlist large numbers of women into the struggle for peace, against imperialism's course toward aggression.

Under the harsh conditions of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip, said *Rabea Fatim, member of the Association of Working Palestinian Women in Occupied Territories*, women set up their own organization in 1981. It conducts large-scale political, organizational and even, unlike the usual women's associations, trade union work. The Association's influence is growing despite the persecution and harassment by the occupation authorities.

In South Afri a, said *Gertruda Shope, representative of the African National Congress*, the women's struggles are directed by the Women's Section of the ANC. While the Women's Section stresses the paramount significance of defending peace, it seeks to unite the efforts of various groups and organizations championing the rights of women and children and show how the solution of the problems of employment, public health and economic and national liberation are linked to the struggle for peace, against the arms race. The regime in South Africa is spending roughly three billion rands on armaments annually. With this money it would be possible to give all the children in the country an education, fundamentally restructure the public health system, and deliver the people from diseases that have become a scourge, particularly in the Bantustans.

But in the conditions prevailing in South Africa this is not easy to do. How is one, for instance, to persuade a hungry woman that she should act against the export of raw materials from which imperialist powers make their weapons? Official propaganda says that in "exchange" our country gets food. We try to conduct explanatory work, expose the lies of the imperialists, and show that the population's poverty is in many ways due to the growing military expenditures.

The African National Congress proclaimed 1984 the Year of Women in recognition of our large contribution to the struggle against racism, for national liberation. This will unquestionably help to mobilize more and more people to act against the regime of apartheid. Dorothy Nyembe, whose name has come to symbolize the women's national liberation and anti-war movement in South Africa, is to be released this year after 15 years of imprisonment.

One more reason why it is hard to develop the anti-war movement in South Africa, said *Essop Pahad, South African journalist*, is that many people are under the illusion that détente and disarmament are matters that have to be resolved solely by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. People often fail to see that détente and peaceful coexistence can facilitate the solution of problems facing the African peoples. Much is said in South Africa about global problems, including hunger and disease, but these problems can only be resolved in the context of the struggle to improve the international situation, for peace.

The problem of war and peace is today unquestionably most acute in Europe, said *Mario Grabivker, CC member, Communist Party of Argentina and its representative on the journal*. But imperialism's global militarist plans can only be wrecked by the efforts of all the peoples, and here the women's movement has, of course, an important role to play.

In Argentina, women comprise 30 per cent of the people employed in the economy, 25 per cent of the working class, and 50 per cent of the students. They are a major part of the intelligentsia. A powerful upsurge of activity by women is to be observed today, as is evidenced by the work of the Association of Women in Politics, in which all the national political forces are represented. There have been wide responses to, for instance, the actions by Argentinian women relatives of people who have disappeared without trace. Women are making a growing contribution to the struggle for peace. In the past, Argentina was far from the theaters of the great wars of the 20th century. But British imperialism's aggression on the Malvinas has shown that today the ocean is not a barrier to the forces of war, and that the threat of war can only be averted by the concerted actions of peace fighters on all continents.

Many other speakers noted the need for such broad solidarity actions, including joint actions by various women's organizations and movements. It was pointed out that the possibilities for a further consolidation of the unity of the peace forces had been proved by the 1983 World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, in Prague, where 93 women's organizations cooperated successfully. It was stressed that exchanges of experience of participation in specific actions, in the drawing up of common slogans and platform, and in joint analyses of the many-sided problem of war and peace are helping to unite all the peace movements against imperialism's nuclear threat, regardless of social, political and ideological distinctions.

The women's question in the nuclear age

In the Marxist-Leninist understanding, said *Freda Brown*, the women's question is today a tangled knot of economic, social and political problems. It includes the status of women in society and the family, the protection of

mothers and children, the ways and means of liberating women from all forms of oppression and inequality, and actions by women for social change. A fundamentally new feature is that women have become active in the struggle for peace and life, against the threat of a nuclear war.

The preparations for such a war are not only imperilling the future of the human race but are already now placing an unbearable burden of hardship on people, depriving them of jobs, diminishing the opportunities for education and medical care, and cutting family budgets. Militarization is intensifying inflation and hardening discrimination against women in all areas of economic and public life. In the USA, for example, women's earnings average 59 per cent of those of men. Annually the British monopolies pocket 1,200 million pounds and the American corporations make 63,000 million dollars as a result of wage discrimination against women. In early 1983 women comprised 33 per cent of the workforce in the OECD countries[3] and among the 34 million unemployed they comprised between 50 and 60 per cent in each of these countries.

Official statistics leave much out, said *Claire Gautier*. For instance, girls who have graduated from school but have not found jobs or are not continuing their studies are in fact unemployed. Or take the women who have been denied unemployment allowances on the grounds that their husbands are working. These statistics do not take into account the mothers who cannot look for jobs because of the shortage of kindergartens and nursery schools. Nor do they take into account the fact that the upkeep of a child in a pre-school institution is so expensive that a working class family cannot afford it: in the FRG the fee in an ordinary kindergarten amounts to almost two-thirds of the average monthly wage of women.

Because they cannot find jobs many women are driven into the shell of household chores. Poverty is spreading, allowances are being decreased, rents are rising, subsidies for secondary and higher education are being limited, pensions are being cut back, and the health care system is being diminished.

In the meantime, the present Bonn coalition is steering a course toward an arms build-up. It even has a bill in the works on enlisting women into the armed forces. According to it women would be a reserve of the armed forces. And this is demagogically given out as a step toward equality. Of course, women are emphatically rejecting this sort of equality. What they need is not service in the Bundeswehr but professional training and jobs, not missiles and barracks but social facilities helping to reduce their triple burden of jobs, the household, and children.

Yuri Vasilchuk, Ph. D., adviser to the World Federation of Trade Unions on socio-economic problems, cited facts characterizing the changed role played by women in capitalist society on account of the scientific and technological revolution.

During the two decades between 1960 and 1980 the proportion of women among wage workers in industrialized capitalist countries rose from 31 to 42 per cent. In some countries they now comprise half of the wage workers under the age of 50. The scientific and technological revolution has dramatically enhanced the significance of female labor to the economy, especially with the development of the services industry, the universal expansion of information processing, and the growth of the volume of delicate manual labor in some industries. It is also indicative that between 70 and 80 per cent of the workforce at enterprises run by transnational corporations in the "free trade zones"[4] are women.

However, in the 1980s this process of increasing employment of women came to a standstill. On the one hand, the crisis and the austerity programs of bourgeois governments have severely affected many branches of the services industry. As a result, the unemployment level among women is today much higher than among men. On the other hand, the reduction of jobs for women is linked to the development of new technologies. Studies have shown that by 1990, as a result of cybernetization, the number of jobs in offices (where the technical personnel consists mostly of women) is expected to drop by 40 per cent, while to get a job it will be necessary to have much better general and special training than today. Nearly half of the jobs in the economy in many countries are already today filled by workers by brain. It is forecast that by 1990 the proportion of such jobs will rise to 70 and even more per cent with a reduction to 30 and even less per cent of the jobs requiring manual work.

At the symposium it was noted that in the approach to the women's question account must be taken of the fact that in the non-socialist world there are some extremely negative features in the condition of women in the process of production. They are subjected to inordinately harsh exploitation: not only are they concentrated chiefly in industries where wages are low but do the lowest-paid work. Moreover, their wages suffer because they do not work a full week. Women comprise the majority of the homeworkers, whose earnings

are meager, while many labor laws pass them over altogether.

Kerry McCuaig, CC alternate member and Secretary of the Women's Commission, Communist Party of Canada, and other speakers pointed out that the role of women in the family is changing dramatically on account of the scientific and technological revolution. There is an increasingly pressing need to bring up a new generation of people with a qualitatively different level of education and culture. Investments in human beings have become the determining form of socially necessary expenditures. Hence, the new role of women in the family requires not only that they should be wage earners but also fulfil a much harder task, that of effectively influencing the development of the child's intellect and principles of life.

There has also been a cardinal change in the weight that women's wages have in the family budget. Although these wages are usually not high, their significance to the family has never been as great as it is today. According to official statistics, between 13 and 15 per cent of the population of industrialized capitalist countries live below the poverty line. Had it not been for women's earnings this figure would have risen to 42-50 per cent.

However, the domestic policies of most bourgeois states, it was stressed at the symposium, are frankly hostile to the interests of the family. This is seen, for instance, in questions concerning credit, health care, education, the acquisition of housing, transportation and so forth. On account of these policies millions of families in the capitalist world live in slums, having not only no employment today but also no possibility for giving their children the training that would enable them to obtain jobs by the time they reach adulthood.

"Jobs, Not Bombs" is the slogan of the peace demonstrations in the USA, said *Audrey West, an American journalist and an activist of the Women for Racial and Economic Equality organization.* Women quite rightly understand that the rising unemployment is due to the enormous military budget. Afro-American working women and women of other ethnic minorities in the USA are the hardest hit by the economic and social crisis. They are resolutely opposed to Reaganomics and the administration's militarist policies. When apologists of the capitalist system speak of equal rights to jobs while factories are being closed and many industries are being transferred to developing countries this is pure demagoguery. Women can achieve success only by combining the struggle for their rights with the struggle for peace and society's social restructuring. The entirely different status enjoyed by women in the socialist world can serve as an example for them.

In this context, *Niall Farrell, representative of the Communist Party of Ireland on the journal,* asked why there was a need for women's organizations in socialist countries.

The vital interests of women in Czechoslovakia, said *Marie Kabrgelova, CC Secretariat member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Chairwoman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union,* are served by the strengthening of socialist society and its improvement with a view to ensuring the further rise of the population's living standard and creating new material and cultural values. This is precisely the principal aim of the Czechoslovak Women's Union.

The Union gives much of its attention to questions related to the development of the family. In Czechoslovakia motherhood is protected by the whole of society, and it is unlikely that such unflagging concern is shown for mothers outside socialist countries. Families receive considerable financial support from social funds. Health care and education are free in Czechoslovakia.

Socialist democracy enables all citizens and all public organizations, including the Czechoslovak Women's Union, to participate in the country's administration on a basis of full equality. The Union submits to the relevant authorities suggestions on draft laws relating to children and the family, on all matters concerning political and social life in which women display a natural interest. The Union is represented on all governmental commissions, and during election campaigns it nominates its candidates for deputies in organs of state power of all levels, including the highest legislative bodies.

In the Federal Assembly, the parliament, 28.6 per cent of the deputies are women. Further, women comprise over 30 per cent of the deputies in the rural, urban, district and regional national committees. There are thousands of women activists in the various commissions set up by local self-administrative bodies.

The Czechoslovak Women's Union is a voluntary public organization with a million women participating in its work. It is fully independent and carries on its business through democratically elected representative bodies, and has 11,828 primary organizations. It is independent financially as well, its funds consisting of membership dues and revenues from various undertakings and 11 publications.

Although the Union functions at the place of

residence of its members, it embraces all working women, who comprise 48 per cent of Czechoslovakia's working population. It cooperates closely with trade unions, the Scientific and Technical Association, and some other organizations.

There are many facts illustrating the interest that women take in public life. For instance, almost half of the membership of trade unions (the total exceeds seven million) are women, and 42.5 per cent of the elective posts in the trade unions are held by women. Half of the more than 1,600,000 members of the Socialist Youth League are young women.

There is, said *Nancy McDonald*, one other fundamental aspect of the women's movement in socialist countries, and it is its internationalism, its solidarity with women in all other countries in their struggle for equality and a better future.

In the discussion of the many problems linked to the specifics of the women's question and the ways of resolving it under present-day conditions, there was a consensus that the arms race and the assault in capitalist countries on the social rights of women and the suppression of their aspiration for emancipation are sides of one and the same coin. Yet far from all women see this relationship. In this context, the symposium also examined the role of the communists.

The women's movement and the communists

The communist stand is that the women's question has always been and remains part and parcel of the general social problem whose solution is linked indissolubly with the reshaping of the whole of society. Great social changes are impossible "without the feminine ferment."[5] The communist parties, which are active in the movement throughout the world in defense of life, regard women as the militant contingent without which it would be inconceivable to fight for a peaceful future and for social and economic progress. This viewpoint is stated in many of their documents.

On the other hand, for many centuries reactionary ideology has been trying to justify the inequality of women judicially and morally. Bourgeois propaganda offers "scientific" arguments to back up its thesis that women are incapable of creative, independent thought, claims that their subordinate status in society is due to their biological function as the continuers of the human race, and seeks to divert them from active involvement in society's affairs.

Nobody, said *Lynda Edgerton* in this connection, denies the contention of the feminists that women are the ones who give birth to children. But after children are born, both the man and the woman must bear an equal responsibility for bringing them up. We know how family life is important to every person: while men try to give some of their time to children, women likewise want to devote part of their time to activities outside the household. Complete equality on this plane is possible only under socialism, in a planned economy, which rules out unemployment and shortens the working week. While formally championing an independent status for women in society, feminism in fact wants women to play the principal role. Of course, there are quarrels and drama in families. Such things happen not only in Ireland. But from this the feminists draw the misconceived conclusion that men are their chief enemies. That is what makes it necessary to go on patiently explaining to the masses of women the alphabet of the class struggle and to make them aware of the class reasons for their inequality.

Although oppression of women is implicit in the nature of the capitalist system, said *Claire Gautier*, it takes quite a lot of political experience to understand this fact. Capitalism has stepped up its media peddling of conservative theories about the role of women, ideologically and economically reinforcing and using the patriarchal structures of preceding class societies. The competitive struggle in the capitalist world and the pressure on women are affecting all areas of life. The communists have the task of opening women's eyes to the causes of this oppression, which have their roots in the antagonism between classes and in property relations.

U.S. imperialism, added *Audrey West*, is our chief and main ideological adversary. It is the enemy not only of the women of Europe, where Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles are being deployed, but also of the women of the USA itself, because the militarization of the economy and of the whole range of domestic policies are adversely affecting their lives. The bourgeois mass media and education system are going to all lengths to obscure the reasons giving rise to the problems confronting women. Use is made of misinformation, distortion and slander. However, among American peace activists there is growing resistance to all sorts of anti-communist inventions.

Participation in the women's movement requires serious attention to the ideological work of the communists. By coupling the struggle for peace with the struggle against inflation, for jobs, social security, education, public health

and environmental protection we are helping to educate working women politically and increase the anti-imperialist potential of the women's movement. This is precisely how the communists of the USA see the objective of their work in that movement.

In speaking of the work of the communists in the women's movement, many of the participants in the symposium referred to the specific experience of their own parties.

In 1975, when the UN proclaimed the Decade of Women, related *Nancy McDonald*, the Communist Party of Canada launched some initiatives to draw women into the struggle for equality, development and peace. These were democratic initiatives. It was a period when many more women joined the anti-war movement and became more militant. Women augmented the ranks of the CPC. Today they comprise 35 per cent of the party membership and 25 per cent of its Central Committee, while of the 18 members of the party's Central Executive Committee 6 are women.

Communists are working in a broad-based coalition of women which embraces around 280 organizations, conducting dialogues with women belonging to the New Democratic, Liberal and Conservative parties, and to trade union and women's organizations. They are doing this with the purpose of creating a common platform for cooperation among women on the main issues of the anti-war struggle and the struggle for social justice.

The Women's Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland, said *Lynda Edgerton*, operates through its subcommittees in the north and south of the country. Women communists have played a big role in the efforts to organize a massive women's movement for a democratic settlement of the national question and for social change that would ease the life of the people. However, they condemn the violence used by both the Republican and Protestant paramilitary groups. They see their cardinal anti-war task in preventing any part of Ireland, the south or the north, from being used as a base for aggression against other peoples, and thereby enabling Ireland to contribute to averting a world nuclear conflagration.

In parallel with its participation in the activities of democratic women's organizations, said *Mario Grabivker*, the Communist Party of Argentina is conducting differentiated work among women at industrial enterprises and in the trade unions and other public organizations. These efforts have yielded positive results. Of the new members who joined the party during and after the Malvinas crisis, 40 per cent are women. The party strives to promote them to leading posts; 17 per cent of the members of the new CC elected by the congress held in the autumn of 1983 are women.

Women communists, said *Claire Gautier*, who comprise roughly 40 per cent of the DKP's membership, do not hold any special positions in the party. They came to the party from different democratic, social and trade union organizations, understanding that individual groups and movements act for no more than partial aims while the Communist Party represents the interests of the working class as a whole. It needs the support and cooperation of many women, in the same way as to fight successfully women need a strong communist party.

Needless to say, while the communists welcome the participation of all currents of the women's movement in the common efforts, they do not shy away from ideological polemics. On the contrary, they feel that this is what gives rise, on the one hand, to the need for a constructive dialogue with women of other persuasions and, on the other, to the need for corresponding work in the party itself, so that the communists should have a proper understanding of the problems in the women's movement.

This is the approach, it was noted at the symposium, that makes it possible to draw ever larger numbers of women into the mass movement for the solution of social problems and the preservation of peace.

The nuclear threat hanging over humankind as a result of imperialism's aggressive policies is bringing the significance of the struggle for peace home to women of those segments and groups of the population that had previously been far removed from the progressive women's movement, including those who are today guided solely by the instinct of self-preservation. Alongside the women's democratic associations, the organizations of progressive parties and youth leagues, and the women's departments and sections of the peace committees in different countries, other associations, federations and groups are becoming more and more active in the struggle against the threat of war.

In particular, many national and international women's pacifist organizations are adopting a new attitude. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom[6] has reconsidered its views. Some changes are taking place in feminist and some bourgeois women's liberal associations, which have begun showing a greater willingness not only to discuss questions linked to averting the threat of a

nuclear war but also to join in concerted actions with the peace movement. The anti-war actions are being joined by women representing various political parties — social democratic, Christian and Greens, trade unions, religious organizations, and ecological currents. Individual groups of women spring up from time to time to conduct specific anti-war actions.

This broad base of the women's anti-war movement, it was noted at the symposium, is a reserve for enhancing its influence, but under certain conditions it can also become a source of weakness, because the heterogeneity of this base results in various currents and groups sometimes coming forward with different demands and presenting a wide range of conflicting assessments of developments.

For this reason, said *Nancy McDonald*, the communists, who act consistently in keeping with the ideology of the working class, have to do everything in their power to give the participants in the women's anti-war movement, and not only them, a correct understanding of the substance of the developments in the world today. It is important that the communists should be active wherever they live and work, among all sections of the population, showing them the aggressive character of imperialist policy and explaining the distinction between the actions of the USA, which is deploying first-strike nuclear weapons in Europe, and the counter-measures being taken by the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries to preserve the military-strategic balance and, consequently, peace.

Moreover, said *Freda Brown*, the women's democratic organizations and the conscious participants in the women's movement cannot ignore the trends that still do not share our viewpoint and adhere to their own ideas about how to defend peace. Of course, we should not conceal or obscure these differences in order to create a semblance of unity. But we have a common aim, and it is to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and put an end to the arms race. That is the foundation for a broad and frank dialogue that would enable us to work out and specify a common stand on any concrete issue. In this connection the action program of the Women's International Democratic Federation (the largest and most representative organization — it has 131 affiliated federations in 116 countries — in the women's movement today) is crystal clear. It is enunciated in the Appeal of the WIDF Council and sets out the following points: abandonment of the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe; denunciation of all preparations for a nuclear war, which would be the most terrible crime against the peoples; the banning of the use of nuclear weapons; the creation of nuclear-free zones; the freezing and radical cutback of all nuclear arsenals; the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons; the cessation by the imperialists of aggressive actions and of their direct and indirect interference in the affairs of the peoples of the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and Asia; the dismantling of all foreign military bases; the disbandment of all existing military alliances; the cessation of the arms race and the use of humankind's creative capabilities and all natural resources for peace, for life; the use of the money being spent on armaments for social needs, reforms in the interests of the peoples and the creation of more jobs.

These points provide a good basis for drawing up a joint platform at the upcoming World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women, to take place in 1985 in Nairobi. The Conference may be a significant step in the implementation of the Decade's slogan of "Equality, Development, Peace!" and in fostering the unity of the broad women's movement to put this slogan into effect.

1. This program was adopted in August 1983 at the eighth plenary meeting of the DKP Board. The basic demands of women, proclaimed in the program and for whose satisfaction the communists are working include: peace, jobs, education, social security, equality and maternity protection — *Ed.*

2. NORAD — North American Air Defense Command, set up by the U.S. and Canada in 1958. — *Ed.*

3. This, the biggest, economic group of capitalist countries consists of Australia, Austria, Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, the FRG, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA.

4. These are special zones in developing countries where transnational corporations enjoy extra-territoriality status. There are at present more than a hundred such zones, and in many of them the terms for the transnationals are better than even in the "classical free trade zones" — Hong Kong and Singapore. — *Ed.*

5. Karl Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, Moscow, 1934, p. 83.

6. Set up in 1915, it condemns armed struggle of any kind, including just struggles for national liberation. It is composed of national sections, international associated members, groups, and correspondents (roughly 50,000 members) in 24 capitalist and developing countries on all continents. But whereas formerly the League believed that war could be averted by appealing to the good will of governments, at its congress in Goteborg in August 1983 it passed a resolution to activate its members in the struggle for peace and condemned the new spiral of the arms race and the theory that "nuclear war is winnable." — *Ed.*

What makes racism dangerous today?

Summary of an International Seminar

The *WMR* Commission on General Theoretical Problems sponsored an international seminar in Prague to consider the ideology and practices of racism in the 1980s. It was attended by Marxist scholars and representatives of communist and workers' parties of Algeria, Chile, Ecuador, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Iraq, Israel, Jamaica, Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, the USSR, the USA, and Venezuela. A paper was presented also by a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The following is a summary of what was said.

In the world today counteraction to racism is one of the most pressing problems of politics, international relations, and the ideological struggle. This is the problem of defeating the bourgeois ideology and policy that justify the biological or cultural and psychological "superiority" of one race over another and, consequently, its "right" to dominate the other socio-economically and politically. In characterizing racism as a specific ideological vindication of such domination and the system of political measures and actions that perpetuate it, the participants in the seminar gave this phenomenon a Marxist-Leninist, class evaluation. Account was also taken of the fact that some methodological problems had been substantively analyzed at a meeting of Marxists sponsored some years ago by *WMR*.[1] For that reason the seminar's focus was mainly on identifying typical manifestations of racism at the close of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. This produced a more clear-cut picture of some specific elements of racist theory and the political practices linked to it.

Speakers drew attention to the distinctions in the forms of racism cultivated by international capital before and after the Second World War. The period of colonial expansion of the 19th and early 20th century and of fascism in the 1930s-1940s witnessed mainly *undisguised* racism. *Camouflaged forms* became more common during the post-war decades, when the vulgar-apologetic substantiation of racism was replaced by psychological, cultural and historical justification, when the racists began posing as champions of oppressed peoples, "world progress," and "human rights." At the same time, said *Carlos Zuniga* (Communist Party of Chile) and *Johannes Nkosi* (South African Communist Party), there is a mutual penetration of two currents: on the one hand, there is the continued existence of obvious forms of racist ideology and policies (Zionism in Israel and the apartheid of the South African regime), on the other hand, there is the visible resurrection of racism in the domestic and foreign policies of the USA, Britain, and some other imperialist states.

This process is, it was said, the result of the interlacing of long-established and some new socio-economic, political and ideological factors.

Socio-economic mainsprings

Citing the experience of their parties, the speakers at the seminar were unanimous on the point that there has been no change in the essence of racism as a means of continuing the exploitation and oppression of working people. But its functions are broadening out as the liberation struggle against capitalist rule intensifies in the world. Racism is increasingly becoming a means of protecting the system of capitalist exploitation nourishing it.

In this connection *Jeronimo Carrera* (Communist Party of Venezuela) drew attention to some data illustrating the situation in the world of social injustice and oppression, where a small group of privileged people possesses enormous wealth and unlimited power, while the vast majority is doomed to undernourishment, poverty, disease and unemployment. In 1981, for example, more than 65 per cent of the wealth produced in the world went to 18 per cent of its population. To justify its superprofits and privileges, monopoly ownership of the means of production and the widening inequality in consumption, big capital contends that the oppressed (the 82 per cent of the population) are lazy, intellectually undeveloped, incapable of earning their daily bread and, ultimately, inferior. Since racism has an objective socio-economic base, it preserves its positions and at times even strengthens them. This may continue until, as a result of the revolutionary and national liberation struggle, the source feeding it — exploitation of man by man — is extirpated.

Bringing into sharp focus the picture of the pillaging of Afro-American workers in the USA, *James West* (Communist Party of the USA) pointed out that the super-exploitation of Afro-Americans and other ethnic minorities is bringing the capitalists additional annual profits amounting to tens of billions of dollars.

Of course, racism has not only economic but also many social and institutional roots in capitalism. In speaking of them, James West noted that at the second national extraordinary conference of the CPUSA in 1982 it was stressed that racism had acquired a deep-going and broad base in the capitalist system in the USA, massively penetrating the economy, the education system, ideology, politics and culture. Racism, it was pointed out at the conference, has grown so all-embracing that every crisis, every offensive by the corporations, the apostasy of any leader of the working class movement urging class cooperation, and every impingement or violation of democratic rights, the rights of the trade unions, civil rights or human rights, and any drop of the overall living standard hits the oppressed races more painfully and severely.

In the context of this problem, speakers dealt with the relatively new economic (and demographic) processes that have been brought to life by the capitalist system. The reactionary forces use these processes to inflame racist sentiments. From this angle the seminar considered, in particular, the question of labor migration.

This migration has become an essential feature of the world capitalist economy since World War II. In Western Europe alone there were in 1980 more than 20 million immigrant workers (not counting the numbers of their families), who came from countries in North Africa, South Europe and the Middle East. There has been a considerable migration of wage workers from Mexico to the USA and between Latin American nations. Bourgeois society's attitude to the resultant problems of providing civil rights to and shaping the way of life of these millions of immigrant workers is preponderantly nationalistic and, ultimately, chauvinistic and racist. There is discrimination, said *Alfred Babing* of the Institute of International Politics and Economics (GDR), in wages, working conditions, professional training, social security, housing, health care, judicial rights and the conditions of political and social life.

The so-called "guest workers" have unquestionably contributed immensely to the economic development of the FRG and other countries during the years when the economic situation was favorable. But hardly had the decline of the 1970s commenced when many hundreds of thousands of these workers were expelled, for instance, from the FRG.

In France, said *Ali Malki* (Party of the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria), 400,000 Algerian immigrant workers (the Algerian community in that country numbers roughly 900,000) continue to live under the most trying conditions. Between 1976 and 1981 as many as 385,000 jobs were abolished and of these 225,000 had been held by immigrant workers, chiefly Algerians.

After left-wing forces came to power in France, some judicial government-to-government agreements relating to Algerian workers were signed between Algeria and France. But immigrants continue to be subjected to varied, including racial, discrimination. Big capital is clinging to its policy of discrimination. Bourgeois propaganda blames the Algerians for unemployment ("they are holding jobs intended for Frenchmen"), the deficit in the budget of the social security system, the growth of crime, the housing crisis ("they are overcrowding the hospitals", "they are terrorists", "they occupy housing which French families could have"), and so forth. That is why the support they are getting from the General Confederation of Labor and all other progressive and democratic forces, including the French Communist Party, is so vital to the Algerian working people.

The U.S. ruling class and its mass media, *James West* said, are telling the working class that taxes are growing only because the social security programs have been extended and that the Afro-Americans are the "sole" beneficiaries of these programs. It is thus implied that the "unfortunate" whites are supporting the "lazy" Blacks, who, it is alleged, do not want to work and live off the labor of white workers. By these methods the apologists of Reaganomics seek to justify the cuts in the expenditures for social needs.

As a result of "long-term immigration," it was said at the symposium, second and third generation immigrants are inevitably used mostly as unskilled laborers. People of these generations are not sufficiently fluent in the language of the country in which they live, have no knowledge of their own national culture, and are not at home in the new culture. Groups of the national working class also fall victim to the discrimination practices. In Israel, for instance, said *Ibrahim Malik* (Communist Party of Israel), Sephardic Jews are subjected to communal discrimination. Racial oppression is directed against Arabs and creates a

base for the rise of fascism, from which the Jews themselves suffer.

In many regions migration generates analogous discrimination, which affects not only the working class but all sections of the population. *Jeronimo Carrera* noted that the continued post-World War II flow of white immigrants from Europe to Venezuela had slowed down the tendency, hitherto predominant, toward the racial mixing of the population traditionally of Spanish-African and Indian origin. This leads not only to stressing distinctions characterizing ethnic minorities in the country, but also to the resumption of racial differentiation and the appearance of racist attitudes of white superiority over the Blacks and American Indians. All this is leading to the adoption of the camouflaged, bigoted forms of racism typical of the "American way of life."

A pressing problem facing the communists is to counter the attempts of the bourgeoisie to split the working class and democratic movements along racial ines, to involve one part of the working class in the super-exploitation of the other.

Noting the complexity of the struggle to eradicate racism under conditions where it gets maximum encouragement from capitalism and neocolonialism, the participants in the seminar showed why there had to be a steady coupling of this struggle with the movement for democratic rights, for the transformation of the existing foundations of ethnic relations and psychology in order to clear the way for a full settlement of the problem under socialism. *James West* made the point that in the USA resistance to capitalist exploitation requires that the working class should strive to free itself of racism. On the other hand, total victory over racism implies the victory of socialism. Thus, the difficulties that this twin ideologico-political task entails lie in combining the struggle for socialism with the struggle to extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people. Precisely this is the focus of the CPUSA's program of affirmative action, which is distinguished for its consistent approach to the problem of uprooting the diverse manifestations of racism.

The same objective, said *Rupert Lewis* (Workers' Party of Jamaica), is defined as one of the WPJ's central aims in its plans for the 1980s. The plans take into account the difficulties of extirpating tenacious survivals of racist prejudices in the developing nations. These prejudices are surmounted only in the course of the struggle for the working people's social liberation, as a result of the restructuring of economic and social relations. This can be achieved through a more active participation of the working class in the national liberation movement.

Impact of political factors

Much attention was devoted at the seminar to the socio-political sources of present-day racism. Racism, said *Aziz Pahad* (African National Congress of South Africa), is a socio-political phenomenon. In this context the seminar considered the situation on two levels: in the *internal political* life of individual countries and in the sphere of *foreign policy*, in international relations.

The most visible aspect of the problem of racism in internal political life, said *Jeronimo Carrera*, is that racism feigns compliance with laws proclaiming the equality of all persons and peoples.

An example of this mimicry, said *Alfred Babing*, is the "code of conduct in respect of the employment practices of Community companies with subsidiaries, branches, or representation in South Africa" adopted by the EEC countries at the close of the 1970s. This code is presented as evidence that there has been some "humanization" of labor in South Africa and an "easing" of the apartheid regime on the grounds that the code incorporates recommendations for the transnationals operating in South Africa to facilitate the formation of trade unions of African workers, the abolition of discrimination against them in wages and social services, and so forth. Of course, the appearance of the code is testimony that some results have been produced by the pressure put on apartheid by progressive forces in and outside South Africa, including pressure from the United Nations Organization through its resolution to boycott the racist South African regime. However, the fact that there is such a document does not by any means support the statement made, for example, by the FRG government in 1982 that the provisions written into the code are correct and will yield results.

On the contrary, in South Africa oppression based on racist dogmas, said *Aziz Pahad*, has been raised to the level of official policy. The idea of one race dominating another permeates the whole fabric of South African society, while "theories" of racial superiority are mirrored in legislation, which excludes Africans from political life. Aziz Pahad drew attention to the fact that racist legislation curtails the rights of African workers and limits the formation of their organizations. Any African urging a strike is penalized by a fine of 500 rands or six months' imprisonment. Africans are denied the opportunity of doing skilled work. There are laws

that encourage entrepreneurs to set up "closed" shops employing only whites.

The continued bantustanization and genocide, the efforts of the ruling circles to mute the nation's aggravating problems by military and police elements, reliance on the USA, Israel and the most reactionary elements in other imperialist powers, militarization, and the military aggression against national liberation movements are indications that South Africa is becoming a fascist state with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism as its predominant ideology.

The African National Congress denounces these policies and holds that the main content of the African revolution is the national liberation of the most oppressed sections of the population. At the present stage it is imperative to define precisely the correlation between the anti-racist and the class struggle and to chart the tactics and strategy that would not only ensure the success of the national movement but, after their realization, make it possible to begin building the foundations of an exploitation-free society. The ANC sees the struggle against racism as part of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and the working class against imperialist aggression and exploitation.

Bourgeois propaganda seeks to make capital out of the allegedly achieved levelling up of the rights of ethnic minorities, notably of the Afro-American population in the USA, said *Herbert Aptheker* (Communist Party of the USA). In the 1960s progressive forces in the USA secured the adoption of judicial measures that somewhat improved the condition of ethnic minorities in wages, education, rent and housing. However, in the first place, these achievements laid no claim at all to placing a radical limit on racial discrimination. Second, since the mid-1970s the right-wing forces have been conducting a powerful assault on even judicial palliatives of this kind. In order to prevent the enforcement of laws that have already been passed, the champions of racism and the Reagan administration are advancing the theory that racist intent must be proved before charges can be made of racist practices and the corresponding legal proceedings instituted. This enables racists to organize an almost impenetrable defense. One of the basic racist subterfuges of the Reagan administration, it has already led to a series of unfavorable legal verdicts.

The U.S. Department of Justice has recommended that judges take a negative stand to the programs for busing children of desegregated schools in Boston, Memphis, Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit and Denver. At the close of October 1982 the same department opposed a lower court ruling acknowledging that the statute of elections in the town of Lockhart, Texas, was essentially discriminatory and in conflict with the 1965 election laws because for all practical purposes this statute prevented citizens of Mexican origin, who comprise 41 per cent of Lockhart's population, from standing for election.

The participants in the seminar noted that facts of this kind are evidence that, provided the socio-political climate is favorable, the ruling circles do not hesitate to sanction racism.

One of the most important objectives of the anti-racist democratic movement, speakers pointed out, is to eradicate institutionalized racist dogmas. Attainment of this aim would objectively help to emancipate very large sections of the people politically. The working people want the anti-racist and anti-nationalistic movements to grow. They also want to see the extirpation of all forms and institutions of racism and reactionary nationalism. Here it is also a matter of consolidating the position of the democratic forces, chiefly of the working class movement "through *general laws*, enforced by the power of the state. In enforcing such laws, the working class do not fortify governmental power. On the contrary, they transform that power, now used against them, into their own agency. They effect by a general act what they would vainly attempt by a multitude of isolated individual efforts."[2]

Of late some quarters in industrialized capitalist countries have been propagating the "American experience of coping with ethnic strains" on the ground that the U.S. "model" is important because it acknowledges that there is racial discrimination and contains "a political will to do something about it." West European society, it is claimed, "as a whole doesn't recognize racism, and there's no political will or machinery to change it."[3] Arguments of this kind by bourgeois columnists largely distort the actual state of affairs but make it easier to see the attitude of the ruling class.

In analyzing the problem of racism in the context of *international relations*, the participants in the seminar drew the conclusion that the orientation of many capitalist countries toward preserving or reviving racism serves as a means of domestic political domination. This orientation incorporated in foreign policy and international relations serves to intensify the racist practices in capitalist countries. *Iosif Grigulevich* (corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences) pointed out that racism is a component of the imperialist system

aimed at giving the monopolies world supremacy by strengthening the reactionary forces and eroding the struggle for social and national liberation.

The cultivation of hatred of foreigners and the kindling of nationalistic and racial prejudices by the ruling class are, as in the past, leading not only to confrontation between ethnic groups of the population of individual countries but also to armed clashes with neighboring states.[4]

In cases where this ideologico-political orientation begins to be paramount in a large country, it becomes a threat to the peoples of many countries. All the doctrines of U.S. capitalism and imperialism, said *James West*, from Manifest Destiny to the American Century have had a racist content. The social psychology of the monopoly ruling class, which consists entirely of whites, has been and is based on the theory that "destiny" had ordained that the USA should rule the world and that somehow, in one sense or another, all the other peoples and countries of the world are inferior to the USA.

Ibrahim Malik said that while the Israeli constitution guarantees equality to citizens, other laws in fact institutionalize national and racial discrimination. The Communist Party of Israel submitted to the Knesset the draft of a law prohibiting racial discrimination, but in November 1983 this draft was rejected by the reactionary majority in the Knesset. The decades of tension in the Middle East, the armed conflicts and the expulsion of Palestinians from lands they had held for ages are the outcome of the racist ideology of Israel's rulers. In keeping with the slogan of Zionism's founder Theodor Herzl, Israel undertakes the mission of "advance guard of civilization in the face of barbarism."

A similar situation is now taking shape in the South of the African continent, where, under the cover of anti-communist and anti-Soviet slogans, the role of destabilizer is played by the racist regime of South Africa. *Hamid Majeed Mussa* (Communist Party of Iraq) noted in this connection that racism is a system in itself and uses the explicit actions of local racists to fuel international tension.

In the view of the participants in the seminar, a hallmark of the 1980s is that the nuclear threat makes racism exceptionally dangerous. This threat comes from imperialism's aggressive policies that are undisguisedly aimed principally at the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. These policies may be called "social racism." Moreover, the monstrous make-up of neocolonialist racism is also becoming more and more clear-cut.

Noting the danger of racism in international relations, the participants spoke of the experience of communist and workers' parties in fighting imperialism. It was pointed out that racist states, specifically South Africa and Israel, are trying to get their hands on nuclear weapons. This sheds new light on imperialism's plans for a South Atlantic pact with the principal role accorded in advance to South Africa and Chile. To be more effective, the struggle against racism must be linked closely to the struggle against the nuclear threat.

In the channel of reactionary ideology

Some trends in bourgeois ideology are playing a large role in the resurgence of racism. The capitalist press often asserts that in Western Europe discrimination is on the upswing not because of racial or xenophobic prejudices but for economic reasons. But, it contends, since the decline of business activity is "temporary" and the situation will improve, the problem of racism is likewise transient.

The speakers analyzed the circumstances under which bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism become the catalyst reviving racist ideology and policy. These, it was noted, are a sort of threshold of racism. For instance, when it acquires aggressive, extremist forms bourgeois nationalism can evolve into racism.

This is to be observed most strikingly in international politics. In Latin America, said *Carlos Zuniga*, imperialist circles fan racist sentiments when relations between individual countries deteriorate. This policy is pursued even where there is considerable racial-ethnic homogeneity and a general trend toward a decline of racism's influence in mass consciousness.

Another, similarly significant, factor fostering the relationship between present-day bourgeois ideology and racism is that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are implicit in the former. For that reason, as a whole bourgeois nationalism and racism are directed against the Soviet Union and other progressive forces.

This is exemplified by the efforts of Chilean reaction to depict the communists of Chile as people who have renounced all national norms and are hence "non-Chileans."

In the face of the struggle against colonialist oppression bourgeois ideology is generating special forms of reactionary nationalism — "black", "yellow", "religious" and so on. This nationalism is encouraged in every way by white racists with the objective of splitting the

national liberation and revolutionary movements. It is evident in, for example, the nationalistic ideologies of some countries that have won independence or are seeking political and economic independence. At some stage after they had initially rallied the people to fight imperialist oppression, these ideologies become a factor inhibiting social progress and revolutionary activity. For example, the "Black Power" slogan, said *Clement Rohee* (People's Progressive Party of Guyana) won many supporters in Guyana but then, failing to acquire a social content, it became the means of provoking conflict and armed clashes between people of different color.

Semou Pathe Gueye (Senegal Party of Independence and Labor) pointed to the present reactionary content of the negritude ideology. It expresses the aspirations of the ascendant petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the perception by the masses of colonial oppression not as class oppression but as oppression by white people. In their day these notions had played a progressive role in Senegal, drawing the people into the struggle against the colonialists. But the condition of the classes has now changed, and the negritude ideology, which is a specific form of nationalism, has become reactionary. Nevertheless, it has sunk deep roots, and in some new nations it takes the form of chauvinistic prejudices directed against whites and peoples of mixed racial descent.

This sort of warped nationalism, it was stated at the seminar, narrows down the potentialities of the struggle for racial equality. This was noted, in particular, by *Rupert Lewis*, who said that in Jamaica there was resistance to Marxism-Leninism on the grounds that it was a "white man's doctrine." These anti-communist views are being neutralized only thanks to the example of nearby Cuba, where the nationalities question was resolved after the revolution, to the support that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries gave the liberation movement in Africa, and also to the ideological work conducted by the Jamaican communists.

The theory and practice of proletarian internationalism are of fundamental significance to the struggle of the communists against racism. It was proletarian internationalism, said *Johannes Nkosi*, that gave the South African Communist Party a more intimate understanding of the racist character and nature of the South African regime. The party's consistent internationalist policy helped the African National Congress to adopt a more progressive anti-imperialist stand. This is making the actions against apartheid increasingly more effective.

Domingos Lopes (Portuguese Communist Party) stressed that the experience of combining the class, internationalist struggle with the struggle against racism should be the subject of a thorough Marxist analysis and generalization. The Portuguese Communist Party, he said, had never seen the movement of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for independence and against racial discrimination as separate from the efforts of the Portuguese people to overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

In summing up the seminar's assessment of the political role played by racism, the participants drew the conclusion that although the objective trends toward eradicating racist ideology and practice are steadily gaining strength, these survivals of the epoch of colonialism are still alive. Despite the Program of the Decade of Action Against Racism and Racial Discrimination, endorsed by the UN General Assembly in 1973, racist ideology and practice are very much in evidence in many capitalist countries.

* * *

The formation of the world socialist system, the successes of the international working class and communist movement, and the headway made by national liberation processes have not only confirmed the Marxist-Leninist theoretical substantiation of internationalism as the alternative to racism but also demonstrated the strength of internationalism in action as exemplified by the domestic and foreign policies of the socialist community countries and by the broad international solidarity actions of the working people.

Racism is fought ideologically and politically. This means, first, a searching Marxist analysis of present-day racist and chauvinistic trends and their manifestations in politics and day-to-day practice in different areas, including the class battles. Second, as was pointed out at the seminar, tireless work must be conducted among the people to expose racism and comprehensively explain the Marxist-Leninist principles for the solution of the nationalities question. Third, and this was also noted, it is important to conduct consistent mass actions aimed at ensuring positive changes in the legislation of capitalist countries and reinforcing the constitutional guarantees of the rights of ethnic minorities. To ensure the highest efficacy of the struggle against racism and reactionary nationalism, it was said at the seminar, it is also necessary to develop forms of cooperation among the communist and workers' parties

that would enable them to share their experience more actively. The success of this struggle would be facilitated by a correct understanding and application of the principles of proletarian internationalism, which, while preserving the unity of the communist movement and all other revolutionary forces, allows taking into account the national needs of any party and any alliance of the working people and the interests of peace and socialism.

1. See *WMR*, No. 8, 1977.
2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 80-81.
3. *Time*, December 12, 1983, p. 14.
4. A point dealt with by Pieter Keuneman, "The Background of the Conflict" and by Luis Emilio Veintimilla, "Paving the Way for the Future", *WMR*, No. 2, 1984.

A society's class structure: dialectics of development

Professor Rudi Weidig
Dr. Sc. (Philos.)
GDR

SOCIALISM: UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

It is a most important and also a most elementary tenet of Marxism-Leninism that a corresponding social structure emerges at every period of a society's revolutionary development. This is most visually manifested in the course of the historical process in which the antagonistic class society is restructured into a classless communist society. It is a uniformity also intrinsic to the period in which a developed socialist society is built, for, according to Lenin's scientific prediction, it can be built only as a result of the conscious activity of all the working people under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist party.

There are specific features to the formation of a developed socialist society, the stage at which a number of fraternal countries, including the GDR, now find themselves. It is a period in which the basic material and spiritual prerequisites are created for the subsequent transition to communism, a society based on social equality. It is shaped and established on the basis of changes in the economy. Further advance in building socialism today and over the long term crucially depends on the intensification of production, and acceleration of scientific and technological progress, which makes qualitatively new demands on all the working classes and strata. These are connected primarily with the capacity of these social forces to perform skilled and efficient labor in the material and spiritual spheres, and with the extent of their creative activity, their general educational standards, and levels of consciousness and labor discipline.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) believes that the most important condition for perfecting our society's social structure and fulfilling the qualitatively new tasks in socialist construction is constant increase and better use of the creative potential of the working class, the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and all the other working people. The party program has clearly formulated this strategic proposition: "Developed socialist society means: a growing role for the working class and its party as the leading force of the society, and constant strengthening of its alliance with the class of cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and all the other working people. At the same time, it means the drawing closer together of all the classes and strata on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world view of the working class, a steady improvement in working and living conditions, and ever more extensive and planned use of scientific and technological progress in every social sphere."[1]

Consequently, the development of the social structure is not isolated or separated from the other basic material and spiritual processes in the advance of the new society. Under socialism, the close connection between them and changes in the social structure is more pronounced and explicit, because the society is made up of laboring classes and strata. Indeed, on the one hand, the working people's social status, fundamental interests and experience are to a great extent connected with their participation in material and spiritual production; on the other, the task of making it more efficient

---

For the first article in this series see *WMR*, No. 12, 1983.

determines the higher demands, primarily on the workers' capacity, their aims, attitudes and business qualities.

Practice shows that the more conscious the attitude to the economic strategy guidelines for the 1980s worked out by the SED and adopted at its 10th congress in April 1981 taken by the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and the greater their acceptance of these guidelines as their very own cause and criterion of the new quality of their labor, the more speedily and broadly these are realized. This approach is of crucial importance in creating the economic, material and technical prerequisites for stabilizing and further raising living standards in accordance with the principle that economic policy and social policy are one.

The fullest mastery of the ever deepening ties between economic, scientific, technical and social progress implies an understanding and purposeful shaping of the qualitative processes within the social structure that are the propelling forces of the scientific and technological revolution and the intensification of production. Another relevant question is the perspective of development of the working classes and strata. Proceeding from their common and specific aspirations, living conditions and capabilities, they can seek, find, muster and use their resources for socialist construction.

In examining this question (and it is of fundamental significance for the social-structure profile of the new society and of its entire economic and social policy, and also for the further consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the other classes and strata), the SED constantly takes into account the radical changes which have already taken place in the course of the socialist revolution within the class structure of the GDR, and in particular, in the process in which its classes and strata are being drawn ever closer together. The fundamentals of a social structure appropriate to the new system have taken shape in our country, as they have in other socialist community countries, in the process and as a result of the revolution. They have been created within the framework of the socialist society itself, and its classes, strata and social groups have acquired socialist features. Relations between them are characterized by solid alliance, comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. That is a substantial historical advantage of socialism.

The progress already achieved is evident from which groups and strata now determine the class structure, and what is the status of each of them within the body of the working population of the republic.

Class and Social Structure of GDR Population Employed in the National Economy
(1982, per cent)

Workers	75.0*
Cooperative peasants	6.5
Intelligentsia	15.0*
Cooperative artisans	1.8
Self-employed artisans, commission agents,** retail traders, etc.	1.7

*Calculated from *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR. 1982.* Berlin, 1982, pp. 16, 17, 100, 101-104. The data on the size of the working class and the intelligentsia are approximate, because the on-going integration makes it hard to draw a distinct line between groups of working people so as to classify them either as workers or intellectuals.

**Marketing goods allocated from state stocks. — Ed.

These data show that the GDR has a basically stable social structure corresponding to a modern and industrially developed socialist state. It reflects the high level attained in developing the social productive forces, especially in industry, and the division of labor, and the degree of maturity of socio-economic relations.

The changing numerical strength of the various classes and strata is also a substantial trend. While the percentage of workers (the most numerous class in our society, which is very much larger than all the other social groups) within the employed population has basically remained unchanged over the past 20 years, the percentage of intellectuals in that period has increased from 5.0 per cent to 15.0 per cent. Meanwhile, the percentage of cooperative peasantry has dropped from 12.0 per cent to 6.5 per cent, while the strata of cooperative and self-employed artisans, which is highly differentiated in socio-economic terms, has shrunk from 5.0 per cent to roughly 3.0 per cent.

There are different reasons for the quantitative changes that have occurred. First of all they have resulted from the improvement in the relations of production under socialism, the marked growth in the productive forces and labor productivity (especially in industry and agriculture), and the ever more important role of science, technology, education, culture and so on. Another factor is the changing age structure of the employed population. Thus, in recent years a noticeable part of the class of cooperative peasants, a certain number of artisans and persons engaged in the trades have left the labor sphere for reasons of age.

The active processes of social mobility have also naturally had an influence on the structural changes. Thus, with the help of the state and thanks to the socialist system of education, many skilled workers and their children have taken up leading posts in the state apparatus

and the economy, or have become intellectuals working in the field of science, culture and medicine. Such mobility has been from the start and continues to be to this day, one of the important conditions in shaping the new socialist intelligentsia, while promoting the stability of our state.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a sizable number of industrial workers began to work in the agrarian sector. Together with the peasants, they helped to assert the socialist mode of production and the new way of life in the countryside, and have had an important role to play in developing the cooperatives and strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. In the three decades from 1950 to 1980, a total of almost 1.5 million industrial and office workers and their children have joined the ranks of the intelligentsia and the cooperative peasantry.

However important the percentage shares of the various classes and strata and the dynamic of their numbers, these reflect only one aspect in the development of the class structure, primarily the quantitative aspect. But it is essential that the establishment and consolidation of socialist property in the means of production and socialist state power in the GDR have led to the emergence of the decisive socio-economic and political foundations which determine the main features of the social structure that is necessary for and is characteristic of the formation of developed socialist society. This process is far from being complete.

The 10th congress of the SED noted that the "process in which the classes and strata of the population are being drawn closer together on the basis of the ideals of the working class has continued to develop."[2] This is an expression of what has already been attained in the socialist revolution, and of what remains to be done.

Indeed, in the period under consideration, the socio-economic and political basis for the existence and activity of a class or stratum dominating and oppressing the working people has entirely disappeared; there has been a fundamental change in the social condition of all the classes and strata, and also in their social profile: they have been developing as socialist social groups. On the basis of the totally new property relations, the working people have created the necessary material conditions for their own social activity and mutual relations.

An important indicator of this is provided by the socio-economic principles of development which are common to all the classes and strata. Thus, in 1981, 94.6 per cent of of the working population was employed at enterprises and institutions in the socialist sector, including 96.4 per cent of industrial and office workers, all the cooperative peasants, nearly 98 per cent of the intelligentsia, and more than 60 per cent of the artisans and persons engaged in the trades. That is the root of their common interests, aims and actions designed to multiply and make more effective use of socialist property for the further progress of the society, the collective and the individual.

But practice testifies that the emergence of socialist property in the means of production does not coincide automatically with development of socialist consciousness and behavior among the workers and all the other working people. Marx used to say that property, as the individual's conscious behavior with respect to the conditions of production, is realized only in production itself: "The actual appropriation first occurs not in the mental, but in the active and actual attitude to these conditions; that is the real use of them by man as the conditions of his subjective activity."[3]

Summing up the practice of socialist construction in the USSR, General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov made this point: "To get the rights of a master and to become a true, wise and thrifty master are not at all the same thing. Having accomplished a socialist revolution, the people have a long way to go before they learn their own position as the supreme and undivided owners of the entire public wealth — preparing themselves for it both economically, politically and, if you like psychologically, developing a collectivist mentality and behavior."[4]

This process has, of course, already yielded historically significant results, as will be seen from the rising educational and skill standards of the working people, the development of their socialist attitude to work, and of their collectivist way of thinking, living and behavior. The transition to a predominantly intensive expanded reproduction, with the wide application of the most modern scientific and technological achivements, and the active spread of rationalization, opens another and highly responsible stage in social development entailing new changes in the social structure.

The working class, the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the other working people of the GDR now have, for the first time in history, the possibility of using scientific and technological progress and intensification for their own interests, for the interests of society. In the process, it is important to bring about a marked growth of the national economy. In virtue of the existing internal and external conditions, this can be achieved only through greater economies in raw and other

materials and energy, and also in labor-time and labor-power. On how successfully the set plans are realized depends the fulfillment of the SED's long-term socio-political program.

The further development of the GDR's working classes and strata, we believe, will be almost exclusively *qualitative*. There is a growth in the importance of such features and aspects of their behavior as creativity and initiative, sense of socialist responsibility and discipline, collectivism and mutual assistance, efforts to increase educational standards and occupational skills and make effective use of them, readiness and capability to make diverse use of their capacities in the labor process (including changes in occupation and shift work) and high returns from their labor efforts.

The extensive impact of such qualitative factors as the motive force of scientific, technological, economic and social progress affects all the working people without exception. Today and in the foreseeable future, this will determine the new profile of classes and strata, their capacity to be true master of socialist property and their drawing closer to each other. The extent to which the working people act as such masters in practice will increasingly be the measure and criterion of the attained level of their integration.

The active participation of GDR citizens in running the worker and peasant state, their fulfillment of the civic duties within the framework of socialist democracy, and their high sense of responsibility for everything that goes on in their society also help to draw the classes and strata closer to each other. The representatives of all the social groups work in the organs of the people's power of the republic. Reliance on a broad social base has been and continues to be the fundamental principle of the socialist state.

Among the deputies to the People's Chamber, the regional, district, communal and city assemblies, workers make up 46.6 per cent, members of agricultural, horticultural and other cooperatives, more than 20 per cent, office workers, more than 25 per cent, women, 35.9 per cent, and young people — nearly 15 per cent. It is indicative that 35.4 per cent of the deputies working in the people's representations in the GDR have a higher or secondary technical education.[5]

The involvement of all the classes, social strata and groups in running the state is further evidence of our people's growing moral and political unity and of its living and effective democracy. At the same time, it is an expression of the socialist state's constant efforts to take into account the basic social interests of all the social groups and to realize them in its policy. Altogether, more than 200,000 men and women now work in the people's representative organs, successfully combining this activity with their everyday work.

Besides, as sociological studies show, 66 per cent of the working people and almost 50 per cent of the workers of the GDR perform some kind of social function at enterprises, in state, trade union and other organizations, in their neighborhoods, etc. But what is important is not only the formal involvement of representatives of all the classes and strata in the administration of the state and the society, but also the creation of conditions promoting the citizens' efficient exercise of their functions with a knowledge of what they are about. Erich Honecker has emphasized that "our party's policy is aimed to have every step in the formation of a developed socialist society being taken together with all the classes and strata of the population."[6]

The work done in accordance with the SED's strategic tenet has helped to raise markedly the educational and skill standards of the working people and enhance their interest in taking part in the solution of social problems. Here we have attained a high level. As a result, favorable prerequisites have been created for the voluntary, vigorous and skilled activity of broad masses of people in the administration of the state.

Alongside these what might be called quantitative apects of the involvement of the working people of different social origin and status in the exercise of social functions, we believe that it is henceforth necessary to give closer attention to qualitative factors: the all-round development and use of their knowledge, capabilities, experience and creativity for the benefit of society. This is a key condition for the progress of socialist democracy. Under the leadership of the working class party, all the classes and strata are making their contribution to its development. The working people are fully aware that the multifarious and dynamic functioning of the socialist system is aimed to ensure the well-being and free and all-round development both of society as a whole, and of every individual.

In the GDR's social structure, in which the working class has the crucial role,[7] socio-economic, political and ideological community and all-round cooperation among the working people lead to the realization of their common interests and goals. That is the essence of their integration. All the classes and strata are linked by socialist property in the means of production, their equal status with respect to the socialist state, the guiding and leading force

of the Marxist-Leninist party, and the ideology of the working class, which is increasingly accepted as the ideology of the whole people. They are united by their joint contribution to the GDR's social progress, by the concern of broad masses of people to ensure peace, and to raise further the working people's material and cultural standards. These unifying factors, with socialist property as their foundation, constitute the basis on which the social structure is developed, the alliance of the classes and strata is consolidated and they are brought closer to each other.

Although different classes and strata are still to be found in socialist society, it is, in effect, no longer a class society in the traditional sense of the term. Instead of the polarization of classes, which is typical for antagonistic society, socialism has established a new historical tendency toward comradely cooperation, solid alliance and growing integration of the classes and strata. It is the features of their community that predominate, and this provides the basis for perfecting the social-class structure. Such features are manifested in spiritual life, in the relations between individuals and in their behavior and, finally, in the whole set of conditions which determine the working people's social being.

The guaranteed right to education, occupational training and the raising of skill standards has, for instance, made it possible to set up a totally new educational and skill-training system, which has a substantial influence on the qualitative development of the social structure, thereby promoting the integration of the classes and strata.

With every year, more and more industrial and office workers and cooperative peasants completed 10-12 classes of the secondary school and received two or three-year technical trades education. In the 10 years from 1971 to 1981, the percentage of working people who have completed their professional training increased from 60.8 per cent to 81.4 per cent[8] of the employed population. In 1955, skilled workers in socialist industry came to just over 25 per cent, and in 1981 — to almost 65 per cent. In 1963, 18.1 per cent of those permanently employed in agriculture had a special education, and in 1981 — 89.0 per cent.[9]

High educational and skill standards, and the accompanied thirst for knowledge have become a characteristic feature of all the classes and social groups. Another indicative fact is that the collective forms of labor, especially widespread in the working class and the peasantry, are now also being increasingly adopted within a sizable section of the intelligentsia, above all, in science, technology, teaching and medicine.

In our society, there is an evening out of the basic social living conditions. All the young people have equal opportunities for receiving an education, regardless of the class or stratum they come from. The working people of town and country equally enjoy such important socio-political gains as the right to work and guarantees of full employment, mother-and-child benefits, social security for old age pensioners and disabled persons, equality of women, free medical care, etc. Sociological studies also show that the availability of consumer durables (TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.) is very high and virtually the same in the families of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

One could well go on listing the evidence of the growing community of the strata and classes manifested in various spheres of life, but the facts already cited clearly show the continuing rapid development of our society's social structure along its main line: the approximation of material and spiritual conditions and the elements of behavior of working people from different classes and strata.

Nevertheless, the predominance of this trend does not signify that complete social equality has already been achieved and that all the social distinctions and inequalities have been overcome. So long as the socialist society consists of different working classes and strata, essential distinctions between them will remain and go on being reproduced. The development of a fundamental community and homogeneity does not rule out the existence and reproduction of social distinctions. That is an objective feature of the social structure typical of socialism which radically differs from antagonistic class society, but which cannot as yet be identical with the social structure of a communist society.

Although the socio-economic and political foundation for the existence of classes and strata under socialism does undergo a radical change, the material prerequisites ensuring social heterogeneity are not yet entirely eliminated. Summing up the development of classes in the GDR, Erich Honecker has emphasized that we would be drawing the wrong conclusion if "we closed our eyes to the still existing distinctions in the condition and interests of the classes and strata of the GDR population. A complacent attitude to efforts to obscure them would mean minimizing the role of the working class and creating the impression that socialism is capable of solving the problems of the society's social structure in a way that it will

be possible to do only under communism."[10]

This conclusion is meaningful for the whole period of construction of the developed socialist society. It accords with the proposition substantiated by Lenin in his works "A Great Beginning" and "On Cooperation,"[11] where he says that under socialism two forms of social property in the means of production will remain for a long time — state and cooperative property — which means that the different classes and strata of the working people based on them will coexist. Social distinctions between town and country, and between mental and manual labor will also remain.

The qualitative development of the social structure is a long-term process. It was said at the June 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC, among other things, that the integration of state, collective farm and cooperative property over the long term has nothing in common with a mechanical conversion of collective farms into state farms. The conclusion was further drawn that "the establishment of a classless structure of the society will, judging by everything, take place, largely and in the main, at the stage of mature socialism."[12]

Consequently, the USSR's historical record shows that the communist formation will enter upon its second phase when the conditions eliminating the need for the existence of classes and leading to a classless society crystallize over the long period in which developed socialism is perfected. Nothing but harm can be done to socialism by a mechanical or premature liquidation of classes, before the necessary objective and subjective factors have matured. That is why it is highly important to determine, both for the present and for the immediate future, the dynamic and scale of the changes in the social structure in the 1980s, and consciously to apply the conclusions in practice. This will make it possible "to take a fundamentally new step forward in combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution."[13]

Socialism's capacity to generate and stimulate creativity and high craftsmanship and also to tap most fully the working people's potentialities for boosting labor productivity through the application of scientific and technological achievements is the crucial criterion of progressive development in the contemporary social structure of socialism. Erich Honecker says: "In a modern socialist industrial state, like the German Democratic Republic, the source of economic growth lies primarily in the creative energies of the workers and cooperative peasants, of those working in science and technology, and of all the other working people, and in our people's spiritual potential."[14]

The integration of classes and strata also includes a number of other important processes. We believe that among them are the purposeful efforts to overcome the social distinctions which exert a drag on society's development; the purposeful use of social distinctions promoting progress with an eye to their long-term reproduction, including respect for and, in a sense, encouragement of the specific interests, uniqueness and capacities of individual groups of working people.

Consequently, the social distinctions — ranging from the forms of property to distribution according to labor — are rooted in the socialist relations of production and are determined by the present level in the development of the productive forces and the division of labor. The GDR's experience shows that the specific interests of the various social groups taking shape on that basis aggregate into phenomena promoting economic progress. They are in no sense an impediment that needs to be removed as soon as possible; on the contrary, they contain a considerable positive potential.

The drawing of the classes and social strata closer to each other in practical life turns out to be a protracted and contradictory process precisely because it contains the intricate dialectics of interaction between the developing features of the community and the remaining social distinctions and peculiarities. This process of integration can run a successful course only to the extent to which the necessary material, primarily economic, conditions are worked out. The latter are created above all through the persevering and efficient work of masses of men and women consciously developing and using their capabilities.

Integration, as the main form of development of socialist classes and strata along the historically long way of building communism, does not in any sense signify some "unification," "evening out" or "levelling down" of the special interests and capabilities or of the specific living conditions, as bourgeois ideologists keep saying in their efforts to cast a slur on the development of our social structure.

The SED's policy takes into account that the social distinctions and the consequent specific interests and requirements, capacities and experience of the various classes and strata have far from ceased being a motive force of socialist progress. It should be regarded as normal and objectively necessary that specific conditions of existence, special interests, capabilities and

features of behavior among cooperative peasants tend to arise on the basis of socialist cooperative property in agriculture. A careful attitude to these peculiarities and utmost support of them are of considerable importance for the further definition of the profile of that class, and enhancement of the efficiency of agricultural production. Cooperative property has been and continues to be the main basis for the formation and development of the class of cooperative peasants and simultaneously a factor promoting the consolidation of their ties with the working class and other working people, while making for the distinctions between them.

This form of property has not only justified itself in the process of the peasantry's transition to the organization of labor on collective lines, but has also continued to play a key role in the present conditions. It contains great potentialities and reserve which, we believe, need to be purposefully used in shaping the new society.

The progress achieved by agricultural production testifies to the broad potentialities of cooperative property. Thus, in the 1970s, cropping output was 15 per cent up on the 1960s, and livestock output up 34 per cent. The cooperatives, now cultivating over 87 per cent of all the farmland in the GDR, account for 95 per cent of state cropping procurement and 77 per cent of livestock procurement.[15] For a full picture add to this the fact that by their labor in cooperatives and on their homestead farms the peasantry is making the crucial contribution to the uninterrupted supply of the population with foodstuffs and of industry with important types of raw materials.

There is no real evidence then that the potential of cooperative property has been worked out, or that the class of cooperative peasants has no prospects in the further shaping of developed socialist society. The 10th congress of the SED set the task of further consolidating the class of cooperative peasantry and developing all its potentialities in order to tap its reserves for boosting the efficiency of agriculture and advancing it along the way of cooperation, intensification and rationalization. Our party has also set the task of ensuring the fullest development of the capabilities of socialist artisans and persons engaged in the trades in order to improve maintenance work and other services for the benefit of the whole population.

The importance of the intelligentsia will continue to grow. The drive for further advances in science and technology and to intensify and rationalize production implies extensive use of the specific qualities which determine the character of our intelligentsia. The scientific and technological revolution makes new demands on skilled work by brain. In order to cope with these demands it is important primarily to develop in every way the features making up the characteristic social profile of the GDR intelligentsia. Among these above all are skilled intellectual work, a high level of training and education, and creative effort in science and technology. The assertion of these features now promotes and will continue to promote the further growth of the national economic potential and the shaping of the material, technical and economic conditions required for the integration of the classes and strata of our society.

In short, solution of the problems posed by the intensification of the socialist national economy calls for the consideration and extensive use of the common and specific conditions in which all the classes and strata live, and the development of their capacities, interests and rich experience, including everything that distinguishes them from each other. That is the way along which the working people of the GDR are creating the crucial material prerequisites for the further development of our people's social community under the leadership of the working class and with the communists in the vanguard.

1. *Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1976, p. 27.
2. *Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED*, Berlin, 1981, p. 123.
3. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Okonomie (Rohentwurf)*, Berlin, 1974, p. 393.
4. Yuri Andropov, "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Building Socialism in the USSR", *Information Bulletin*, May 1983, p. 4.
5. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR, 1982*, Berlin, 1982, p. 393.
6. E. Honecker, *Reden und Aufsatze*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1975, p. 375.
7. See Rudi Weidig, "The Social Face of the Working Class," *WMR*, No. 10, 1982, p. 86. — *Ed.*
8. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR*, 1982, pp. 16, 114.
9. Ibid., p. 176.
10. E. Honecker, *Reden und Aufsatze*, p. 375.
11. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 419-420; Vol. 33, pp. 467-475.
12. *Information Bulletin*, August 1983, p. 32.
13. *Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED*, p. 49.
14. E. Honecker, *Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlusse des IX. Parteitages der SED*, Berlin, 1978, p. 38.
15. W. Felfe, "Die sozialistische Land, Forest und Nahrungsguterwirtschaft im Schrittmass der 80er Jahre", *Einheit*, No. 2, 1982.

What has changed in Egypt

Michel Kamel
CC Political Bureau member,
Egyptian Communist Party

When, more than two years ago, Hosni Mubarak took over as President of Egypt, the masses adopted what was generally a wait-and-see and cautiously optimistic attitude. Indeed, some leaders of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition even began to cherish hopes ranging from the idea that partial reforms might come about to illusions about fundamental changes. Nor was the assassination of Anwar Sadat the only reason for this. As a matter of fact, the regime had been going through a most severe crisis and was badly isolated and decaying.

The crisis manifested itself in, among other things, a stepped-up struggle inside the ruling bloc, if over secondary issues. The bloc was dominated by the "Sadat group," or the sections of the bourgeoisie that sprang up and developed during the period of reconciliation with reaction following the 1967 defeat. This group is made up of businessmen virtually unconnected with the productive sphere; their occupation is speculation in foreign exchange and real estate, smuggling, brokerage and import operations. They have a virtual monopoly of the black market and are the main agents of foreign companies. Their influence soared when, in May 1971, Sadat broke with Nasser's legacy. Gradually they contrived to get hold of power levers and take over decision-making, which became particularly noticeable after the 1973 war and the extension of the economic *infitah* (open door policy).

This group was confronted with the more "enlightened" sections of the capitalist class, which were active in both the public and the private sectors of the productive sphere and were hit by the *infitah*, as well as with certain sections of the bureaucratic and technocratic bourgeoisie committed to economic reformism (that is, demanding that corruption be combated and that the *infitah* be restricted and lent a more "rational" character). In the political sphere, these sections advanced moderately liberal slogans, calling for steps to "ease" Egypt's obvious dependence on U.S. imperialism, check the "normalization" of relations with Israel and improve relations with the Arab world. It was on this wing of the bourgeoisie that the majority of the patriotic camp pinned its hopes, since there was no truly national alternative to the existing policy. Wishful thinking went as far as to exaggerate the bourgeois opposition's potential and its ability to bring about comprehensive and far-reaching changes.

The revolutionary forces adhered to the following tactics: assailing above all the "Sadat group" to split the ruling bloc, eliminate the most parasitical, venal and harmful of its members and provide in this way greater opportunities of achieving their strategic objectives after the defeat of the regime as a whole. In this context they worked to set up a National Salvation Front as an alliance between the patriotic forces and those in and outside the regime who advocated "rationalization" of the official policy.

Events of the past two-odd years have shown that the ruling bloc — with all its members and institutions, with the more "enlightened" sections and those lagging behind, with those seeking reform and those resisting it — *cannot stop the reproduction of conditions of dependence and the consolidation of its structures* no matter what forms and methods it uses.

"Special relations" with the United States

The present regime is trying to pursue a more flexible policy in the Arab world and on the international scene, being careful, however, not to deviate in the least from the policy of maintaining "special relations" with the USA. Hence the discrepancy between formal statements and actual practices.

Officials like to hold forth about "balanced" foreign political relations, yet they take no serious steps to restore normal relations with the Soviet Union. The regime protests its commitment to non-alignment and yet has been trying to undermine the movement from within by urging it to stay equidistant from the two "superpowers." It offers assurances of loyalty to Arab unity but insists that this unity must be based on "realistic principles," meaning that Egypt, burdened with the shackles of Camp David and treaty relations with Egypt and the USA, must be readmitted to Arab ranks.

Israel's aggression against Lebanon has put the Egyptian regime in a predicament. The regime condemns and even protests formally against it under the pressure of a mass movement but makes the reservation that Egypt will be loyal to Camp David irrespective of what Israel does and that Egypt's commitments under the "peace treaty" are not subject to debate.

The regime praises the decisions of the Fez Conference. President Mubarak describes them as "excellent" but adds that "the means of putting them into effect are lacking" and that it is necessary, therefore, to "fully support the Reagan plan, for it is based on Camp David and has the greatest chances of succeeding. After all, it is backed by a great power and by its President himself." Thus premises clashed with conclusions and words are at variance with deeds.

However, it would be simplistic to attribute this "inconsistency" solely to demagogy or to pressure from the mass movement. There is no discounting the interests of a section of the big national bourgeoisie, which has managed to amass enormous wealth in a short time. It seeks expansion and is searching for opportunities to sell its output and invest its capital. It needs markets which it has lost in the Arab world and socialist countries. It wants its share of the receipts from Arab oil, which it forfeited because of Sadat's "hard-headedness" and "short-sightedness."

Nevertheless, the political, economic and military ties fettering the country plus the changed balance of forces at the level of both society as a whole and its various power institutions have so far made in the main for trends toward capitulation and dependence. There is more to this than mere support for U.S.-NATO designs and projects, such as the "Reagan plan" or the Israeli-Lebanese agreement. Egypt has come to play the leading role as a promoter of imperialist plans. At the height of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, Cairo went even farther than Washington by calling for "simultaneous talks on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon, including those of Israel, and talks on an overall Middle East settlement."[1] Not accidentally, the campaign against Syria and other countries, accused of trying to "torpedo the peace effort," became more strident after the Lebanese-Israeli agreement was signed.

Worse still, the regime did not so much as try to conceal its sympathetic stance on the criminal armed intervention of the USA and NATO. When the U.S. Sixth Fleet and U.S. Marines barbarously shelled and bombed Lebanese cities and villages Mubarak did not mention it in any way in his message to President Reagan. He preferred to lament over "the blood of innocent people"[2] shed as a result of clashes between diverse Lebanese forces. Official Cairo gave the U.S. invasion of Grenada its unqualified support, landing in the same company as the dictatorial regimes of Chile and Guatemala.

These are only some of the consequences of Egypt's "special relations" with the United States. Foreign Minister K.H. Ali put the main principle of Egypt's diplomacy in a nutshell by stating: "In 1983 we will hand all cards to the Americans and see what happens."[3]

The Egyptian military establishment and U.S. imperialist plans

The most dangerous form of these "special relations" is the harnessing of the armed forces of Egypt to the implementation of the Pentagon and NATO plans aimed at bringing our region under their sway. True, mounting discontent in the army and among the people compels the regime to resort to demagogy and camouflage.

Let us see how this is done.

Egyptian troops took part in the Bright Star exercises led by the U.S. Central Command of the rapid deployment force. Throughout the exercises the ground, waters and skies of Egypt were entirely at the disposal of the interventionist U.S. military.

The timing of the exercises is worthy of note. The "Reagan plan" miscarried shortly before them. The PLO refused to empower Jordan to negotiate on the Palestinians' behalf. The Lebanese-Israeli-U.S. agreement found itself in a blind alley, for many of even the most reactionary Arab regimes refused to subscribe to it, dreading the people's anger. The Lebanese and Palestinians stepped up their heroic resistance to the occupation troops and this affected the political situation in Israel. Syria was resisting as staunchly as ever attempts to intimidate or coax it. All this dealt telling blows to U.S. prestige and influence.

Meanwhile official Cairo set examples of political hypocrisy. "Egypt," said Defense Minister Abu Ghazalya, "welcomes joint maneuvers with any state should it ask for them, provided they benefit both sides."

And here is another example. A hearing in the U.S. Congress revealed the existence of a secret U.S. military base on Egyptian soil. Taken unawares, the Egyptian regime published a lame "denial," alleging that the base was not a base but merely a "facility." However, high-ranking U.S. military men, insisting in Congress on new appropriations, testified that the Department of Defense had already spent 70 million dollars on modernizing the base, where

fully a hundred U.S. servicemen were stationed and from where AWACS planes flew on spy missions. The additional funds were needed for the reconstruction of runways to receive heavy bombers and serve as a rear base for any military operations which the Pentagon might mount in the Middle East.

Egyptian-U.S. military agreements cover a much wider range of issues and this is confirmed by knowledgeable Western quarters. The U.S. Air Force has secured the right to land its planes without previous authorization at any civilian or military airfield of Egypt, use airfield facilities there and station U.S. servicing personnel at many air bases. There is an agreement on "special purpose dumps" which authorizes the Pentagon to set up in Alexandria, Suez and elsewhere arms dumps for the rapid deployment force. Also, the two countries have come to terms on "exchanging" "security" information.

The rapid growth of Egypt's military spending since the elimination of Sadat gives cause for concern. While expenditures in 1982 totalled 1,650 million Egyptian pounds, they are to go up to 2,850 million pounds (foreign sources set them at 3,125 million) under the 1983/84 budget.

Since the Camp David accords were signed, the USA and other imperialist powers have been urging Egypt to build up its war industry. In 1981, over 30 munition factories, which employ 100,000 workers (8 per cent of all industrial workers and from 15 to 20 per cent of the workers employed in modern industries) supplied products worth 400 million pounds. And now the output growth rate of the war industry is to increase to 20 per cent a year.

Arms are being manufactured either on a joint basis, with U.S., British, French and Italian companies participating, or by license and under the control of these companies. The imperialists retain undivided control in all circumstances, for the technological dependence of this sphere of production is particularly great. The war industry is of strategic importance and as such it is linked most intimately with the policy of the regime. The imperialists see its continued existence or its abolition as depending on this policy, and this constitutes a most dangerous factor for political pressure and economic blackmail, especially in step with the growing share of the war industry in total national production.

Nominally, munition factories are listed as "productive" industries, for the bulk of their output goes to the "home market" (to meet the requirements of the armed forces). Actually they are part of the dependent, "parasitical" sector, for in estimating the nature of an industry, it is important to ascertain its functions and the social forces dominating it and deriving profit from it. The current policy toward the war industry tends to increase the structural dependence of the whole Egyptian economy on foreign monopolies.

Thorough restructuring of the economy

The economic *infitah* has a relatively short record, for it was not adopted until late 1974. Nevertheless, the economy has been thoroughly refashioned since then, its structure has undergone a pronounced organic deformation. The public sector has shrunk, and has been put to the service of private enterprise. "Free" market mechanisms have come to function unhampered. Control over political and economic decision-making has gone to big foreign, mixed and domestic private capital.

Structural deformations were made worse by the operation of external factors (a colossal increase in the earnings of Arab oil-producing countries, which intensified the outflow of Egyptian labor to those countries, the adoption of a system of floating currency and discount rates on the world financial market, and so on). This intertwined with the effects of the *infitah* itself, namely, the more frequent solicitation of loans from imperialist quarters, a growing foreign debt and the increasing burden of interest payment, overemphasis on the import of both necessities and luxuries, a corresponding decline in the competitive capacity of domestic industrial production, and the tyranny of banks, companies, speculator and parasitical capital brought into existence by the *infitah*.

Economically, the country has been acquiring the features of a rentier. Receipts from oil, the toll charged for passage through the Suez Canal, earnings from tourism, remittances from Egyptians working abroad, loans and gratuitous subsidies account for 82.3 per cent of the country's foreign currency revenue. It is only the rest that comes from industrial and agricultural production and various services.[4]

At this point, it is worth noting certain circumstances.

First to rush to Egypt after the announcement of the *infitah* was bank capital. The number of foreign and mixed banks operating in the country rose to 57. The bulk of their assets is made up of Egyptians' deposits; by late 1981 it totalled 2,197 million pounds against 84.3 million derived from foreign sources (a ratio of roughly 26:1).[5] These banks invest the greater part of their funds — about 1.5 billion pounds — abroad, thereby contributing to the outflow of Egyptian and not to the influx of foreign capital.

Yet the need to pave the way for this influx had been given as the reason for allowing foreign and mixed banks to operate in Egypt, and on very easy terms at that. Their main sphere of action inside the country is to finance commercial operations, in particular import, and grant short-term credits at high interest.

The assets of "*infitah* enterprises" which went into operation before the end of 1981 show this cross-section: Egyptian capital makes up 67 per cent; other Arab countries, 17 per cent; Western Europe, 8.8 per cent; U.S. capital, 2.4 per cent (the oil industry excluded). Nevertheless, it is U.S. capital that controls decision-making on the Egyptian economy, using organizations like the U.S. International Development Administration, a mixed commission representing Egyptian and U.S. business, the IMF and the IBRD.

Increasing duty-free imports, primarily of manufactured articles as well as goods needed by foreign and mixed companies,[6] is sapping the competitive capacity of national industry. The Ministry of Finance estimates that in 1982 duty-free imports deprived the treasury of approximately three billion pounds.[7]

From 1970 to 1981, Egypt's foreign debt increased 11-fold. While current payments plus interest in 1970 equalled 4.1 per cent of GNP in value, a decade later they added up to 18 per cent.[8]

To meet the budget and balance of payments deficit, the government prints more paper money, which understandably devalues the currency and intensifies inflationary processes. The phenomenon of "parallel circulation of currencies" on the home market is gaining ground. The U.S. dollar is used on an increasing scale and has begun to press even the Egyptian pound.

Dependence on imported necessities is growing. Egypt imports 40 per cent of its food products and 75 per cent of its wheat. In 1982 its imports were worth 8.5 billion dollars and its exports, 4 billion.[9]

Domestic capital shows a monopolistic trend. This applies above all to trade, chiefly export and import operations, as well as to contracts.

Fundamental changes have occurred in the distribution of the national income between "persons engaged in labor" and "owners of property." In 1960, these groups shared in the national income with 40 and 60 per cent respectively. The latter half of the 60s saw a change to 50.3 and 49.7 per cent. Ever since 1980, the ratio has been reversed to 30.3 to 69.7 per cent. The trend is obvious.

Analysis of the socio-economic situation that is shaping up leads to the irrefutable conclusion that the structure and mechanisms of the Egyptian economy of the *infitah* period inevitably nullify every attempt at "reform." The sedative of the policy of "rationalization" is too mild to defeat the elements of decay and disintegration.

The situation has been deteriorating under the impact of external and internal factors. The crisis of the world capitalist economy strongly affects the dependent structure of the economy, which can no longer hold its own against unfavorable foreign influences. Things are made still worse by the dwindling of earnings from extra sources created by a definite set of circumstances and likely to run dry. Foreign demand for Egyptian labor is falling off and so is the price of raw materials like oil, which are, moreover, exported in smaller quantities; the Suez Canal earns less than before.

We communists spare no effort in our everyday struggle to bring about partial reforms so as to alleviate somehow the working people's worsening economic condition and ease their hardships. But we realize that the only way to break out of the vicious circle of continuous socio-economic decline is to carry out fundamental changes cutting into the substance of the current policy and the foundations of the economic structure, and we tell the people so. The problem has to do entirely with the nature of power and the class forces representing it. It can only be solved by the power of a national front led by the working class. Under national state capitalism, the leaders of the petty and middle bourgeoisie proved unable to maintain and carry forward the process of development; in the crisis period following the economic boom, they even pursued a policy that objectively worsened the situation and allowed greater scope for retrogression. Still less reason is there to pin hopes on sections and groups of the big bourgeoisie advocating "liberalism" and reform within the framework of a "free economic *infitah*."

Infitah: "productive" or "consumer"?

We have said that Mubarak took office as President after the assassination of Sadat when the regime was in a state of decay and isolation. The economic situation was also critical.

To save and bolster the regime, the powers that be had to "dissociate" from Sadat in one way or another. But it was perfectly clear that the only road to this was to lighten the burden of socio-economic problems and ease political repression. The main demands of the bourgeois opposition were economic "rationalization" and an end to curbs on freedoms. These de-

mands, if met, would make it possible to "reunite" diverse sections of the bourgeoisie and adopt measures for the suppression of the mass movement.

This explains why the slogans advanced in the economic sphere were aimed at "combating corruption," bringing about a "productive *infitah*,"[10] making imports more rational and cutting wasteful expenditures, in particular on luxuries. There was also talk, if in lesser measure, of protecting national industry.

The ruling circles started a shrill campaign over cases of corruption and misappropriation. The campaign culminated in the arrest of Sadat's brother and some of his other relatives. Its manifest purpose was to create the impression that the very policy of the new President's predecessor was under attack and that there were prospects of change. Public attention was diverted for a time from the big problems agitating society. The official media did their best to reduce everything to isolated cases and to treat them in terms of morality, psychology and criminal law. It was not long before the storm abated, the matter having been settled amicably. A draft law prohibiting infringement of the secrecy of bank deposits was submitted to the People's Assembly. The public prosecutor's office was divested of the right to demand any accounts or records. This guaranteed corrupt elements a cover.

The regime put about the idea that the "productive *infitah*" would become a magic wand making it possible to solve all socio-economic problems. It affirmed that the fundamental purpose of the *infitah* was industrialization and rapid development of commodity production at the expense of the service industry, primarily its clearly non-productive branches.

Some partisans of reform hoped that the slogans launched by the regime would find expression in the new five-year plan. But what the plan backed up was the trend toward a growing non-productive sphere. It gave priority to private Egyptian and foreign capital. According to plan provisions, the private sector is to invest 23.8 per cent of the total amount against 19.1 per cent in the previous five years. However, while private investments are to decrease in commodity production from 48.3 to 40 per cent, in industry from 29.2 to 21.7 per cent, in agriculture from 14.8 to 12.6 per cent, these investments in the service sector are to go up from 51.7 to 60 per cent.[11]

It is true that the government amended its economic policy somewhat. However, its limited measures will hardly bear fruit. Like similar steps announced earlier, they will be nullified by capitalist contradictions and increasingly marked elements of a structural crisis.

Those sections of the bourgeoisie that are more aware of the interests of their class as a whole go on "fighting" for the extension of reforms, trying to "defend the *infitah* from its extremes." Minister of the Economy M.T. al-Said is one of the more prominent spokesmen of these sections in the government. "A clever capitalist," he tells his class brothers, "tries to meet the basic requirements of the masses so as not to lose everything. It is certainly undesirable for employers to incur public hostility. Therefore they should raise their sights to productive and not parasitical activity."[12] But there is no chance that this line, however sincere the intentions of its adherents, will succeed as long as the aim is to preserve the *infitah* with all that goes with it, primarily imperialist domination and increasing structural dependence.

Between direct use of force and disguised repression

Sadat set up a huge arsenal of anti-democratic laws. His term in office was characterized by terrorism and police repression. Immediately after his death, the regime imposed martial law and jailed thousands of members of Islamic alignments.

The demand for an end to martial law and to curbs on democratic freedoms has been and remains central to the Egyptian national movement. Various bourgeois opposition currents upholding liberal slogans likewise put the emphasis in their propaganda and political activity on the problem of democracy, and simply avoid on occasion raising acute general national and economic problems.

This is the main area of political maneuvering. To "distance himself" from his predecessor, neutralize the opposition, win over some of its groups and induce the masses to abide by their wait-and-see attitude for as long as possible, President Mubarak proceeded flexibly and cleverly. He released detainees not belonging to the Islamic current, expressed readiness to enter into a "dialogue" with the legal parties and allowed them to bring out their publications.

Needless to say, the ruling quarters differed over the most effective ways of protecting the regime and ensuring its stability. Leaders of the National Democratic Party and government institutions who wielded the levers of power under Sadat tend to use police terror as in the past. They are convinced that any moderation would mark the beginning of the end, if not of the regime, then of their own privileged, dom-

inant position in the ruling bloc. As for the line which President Mubarak and his new associates have been following with support from the more "enlightened" bourgeois sectors and leaders, it is intended to keep the weapon of repression at the ready but to use force only when "necessary," putting the emphasis on political maneuvering. The regime also counts on tightening and multiplying laws and provisions to guarantee unrelenting control over all institutions and silence opposition voices in them while making a show of legality.

The reorganization of the electoral system is indicative in this respect. Under the new law, elections for the Consultative Council and local councils are to be held according to the majority system and for the People's Assembly, according to a "conditionally proportional system" of party lists.[13] The provisions of the law have been so formulated as to bar opposition groups from these bodies.

The Commission for Political Parties under the Consultative Council has refused to authorize the activity of the National Front Party[14] because its leadership is opposed to the Camp David accords, something seen as a "violation of the law." It has pronounced the Wafd Party[15] as "legally non-existent" on the pretext that previously it resolved to "freeze" its activity in protest against the regime's treatment of it.

Elections for leading trade union bodies likewise take place in an atmosphere of meddling and intrigue. The law on the "socialist public prosecutor" empowers him to reject undesirable candidates although the Egyptian Federation of Labor has passed a decision against interference in the electoral process by the prosecutor's office. Security agencies and factory management raise various obstacles for their part. One of the practices is to transfer a trade union leader to a remote area where he has no backing. There are also other coercive methods.

* * *

The deepening national economic crisis, Egypt's increasing involvement in the implementation of imperialist plans, the prolongation of martial law, the exposure of the frauds practised by the regime in the latest elections and the anticipated intensification of electoral struggles in the near future all tend to accelerate the polarization of political forces. Conciliating forces are losing ground, the mass struggle is growing and so is the leading role of the working class and our party in it. Developments bear out the correctness of the Communist Party's analysis, position and policy. They demonstrate that the ECP faithfully reflects and defends the working people's interests.

1. UPI interview with the Egyptian Foreign Minister, *Al Watan*, October 9, 1982.
2. *Al-Ahram*, September 18, 1983.
3. *Al-Mussawar*, December 17, 1982.
4. See *Al-Ahram*, January 3, 1983.
5. See *Al-Ahali*, October 6, 1982.
6. Since the announcement of the *infitah*, the regime has passed 62 special laws on exemption from duties.
7. See *Al-Ahram al-Iqtisadi*, August 15, 1983.
8. G. Abdel Khalek et al., *Infitah: Roots, Fruits and Prospects*, Cairo, 1982, pp. 169-171 (in Arabic).
9. See *Al-Ahali*, November 17, 1982.
10. It was claimed that the earlier policy had been one of "consumer *infitah*." The distinction does not affect the essence of *infitah* as a policy in favor of dependent capitalist development. Those who put forward the new slogan simply wanted to ease the attacks made on this policy.
11. See *Al-Ahali*, April 6, 1983.
12. Ibid., August 10, 1983.
13. Under this system, it is only members of a party that can run elections (a stipulation contradicting the constitution). Joint lists, or electoral blocs, are prohibited. A party can be represented in the People's Assembly provided it polls not less than eight per cent of the votes throughout the country. This is more than the opposition can do in today's conditions.
14. National liberal party led by Mumtaz Nassar, an opposition leader in the People's Assembly.
15. The Wafd Party played a notable role in the history of pre-revolutionary Egypt. In 1953 it was dissolved by decree of the Revolutionary Command Council. In August 1983 the Wafd decided to resume its activity but it was not until January 1984 that the Supreme Court authorized it. Currently the New Wafd Party is the only opposition force likely to poll over eight per cent of the votes in a general election.

The CIA in the Dock

Soviet journalists bring in the evidence on "dirty tricks" in the U.S., Chile, Congo, Italy, Vietnam, Bolivia, Libya, Portugal — the list goes on.

cloth $5.95

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont.
M5V 2P6

Torturing the party to tear up the revolution

Ali Khavari
Member of the Leadership,
People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)

It is five years since the victory of the people's anti-imperialist revolution in Iran, which brought down the rotten dictatorship of the Shah (February 1979). The revolutionary outburst was the result of the acute political and socio-economic problems brought about by the anti-people policy of the Shah's regime, which obligingly allowed the U.S. imperialists to enslave our country fully. There is good reason why the slogan "The Shah down, the USA to go" spread throughout the country with the overthrow of the monarchy. The revolution acquired a profoundly popular democratic character because of the very active part played in the ensuing battles by the many millions of working people, the Iranian proletariat above all, who, in the vanguard of the struggle, demanded radical socio-economic transformations and democratic rights and freedoms.

However, leadership of the revolution was taken by forces which, owing to their class and ideological limitations, did not have the necessary resolve, foresight and breadth of thought and action. To this day the leadership problem remains the weakest link of the revolutionary process, a fact which is accounted for by the specific features of the political situation in the last three decades. During their long period of dark domination, imperialism and local reaction resorted to brutal police repression, destroyed the country's democratic progressive organizations, and inflicted appreciable losses on the strongest of them — the People's Party of Iran. Largely for this reason, the leadership of the revolution passed completely to the Muslim clergy. Even during the Shah's dictatorship the clergy had the opportunity to maintain ties with the masses, the overwhelming majority of whom were believers, through the mosques.

As it is quite heterogeneous in its social and class make-up, having come to the helm following the victory of the revolution, the clergy was naturally unable to adhere to a single view and a single line of action on the most important problems, social problems primarily, and did not have any clear and well thought-out program. A resolution of the recently held 18th plenary meeting of the PPI CC says: "The ruling clergy does not represent any one definite stratum or class of the society; it is the representative of various classes and strata, including the big capitalists and landowners, and the middle and petty bourgeoisie."*

The desire to monopolize power on the part of the circles which have taken the levers of state leadership into their hands, and their intolerance of "differently-minded persons", including the members and supporters of the PPI and the organizations of the Iranian People's Fedaia (Majority) and the Mujaheddin-e-Khalq, who actively participated in the struggle, have practically alienated sizable forces from the revolution. Meanwhile, with the support of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, and also of various kinds of secret counter-revolutionaries, the right wing of the Islamic Republic authorities have taken things so far as to slow down and stop the development of the revolutionary process. The situation has been worsened by the disunion of the left, revolutionary-democratic forces, and by the absence of a united people's front — an essential condition for radical socio-economic transformations aimed to undermine the basis of the domination of the exploiting classes. In the face of the united actions of the camp of counter-revolution and reaction, this disorder weakened the revolution. The revolution ceased its progressive movement and began to reverse step by step.

From the very outset the demands of the working masses and their political representatives that the former anti-popular state apparatus should be scrapped and profound social changes implemented encountered the most stubborn resistance of the agents of imperialism, the propertied classes, and the reactionary clergy, which expresses the interests of the big capitalists and landowners. These forces sought in one way or another to save or at least partially preserve the anti-people system and institutions in the political,

---

*Rahe Tudeh, January 3, 1984 (in Persian).

economic, social and other areas of the country's life.

Even after numerous amendments meeting the landowners' interests, the agrarian reform bill — the age-old dream of the working peasantry — was voted down by the Observation Council, whose function is to ensure that the laws passed are in accordance with the dogmas of Islam. Representatives of the big clergy who want to preserve the foundations of the bourgeois-landowner system are in the majority on this body. The people call it "the capitalist interests council." The Council's veto of the agrarian bill was later sanctioned by Ayatollah Khomeini, thus marking the open departure of the Islamic Republic leadership from the promises made following the victory of the revolution.

In response to the demands of the working people, who had hoped that the revolution would bring about real changes in their situation, the ruling circles advanced the slogan of "Islamic justice." Many accepted this slogan on faith, although, of course, each person tried to find his own ideal in it. The concept of "Islamic justice" never had a precise definite content, and even the clergy interpreted it in various ways. Asserting that "private property is as sacred as the blood of the Muslim martyrs," a section of the religious leaders completely rejected any limits to private property. It is these circles which have steadily strengthened their positions in the past two years.

The revolution dealt a blow at the industrial and finance capital grouping depending on the Shah and imperialism, and inflicted losses on the former compradore stratum. But the capitalist class as a whole, including the big and middle bourgeoisie, got the chance to consolidate its position both in the economy and in the state administration system. The absence of any control over production, domestic and foreign trade, and prices left the big capitalists and landowners completely free to act. The commercial bourgeoisie — the bazaar — acquired an impressive force. It pocketed not less than $16 billion in net profit in the second year of the revolution. Making use of the economic anarchy and taking advantage of its ties with the top echelons of the clergy, the commercial bourgeoisie began an unchecked quest for profit and now essentially plays the role of a neocompradore stratum.

All this is taking place against the background of the highly profound crisis which has gripped the country's economy. As a result of the direct sabotage of the agents of imperialism and the local big bourgeoisie, and in consequence of the indecision and incompetence of the present economic leadership, the main branches of industrial and agricultural production are on the verge of total collapse. According to last year's figures, with an overall import volume of $14.7 billion, $4.8 billion were spent on food purchases. It costs the sizable sum of $7 billion annually to import the raw material and machinery (of which 75 and 95 per cent respectively come from the industrially developed capitalist states) necessary for Iranian industry to be able to function at least in some way. Were it not for oil revenues, the pulse of the national economy would have long ceased to beat.

As the positions of the Right at the levers of power are strengthened, Iran's economic ties with the imperialist powers — the USA, the FRG, Japan, France, Italy, etc. — are expanding. In 1983, for example, those countries accounted for four-fifths of all Iranian imports. This is further evidence of the rapid return to the time when, as it was under the Shah, the country was totally dependent on imperialism economically.

The insane Iran-Iraq war continues to bring incalculable calamities. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed and wounded, and millions left homeless and forced to live in very difficult conditions far from their native parts. Some calculations put the war damage at $200 billion. Military spending absorbs a third of the state budget. A consequence of the war in the internal political arena has been the consolidation of the positions of the right-wing forces and the strengthening of their dominant role in the government bodies. If one takes the international aspect, the armed conflict has been facilitating the imperialist policy of aggression and interference in the affairs of the countries of our region. Like the majority of the Iranian people, the PPI consistently supports an immediate peaceful settlement of the fratricidal conflict.

The sharp turn to the right by the ruling circles of the Islamic Republic and the socio-economic consequences of this turn are having a grave effect on the lives of the masses and arousing increasing discontent.

The working people of town and country have been worst hit by the depreciation of the rial, the runway inflation and the unending price increases (the price index for basic goods and services has almost quadrupled since 1978). And the workers' already very low wages have been virtually frozen. Unemployment is raging: with a proletariat of six million, the number of jobless is approaching three million. The workers have been deprived of the right to form trade union organizations inde-

pendent of the authorities and to champion their interests. Never having received land, the bulk of the peasants have been eking out an almost wretched existence. Many of them have left their native parts and joined the army of unemployed in the towns.

Women are made to suffer the most outrageous oppression and abasement, comparable only to their treatment during the Middle Ages, and many of these women are active participants of revolutionary actions. In spite of the authorities' talk of women's equality, they are "second-rate" people both at work and in the family, and often even in the eyes of the law.

Besides the deprivations and adversities borne by all the working people, the national minorities — Azerbaijanians, Kurds and others — living on the territory of Iran are the victims of additional national oppression. The blood of Kurdish patriots has been flowing for almost four years on the land of Iranian Kurdistan largely through the fault of the chauvinist circles of the present regime.

Through an analysis of the situation, the 18th plenary meeting of our party's CC came to the following conclusion: "In spite of the consistent efforts of the PPI and other proponents of the ideals of the deprived masses, the revolution has stopped at the stage of political upheaval and has not been able to develop into social revolution. The anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial and democratic revolution has given birth to Middle Ages despotism, which aims to restore the system of dependent capitalism."*

One of the clearest indications of this degeneration is the brutal repression unleashed against the left, revolutionary-democratic forces of Iran. Playing upon the authorities' general intolerance of all who are "differently minded," the right-wing and fanatic religious elements among the ruling circles have from the very outset carried a line toward the greatest possible clamping down on democratic freedoms. Under the pretext of a purge of counter-revolution, true revolutionaries were expelled from the public and state institutions. Adherents of scientific socialism and other "differently-minded persons" were banned from teaching in secondary and higher educational institutions, and also were not admitted to courses of study. All written and unwritten rights and freedoms were assumed by one party — the ruling Islamic Republican Party. All other political organizations and groupings were persecuted. About two years ago the victimization developed into open mass repression against all progressive, democratic forces, organizations and individuals rejecting the lawlessness, widespread violence and fanaticism.

In place of a struggle against the enemies of the Iranian revolution — imperialism, Zionism and reaction — the main efforts were directed at whipping up anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria. This reactionary policy, one which fundamentally contradicts Iran's national interests, is masked by the demagogic slogan "Neither the East nor the West." It is as though an equation sign is placed between the friends and the enemies of the Iranian revolution, and between the forces of progress and peace and those of reaction and war. In this way, they are making a clumsy attempt to hide their own dependence on international capital. The Iranian authorities' anti-Soviet campaign takes the same course as the Washington administration's infamous crusade against socialism and all the progressive and democratic forces of the world. This dangerous merging runs counter to the fundamental interests of the Iranian people, for it is common knowledge that U.S. imperialism has by no means abandoned its efforts to bring Iran back under its domination.

Since the October Revolution in Russia, our people, from year to year subjected to the increasing pressure of the imperialists, have invariably felt the kind friendly support of their powerful northern neighbor. Iranians understand very well the significance of this great revolution in their life and history, a revolution which created the conditions enabling them to assert their right to independent statehood. The land of Lenin saved our people from fascism. The Soviet Union resolutely took the side of the 1979 Iranian revolution. When imperialism began to threaten the revolution, the USSR prevented the adoption of sanctions against Iran which the United States was working for, and assisted our country during the economic blockade. What a contrast to the actions of U.S. imperialism, which organized the 1953 reactionary coup and then virtually enslaved Iran, and which has been constantly plotting against the Iranian revolution and trying to stifle it with an economic blockade and armed intervention!

The anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign culminated in February 1983 when the authorities dealt a treacherous blow at our party in order to remove the most serious obstacle to their further shift to the right. With the cooperation and guidance of imperialist agents, the action was intended to deprive the revolution at one go of its two main factors of support: internally — the PPI and externally — the USSR.

---

*Ibid., January 3, 1984.

Iran's entire modern history is a testimony to the selfless heroic struggle of the party of the working class in defense of the country's national interests against the encroachments of imperialism, to overthrow the dictatorship of the Shah and his SAVAK secret police, and to preserve and consolidate the gains of the 1979 revolution. Consistent defense of the demands of the working people, a clear line of critical support for the Islamic Republic authorities, active participation in the thwarting of the counter-revolutionary plots — this and much more are the PPI's unforgivable "sins" in the eyes of imperialism and reaction.

The Tudeh members and their friends in other parts of the world have not for a second reduced their support of the Iranian revolution. Our people could not and cannot believe the ridiculous fables spread in relation to the PPI and the Soviet Union. In an attempt to "prove" a deliberate lie, it was necessary to resort to the methods of the Middle Ages inquisition in order to receive the required "confessions." Following this, performances were staged in which the tortured faces of the victims of monstrous "treatment" were shown on TV. But for the people who were sufficiently aware of the morals of their rulers, the spectacle was but a wild, inhuman farce. And so a series of trials called "Islamic tribunals" were organized in the solitary casemates of the Tehran prison. They are being held in strict secrecy, and even the correspondents of the mass media controlled by the regime are not allowed to attend. The accused do not have the right to the services of a lawyer: without the slightest twinge of conscience, the authorities claim that the "godless" are not supposed to be defended. Lajvardi, head of Tehran's so-called revolutionary procurator's office, has stated publicly that a minimum of one million persons could be eliminated so that "Islam may flourish" in Iran.

It must be asked what is the difference between these bearers of "divine ideals," who mete out court punishment to "communists" (which is what they call anyone who does not share their convictions), who shoot people without trial and torture them to death, and the inquisitors of the Middle Ages? Not only our people but people throughout the world should know what evil deeds are being committed under the pretext of defending "sacred and eternal ideas." The scant but quite reliable information filtering out of the prisons leaves no doubt that monstrous crimes are being committed there which, when the truth about them becomes known, will cause the world to shudder.

Our party members are not being tortured and shot for some terrible sins but for their ideological views and for the PPI's clear anti-imperialist democratic policy. They are torturing the party to tear up the revolution.

It is not the first time that the enemies of the Iranian working class have resorted to lies and brutal violence in the fight against Tudeh. Overall, Iranian communists have spent 20,000 years behind bars. The PPI paid with the lives of thousands of its best sons and daughters for the dawn of freedom finally to begin to glow over the country.

The counter-revolutionaries call our party a "foreign" body "artificially implanted on alien soil," and assert that its ideology is alien and of no use to the Iranians. But the PPI is flesh of the flesh of the people, of the working class of Iran. It stands fast on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We highly value the ties of solidarity binding us with all the fraternal parties, including the glorious party of Lenin.

The perfidious blow to the PPI has done it great harm. Many comrades have been executed, have died under torture, and thousands more are languishing in prison. But whatever happens, our party will always hold aloft the banner of struggle for complete liberation, democracy and social progress. It is going to exert every effort to rally all the country's progressive democratic forces into a united people's front. It is in fact such a front which brought the revolution to victory, and such a front must save the revolution from total defeat.

One is Not Born a Personality

K. Levitin

The formative years of Soviet psychology and education.
cloth 323 pp $6.95

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Seeking radical changes

César Jiménez
Representative of the Peruvian Communist Party
on the *WMR* Editorial Council

Peru is going through a most severe socio-economic crisis, worse than in the 1929-1933 period. The current crisis is due to both the economic crisis of world capitalism and the policies of the Belaunde government, which is deliberately nullifying the changes effected by the revolutionary military government under Juan Velasco Alvarado, indulging imperialist companies and the financial oligarchy and servilely taking its cue from the IMF. Isolated to a considerable extent both socially and politically, having suffered a crushing defeat in the November 1983 municipal elections and lacking any chance of winning the 1985 general elections, the regime resorts increasingly to repression in order to be able to carry on its policies.[1]

The popular forces, primarily the United Left (UL) bloc and the Communist Party affiliated to it, call on the working people to foil the regime's efforts and to fight for their rights and democratic freedoms and for far-reaching social and economic changes. As it happens, the minority is ruling on "constitutional grounds" while the overwhelming majority of the people is opposed to the regime.

Looking back

To get a clearer idea of the present situation, it is necessary to take a look back.

Belaunde first became President in 1963 with the support of the middle bourgeoisie. He also won the votes of left and progressive forces. As a result, the more reactionary forces of the old oligarchy, big bourgeoisie and landed proprietors linked with U.S. imperialism were defeated. During the election campaign the Popular Action party led by Belaunde announced its intention to nationalize oil, carry out an agrarian reform, improve the working people's condition, promote industrialization, allow wide scope for democracy, contribute to the development of provinces lagging behind, end corruption and defend national sovereignty. Shortly before the elections an alliance involving the Christian Democratic Party was formed. After a few half-hearted reforms the government went back on its promises under pressure from imperialism and the oligarchy, entered into collusion with the Right and adopted a repressive policy. The working people responded by protesting and fighting back. The 1967/68 crisis caused immense social calamities that were aggravated by corruption. The peasants began to seize lands and the workers' strike movement spread wide. The regime, which lost its prestige and became isolated, was brought down on October 3, 1968, as the result of a revolutionary military coup led by General Velasco.

The Velasco government (1968-1975) set out to effect progressive, markedly patriotic changes in the face of great difficulties caused by rightist opposition in the armed forces. On October 9, 1968, it nationalized the oil industry and expropriated the International Petroleum Company, then a subsidiary of Standard Oil. Next it modernized the state apparatus. Under an agrarian reform that was the most progressive in Latin America (after Cuba), peasant families were allotted 10.5 million hectares of land; large agro-industrial enterprises were transferred to the working people of the countryside, who set up cooperatives.[2] The government nationalized the greater part of the fisheries, mining, banking and foreign trade, the whole of railway transport and telecommunications, and some large shops and factories. It formed industrial, mining and telecommunication labor communes, granting their employees the right to share in management and profit,[3] and a sector of working people's (self-managed) "publicly-owned enterprises."[4] Furthermore, the government called a halt to discrimination against Indians; it recognized them as full-fledged citizens and proclaimed Quechua the official language of Peru along with Spanish. A law on labor stabilization authorized the workers to run bankrupt enterprises and established standards of distributing profit and raising pay. The result was that by 1973-1974 the workers had won the highest income level and the most extensive rights ever.

The Velasco government pursued an independent, peaceful and progressive foreign policy in spite of U.S. pressure. It established commercial and diplomatic relations with

socialist countries, contributed to integration processes within the framework of the Andean Pact,[5] joined the non-aligned movement, and declared for curbing the arms race and for safeguarding peace in the world, Latin America included.

The United States adopted economic sanctions against Peru. When their attempt to hatch a conspiracy inside the country with an eye to toppling the progressive regime miscarried, the imperialists tried aggression from without, through the Pinochet junta armed to the teeth. After the Western powers had refused Peru's request for arms deliveries, the Peruvian military regime purchased arms from the Soviet Union and modernized its armed forces, a step which restored the balance and ultimately helped stave off the tragedy of war.

In 1974 the Velasco government announced that its goal was to build in the course of a "phased revolution" a "Peruvian socialism" that would have "neither a capitalist, nor a communist" trend. Self-managed "publicly-owned enterprises" of the working people were to become the leading sector of the economy; the state sector would be assigned second place, and private enterprises transformed into jointly managed labor communes, third place. Small proprietors and the handicrafts were to be encouraged. In agriculture priority was to be given to cooperatives and peasant communes, with private property guaranteed within the limits set by the agrarian reform.

The views of those who led this process evolved as it went on . However, the conditions in which these leaders emerged put upon them the stamp of certain ideological and political limitations compounded, moreover, by the erroneous social and economic concepts of many of their civilian advisers. Hence attempts to prove the need for a "third road", underestimation of the role of parties (said to be "unnecessary"), fear of the organized working class movement, timidity in the matter of extending economic relations and trade with socialist countries, faulty economic planning, concessions to transnationals and the big bourgeoisie. Besides, the more progressive measures were thwarted or deformed by reactionary bureaucrats. All this restricted the possibilities of carrying out reforms, increased existing difficulties and prevented proper stabilization of the economy when, in 1974 and 1975, world capitalism lapsed into a further crisis.

It is evident, none the less, that in spite of certain inconsistencies and mistakes, the Velasco government effected far-reaching social and economic changes of a revolutionary nature creating the objective conditions for discontinuing capitalist development.

This circumstance enabled imperialism to win over virtually the whole bourgeoisie plus the upper section of the petty bourgeoisie and draw them into the conspirators' camp. The rightist military stepped up pressure to slow down and then to reverse the process of change. Making common cause with them were not only the conservative parties but ultra-leftists, who tried to justify their attacks on the government by referring to the anti-communist and anti-labor activity of reactionary bureaucrats. Velasco was very ill at the time (1973-1974) and a group of ministers comprising Javier Tantalean, Pedro Richter, Alberto Jimenez de Lucio and Pedro Sala Orosco began to play a notable negative role in government. Their anti-popular policy isolated the government from the working people and the Left. Against the background of the economic crisis of the world capitalist system, increased internal contradictions and general confusion, the conspirators led by Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudez, then Commander of the Army and Prime Minister, carried out a bloodless coup in August 1975. The confusion was so great that operating in the coup alongside the Right were leftists misled by Morales Bermudez' talk about loyalty to the Peruvian revolution and the need to "correct mistakes" and pave the way for "Peruvian socialism." Shortly afterwards he broke with the Left and removed progressive military men.

Retrogression

Having linked itself with the new oligarchy that had sprung up in earlier years and with transnationals, the Morales Bermudez government (1975-1980) restored the power of the big bourgeoisie. It nullified the substance of the reforms running counter to the interests of capitalist development (the class of latifundium owners had virtually been eliminated by then), obstructed the development of state factories and sold some of them to domestic business. U.S. oil companies were again granted concessions, the agrarian reform was paralyzed, integration processes under the Andean Pact were slowed down, and imports competing with Peruvian products were allowed again. The government committed itself more and more to a policy of repression.

However, protests and growing popular struggles were sapping the pillars of the regime. The demand for a new government was particularly emphatic during the successful national strike called by the General Confederation of Workers of Peru (GCWP) in July

1977 and backed by other trade union centers. In the circumstances the ruling military began to set the stage for the transfer of power to a civilian oligarchic government. After coming to terms with the right-wing and centralist parties, they held elections for a Constituent Assembly (1978) and helped these parties win a majority. The Assembly adopted a new constitution amounting to a step back, for it undid the most radical measures carried out under Velasco. The People's Party (APRA) played a visible role in this; it was allied with the Popular Christian Party (PChP), founded after the right wing of the Christian Democratic Party had broken away. The Left, which polled one-third of the votes and was disunited at the time, succeeded in having only a few progressive provisions incorporated in the constitution.

The military flirted with APRA and then, after the death of that party's leader, Haya de la Torre, banked on Popular Action, the party of Fernando Belaunde Terry, whom Velasco had overthrown. The bulk of the media was put at Belaunde's service. Economic, political and ideological support from the greater part of the domestic bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism helped the Popular Action leader win the next elections. The success of the maneuver was also made possible by contradictions inside APRA and by the disunity of the left forces, which put forward several lists of candidates.[6]

The second government under Belaunde, which took over in July 1980, expresses above all the interests of the monopolistic financial oligarchy and U.S. imperialism. Popular Action made a pact with the PChP, which is linked with the Christian Democrats of Europe. By the terms of the pact, the PChP was given several ministerial and other high government posts in exchange for support guaranteeing Belaunde a parliamentary majority.

Back to oligarchic rule

The new government proceeded from the outset to destroy all that was left of earlier reforms, build up oligarchic power, tie the country to the USA still more strongly, curb popular struggles and entrust high command posts in army and police to reactionaries ready to crack down on the working people.[7] The media were restored to their former capitalist owners. The repealed agrarian reform law was replaced by a law on agrarian development. This resulted in ruining peasants and agro-industrial cooperatives, transferring lands to domestic and transnational monopolies and strengthening the hand of the rural bourgeoisie. Denationalizing the oil industry, the government enacted a law betraying Peru's interests, for it put millions of hectares of land at the disposal of transnationals. It also denationalized foreign trade and authorized unhampered imports. The regime deliberately helps sell state enterprises for a song to domestic and foreign private groups. It has abolished restrictions imposed previously on foreign capital, with the result that profits are taken out of the country unhindered and that highly important economic sectors are transferred to imperialist companies. The government authorized the opening of foreign banks and granted them the right to acquire share holdings of Peruvian banks. Control over the prices of necessities was lifted and subsidies were cut off, which meant giving speculators a free rein and allowing the cost of living to go up fast. Private enterprises, primarily transnational oil and mining companies, were exempted from many taxes.

At the same time indirect taxes paid by the population were raised. Real wages fell off sharply as a consequence of continuous devaluation of the sol (in 1983 alone, devaluation exceeded 129 per cent), inflation (which exceeds 126 per cent)[8] and curbs on pay increases. The overall result is that the incomes of workers and other employees dropped to roughly half the 1973 amount.

The working people have in effect been deprived of the right to participate in the management of private and public enterprises. Important gains made by the working class in decades of struggle are gone: the government abolished guarantees against dismissal, cut pay rises for long service and restricted the right to strike. It suppresses strikes and demonstrations, which it calls "unlawful," and deliberately boycotts self-managed enterprises — cooperatives, the "publicly-owned" sector and others — to ruin them and then to transfer them to private business.

The government's socio-economic policy led the country to the worst crisis ever experienced by it. Mining, manufacturing, agriculture and trade stagnated at first and then their decline led to a sharp reduction of the GDP. In six months of 1983 it went down 13 per cent.[9] The crisis also affects the financial sphere, in which several private banks have already failed.

The balances of trade and payments are unfavorable. The foreign debt, which amounted to 9.4 billion dollars in 1980, had reached 13 billion dollars, or nearly 80 per cent of the GDP,[10] by late 1983. The budget deficit last year exceeded 1.5 billion dollars.[11]

Unemployment increased beyond all proportions. By the middle of 1983, 12 per cent of the workforce was unemployed and 52 per cent

held part-time jobs, according to official statistics.[12]

The crisis of agriculture worsened dramatically due to rains and floods on the northern coast unprecedented in five decades. This was coupled with a drought in the south, the worst to occur in recent decades. Thousands of peasants are abandoning their lands and there have been cases of sale of small children whose parents had lost all hope of providing them with food. The government neglects vast areas in spite of its promises of aid. It takes advantage of the difficulties experienced by peasants and cooperatives to take back the lands allotted to them under the agrarian reform.

Corruption is rife in the state apparatus and the ruling parties. Scandalous cases of embezzlement, theft, unlawful deals, bribing, misappropriation of relief sent by international organizations for the population of flood and drought-stricken areas and other shady deeds come out one after another.

The response of the masses

All this drew growing protests from the working people, who joined in struggles for their rights and for radical changes in the country. Recent years have seen Peru overwhelmed by a strike movement involving the most diverse social sectors and groups. In November 1982 there was a powerful national agrarian strike; the strikers — peasants, agricultural workers and members of agricultural cooperatives — blocked most of the roads. On March 10, 1983, a national unity strike took place on the initiative of the GCWP; it was backed by other trade union centers, independent federations and agrarian organizations. There was a similar strike on September 27, 1983. Mention should also be made of regional strikes demanding that the regime "think" of the needs of the provinces.

The First United National Agrarian Congress, which sat in Lima from May 11 to 15, 1983, was an outstanding event in the nation's life. It was attended by 1,500 delegates from 38 major national, regional and sector organizations.[13] They represented the overwhelming majority of poor, middle and well-to-do cultivators, peasant communes, trade unions of agricultural workers, members of agro-industrial cooperatives, agrarian enterprises of the public sector and the rural bourgeoisie. Prominent at the congress were the National Agrarian Confederation, General Confederation of Peasants of Peru (a GCWP affiliate), Peasant Confederation of Peru, which asked not long ago for admission to the GCWP, the National Agrarian Organization, and others. The congress set up a body, the National Coordinating Committee for the Defense of the Agrarian Sector.

Although members of the rural bourgeoisie, well-to-do peasants and cooperative managers advocating conciliation predominated among the sponsors of the congress due to unproportional representation, the congress was essentially a success. It reflected the demand of peasants and agricultural workers that agrarian achievements be preserved, declared its disagreement with plans to transfer cooperatives to private persons, took a stand against the economic policy of the government, called for effective steps to advance agriculture, condemned repression and came out for unity of the rural working people in a common struggle. It showed very clearly that the majority of the peasantry is opposed to the regime and tends to ally itself with the working class.[14]

From July 14 to 17, 1983, the GCWP held its seventh congress in the face of a government threat to take repressive measures and declare a state of national emergency. The congress drew 600 delegates from trade unions grouping about one million wage workers, including the immense majority of industrial and construction workers, numerous miners, transport workers, teachers, bank, commercial and other employees.

The congress records are evidence of the growing organization, coordinated action and unity of the working class, peasantry and poor sections of the urban middle strata in the struggle against government policy and for radical changes in the country. The congress furnished proof of the increased class consciousness and militancy of the proletariat. On the other hand, it revealed weak points that have yet to be removed.

The congress urged the working people to launch new major struggles in defense of their rights, merge into a common national trade union center and win democratic freedoms.

A demand being made by popular forces — left-wing and progressive parties, trade union centers and peasant organizations — as well as by intellectuals, numerous professional alignments of specialists, the middle industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and religious circles is that the government reject the neo-liberal recipes of the IMF, and that it adopt an economic policy of independent national development.

The communists' new tasks

The eighth plenum of the CC PCP (June 25-26, 1983) analyzed the domestic situation and prospects of its evolution. It noted that the masses could no longer tolerate the deep crisis

which was driving them to despair, drawing ever stronger protests from them and inducing them to fight with growing intensity and determination. The overwhelming majority of the people declare for radical changes. The government, isolated socially as well as politically, cannot carry on its policy by democratic means and so tends to harden repression with support from reaction. A "military-civilian dictatorship" is emerging gradually and there is the danger of an ultra-rightist coup.

The plenum put on record that gaining ground among the people are forces capable of beginning a great fight to defeat reaction's plans and bring about a sharp change in favor of democratization. This necessitates enormous effort by the party to organize, orient and lead the masses in town and countryside. It is essential, the plenum pointed out, to pursue a policy of broad alliances, consolidating primarily the UL, strengthen the PCP organizationally, improve working methods, raise the ideological and political level of work and build up party influence among the masses. A further important task is to help left-wing and democratic forces master forms of struggle imposed by life itself, remembering that an aggravation of social and political contradictions is likely to produce substantial changes in the situation.

What is the outlook?

The municipal elections held on November 13, 1983, with APRA and the UL achieving a clear victory, had a wide echo in the country. After the elections, the opposition demanded outright that the government be replaced and that the socio-economic policy of the country be changed. Besides, there are signs of a political crisis within the ruling bloc. The present balance of forces indicates that the lead in the 1985 general election may be taken by APRA or the UL.

This is why the elaboration and implementation of a realistic policy by all democrats would meet the interests of the Peruvian people. It is necessary to bring about mutual, historically justified understanding between the UL and APRA on the basis of common goals, with due regard to the presence of progressives in APRA. An agreement could include points like defending peace and national sovereignty, deepening the agrarian reform, consolidating the public and self-managed sectors of the economy, extending the working people's rights, improving the people's standard of living, nationalizing a number of key economic fields and defending democratic freedoms. Ideological differences should not prevent the establishment of a progressive regime to effect changes in keeping with the people's innermost aspirations. This is an objective exigency of the development of Peruvian society. Those who were to miss this historical chance would assume thereby a tremendous responsibility for playing into the hands of reaction.

The working people of our country have new hopes. But to materialize them, it is necessary, the PCP points out, to extend the struggle and heighten vigilance in order to foil every attempt of the oligarchy and imperialism to bar the way of popular forces to power.

1. The pretext is the activity of the Sendero Luminoso (Bright Path) organization. For details on this and on election results, see *WMR*, No. 2, 1984, "After the Electoral Victory" in the *New Experience* section. — *Ed.*

2. See *El problema agrario en America Latina*, Prague, 1979, p. 132.

3. For details, see Jorge del Prado, "The Revolution Continues," *WMR*, No. 1, 1973, p. 19.

4. These enterprises were set up with government credits granted at interest, and became the property of all the employees of the sector. They were managed by the employees, who were also entitled to send their representatives to regional and national leading bodies of the sector. — *Ed.*

5. Subregional economic alignment now comprising Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. — *Ed.*

6. The military, who controlled the electoral process, saw to it, that as a result of frauds and confusion, only two-thirds of the votes were recognized as valid. Belaunde won a relative majority. Part of the votes cast for him belonged to supporters of the PChP, which had no chance of winning but feared that APRA might carry the day. Belaunde was also backed by some voters who were influenced by ultra-leftist alignments intent on preventing an APRA victory (they call this party "fascist" and consider it their chief enemy) as well as on demonstrating their "disagreement with the military."

7. This was made easier by a mysterious crash in which Gen. Rafael Hoyos, Commander of the Army, and several of the high-ranking officers close to him lost their lives. Hoyos was one of the organizers of the 1968 coup and wielded great influence among the army officers. After his death the Army command was entrusted to Gen. Luis Cisneros, pro-fascist cousin of the then Prime Minister and Minister of the Economy, Manuel Ulloa, who was closely linked with U.S. business.

8. See *Unidad*, December 29, 1983.

9. *El Observador*, Lima, August 21, 1983.

10. *Sintesis*, Lima, No. 2, 1983, p. 11; *Actualidad Economica*, Lima, No. 62, 1983, p. 32.

11. *Actualidad Economica*, No. 63, 1983, p. 32; *Oiga*, No. 151, 1983, p. 14.

12. *Partido Comunista Peruano, Carta Semanal*, S.l, s.a., p. 4.

13. *Unidad*, May 25, 1983.

14. It is a peculiarity of present-day Peru that numerous peasants are Quechua and Aimara Indians living in the most backward highland areas where industry is badly underdeveloped. As for the majority of the working class, it is concentrated on the littoral and is composed mostly of "Peruvian mulattoes" (ethnic group comprising Indian, European, African and Asian elements). In Peru the problem of alliance between the working class and the peasantry is linked with the settlement of the national question.

Uruguayans reject the dictatorship

Samuel Behak
Representative of the Communist Party of Uruguay
on the *WMR* Editorial Council

The situation in Uruguay warrants the conclusion that important qualitative and quantitative changes have come about in the struggle against the dictatorship. Open popular protests are gaining in scope from day to day.

Throughout these past years, Uruguayan patriots have resisted the tyranny in a climate of terror and persecution, with even the smallest actions, every move by an individual or a group indicating that the flames of heroic resistance to fascism are not dying down among the people.

The events preceding the November 1980 plebiscite[1] and its outcome showed the strength of universal resistance to the regime. Two years later, elections for the leading bodies of the officially authorized political parties[2] broke the chains of fascist lawlessness. The electorate backed the staunchest opposition forces inside each party, with the result that politicians supporting the dictatorship were isolated although they had the main media at their disposal and leant on the state apparatus. This was also a confirmation of the vitality of the outlawed Broad Front.[3]

The new quality of the struggle against the dictatorship stood out more than ever last year. The turning point was a mass demonstration which the working class decided to hold on May Day regardless of whether the authorities permitted or forbade it. The demonstration constituted the most important action of this nature in national history. It had a general political character for it took place under the slogan of "Freedom, Work, Fair Pay and Amnesty." The finest forces of the people rallied together to take a stand against the dictatorship. The action was of momentous significance in terms of the prospects of development of our entire struggle and provided a powerful incentive for subsequent actions by working people.

On June 27, 1983 or 10 years after the coup and the beginning of the general strike called by the working class in response to fascism's accession to power, demonstrators marched through the center of Montevideo carrying anti-government slogans in defiance of the regime's bans and threats. And on August 25, when the republic celebrated Independence Day, the social and political forces staged a day of nation-wide protest. The lights went out simultaneously all over the country, empty saucepans rattled and petards exploded. People ran out into the streets, shouting "Let them go away!"

Events gained in intensity with every passing day. September 16 saw a general strike at the call of the Trade Union Plenum,[4] initiator of the May Day mass actions. The strike, though brief, was one of the most important in scale and impact since the imposition of the dictatorial regime. (It was joined by 65 to 70 per cent of the economically active population, including commercial and transport employees.) On September 25 students demanding a democratic educational system held a mass demonstration backed by working people and various parties.

The third national protest day, October 23, was markedly political in character. Things went beyond turned-off lights and a "symphony of saucepans." The working people launched 10 simultaneous mass actions in the capital; the actions were unauthorized but, revealingly, the regime did not suppress them.

November 27 will go down in the history of the people's struggle. Over 400,000 people, or nearly one-third of the inhabitants of Montevideo, joined in a demonstration sponsored by all political parties (both legal and illegal) and social forces (ranging from the Trade Union Plenum and student organizations to cooperatives and the Rural Federation). Rallies that drew many thousands were held in other cities. An appeal read out in the capital, from a platform displaying the slogan of "For a democratic Uruguay without exception," was approved on behalf of all political parties and mass organizations. The appeal, which the audience gave an ovation, insisted on unfailing respect for the constitution and human rights and on a complete restoration of freedom.

The above events were only the external aspect of a difficult process which involved a search for a way out of the impasse in which the dictatorship and an economic policy patterned on a model imposed by financial capital have put Uruguay, or, in other words, for a way of overthrowing the regime.

Needless to say, factors conditioning the actual tactics of struggle vary from country to country. Hence it would be wrong to describe the situation in Uruguay and Chile as the same, even though there is a certain outward similarity. Still less is it like the situation in Central America. The emphatic "no" which the Uruguayan people said to the dictatorship in the 1980 plebiscite was a public expression of the immense significance of the specifics, traditions and very history of a country, of its concrete political situation, of the frame of mind of the masses and their potential readiness to fight. That "no" was in effect, an unprecedented reverse for the dictatorship that had very serious consequences.

The plebiscite showed the potentialities of the line of building up unity and concord among all Uruguayan democratic forces. It also revealed the extreme narrowness of the social base of the dictatorship, which is only backed by the numerically small oligarchy and the top military.

The communists consider that if the factors we have listed are fully used at this stage of the fight against the dictatorship, this could be decisive and could provide ample opportunities for the future. While the struggle in recent years has been following an uneven course, with some political and social forces vacillating, it has confirmed, none the less, the main trends of evolution in our country and the tactical and strategic correctness of the anti-dictatorial forces' line of action. It has also confirmed how very accurately these forces, primarily our party, have defined the regime as a fascist dictatorship using terroristic methods for narrow class ends and trying to restructure the state apparatus according to outdated models. The priority aim of fascism is to physically destroy all communists and to defeat the workers' class movement and all left political and social organizations. However, fascism also attacks democracy in general, striking at the working people's economic interests and at national enterprise, cracking down on people of culture and trying to educate youth as an obedient executor of fascist plans.

Uruguay's communists have come to the conclusion borne out by experience that in the circumstances, action by the masses on the largest possible scale is the only acceptable and necessary response to fascism's refined methods of terror and people-hating world view. Our primary problem (we must solve it if we want progress) is to defeat and bring down the dictatorship and do away with its repressive military apparatus. This is no easy task, for it necessitates not only a clash with fascism inside the country but a show-down with the interests of the powerful forces of international financial capital, with imperialists who persist in inspiring and backing the Uruguayan regime.

What is needed in this situation today and will be needed in the future (which may be protracted), irrespective of the nature and intensity of the struggle, is to continue mobilizing the masses, promoting unity and coordinated action among all democrats, all social and political forces (including members of the church and the armed services) who are potentially prepared to act from anti-dictatorial positions. There is also a need for international solidarity and a merger of the Uruguayan democratic forces active abroad. The 1983 events made this plain.

Viewing political developments against the background of the severe socio-economic crisis shaking the country[5] and the complete failure of the neo-liberal model tried by the regime, we have every reason to affirm that *a new situation has shaped up in Uruguay and that there are objective and subjective prerequisites for raising resistance to a new plane and defeating the dictatorship for good.*

In 1983 there appeared many cracks in the structures of the regime. However, the fascists are still in power as a result of using a repressive machinery, torture, kidnappings, whose victims are afterwards said to be "missing," censorship, imprisonment and various subterfuges. Nothing but a continued struggle can topple the dictatorship, nor does anyone have a greater stake in quickening the pace of this struggle than the Uruguayan people. However, the people's aims go further than this. The people also want to clear the decks for a truly democratic way out of the crisis, to pave the way for the rehabilitation and future progress of the country.

The communists are of the opinion that the more widely the masses are mobilized, the more the regime's apparatus is isolated and the harder it is hit, the sooner its *definitive* overthrow will come (this is highly important).

Originally it was only the most hardened revolutionary vanguard that could hold its ground against the regime, fight and survive in spite of repression and persecution. But now there is a need, as we have said, for the people as a whole and not for separate sections of the population to join in the movement. It is important for them to overcome the fear of terror with which the tyranny has long filled them, become confident of their strength, make a correct appraisal of the dictatorship and its weak points

and realize that the people can and must defeat it.

A parallel task is to revive the experience of organization and foster the activity of a substantial part of the younger generation, which in the years of the most brutal repression stayed out of social and political struggles. The regime has been unable to win over young workers and students, who played an active and, indeed, decisive part in the 1980 plebiscite, the inner-party elections of 1982 and the big demonstrations of 1983. Folk songs and an independent stage have become political weapons of our young men and women. Their activity is inspired by a desire for progress and renewal and by opposition to the dictatorship. This is one of the greatest setbacks of Uruguayan fascism and a major victory for the democratic traditions of the nation.

The Uruguayan communists' line of action is to resist the repressive machinery with might and main, to help the working class and the organized section of the masses in taking up their place in the forefront of the struggle, bring students and other young people into action, support determined opposition forces in various political parties, help them in expressing protest and win an amnesty and freedom for all political prisoners and legality for all parties. The downfall of the regime will draw nearer and so will the failure of fascist putschism as these tasks are accomplished.

It is now very important, as the communists of our country see it, to lay bare the false dilemma of anarchy or "order and pacification." The regime has been using it to disguise its nature. What has actually been imposed on our people is a system of fascist arbitrariness, provocation and violence. The real choice is either a fascist regime serving oligarchic interests, or a democratic government working for the solution of the problems of the nation.

However, there is a very important circumstance. It will take much hard work to open the eyes of the majority of Uruguayans to where violence comes from and whose interests it serves. This is necessary because each time the political opposition or some other social force organizes an action the ruling group, the military and the police use the media to intimidate people by claiming that it may come to rioting and violence. Yet the fact is that during the 1983 mass actions it was the organizers who tried to maintain order and lend the actions a peaceful character. Violence is an instrument of the regime itself, which provokes it. Lately dozens of people have been wounded; hundreds of Uruguayans have been charged with breaking the peace and have gone through prison and torture.

Thus the issue of the context in which the struggle against the Uruguayan dictatorship will develop and the extent to which the actions ahead will be peaceful does not depend solely on the people, who seek freedom and a solution to their economic problems at a minimum cost in life and suffering. Now that the dictatorship is beleaguered and cornered, it is trying to save itself by stepping up repression and resorting to further provocations. Certain hotheads are contemplating a coup within the framework of the regime, even though such a development seems unlikely in present conditions. There have been repeated cases of dictators driven to despair putting up fierce resistance at the last moment in an effort for salvation.

The patriots of Uruguay realize this. They know that the people, who want freedom and are ready for any sacrifice, will not take a single step back. Meanwhile the working people use political actions as they seek democratic solutions that should not, however, restrict the nation's possibilities in the future.

At this point we may well ask a question of tremendous importance to our country (it is relevant now and will stay so): How is the repressive apparatus set up by fascism over the past 10 years to be smashed and who will do it? The answer is linked, of course, to the present situation and to the fight against the regime. The time and forms of achieving this fundamental goal, which democrats must not overlook, will be predetermined by permanent factors in the democratic and revolutionary process, the balance of forces and the objective requirements of social development in each particular phase of the struggle.

Successful anti-dictatorial actions in recent years have invariably benefited from the slogan of *joint struggle by all forces without exception.* This slogan has taken deep root among the masses; it arose underground and in prisons, and found an expression at the height of the 1980 and 1982 events and during the mass actions of 1983. As a result, anti-communists who tried to split the resistance movement, approving of the ban on the Broad Front and all its founding organizations, were pushed back by the people and had virtually to leave the political scene. Those who had followed in their footsteps backed up under the pressure of public opinion. Voices chanting "Seregni[6] is with us" and "A united people can never be defeated" ring out more and more loudly during popular actions. This is an obvious recognition of the role of the Broad Front in the past

years' struggles and of the political leverage of the Left, in particular the Communist Party.

At the new stage of the struggle the people have shown amazing firmness, discipline, enthusiasm, a splendid civic morale and an unshakable will for democracy. The Broad Front has resolutely and forcefully announced its presence again. Its organizations and individual members joined under their own slogans in all the latest actions, including the huge rally on November 27. Steadfastly fulfilling its tasks and proceeding in accordance with the program provisions and guidelines worked out when it was founded,[7] the Broad Front is demonstrating its loyalty to its principles as it fights on. It is a real political force, closely united and expressing the people's aspirations. The Front is set on uniting all anti-dictatorial patriotic elements in the name of national renaissance. Its very existence is a telling reverse for the dictatorship.

Fascist propaganda steeped in anti-communism and anti-Sovietism declares that "World War III is on" and that "the struggle against sedition will not stop for as long as the Soviet Union and Marxism-Leninism are there"; its stand-by topic is "Red or foreign subversion." Our people no longer fall for these or similar tricks of experts in psychological warfare that occasionally contributed in the past to a slackening of the liberation fight. They have come to know by experience the dictatorship, its "models" of poverty and bondage to foreign interests. The country now insists on changes and when the masses go into action the real problems of real Uruguay are brought up for universal discussion.

Our people, truly democratic forces, are not going to reconcile themselves to the military command's so-called schedule which provides for a general election in November 1984 and the transfer of power to a new government in March 1985. This clumsy ploy is aimed at neutralizing the activity of the opposition, of all social and political forces, with the regime hoping that they will wait for the military to make the concessions it pleases to grant. The "schedule" encompasses a "dialogue" with the legal political parties intended to make them accept substantive amendments to the constitution which was in force prior to the coup, as well as the legalization of all fascist-like steps taken over the past decade. This concerns the abolition of a number of civil rights, the putting of a permanent ban on political activity and the authorization of "emergency measures against sedition." Amending the constitution has been declared a prerogative of the military regime and a precondition for holding the promised general election. In fact, the regime stresses that should the political parties reject these "proposals," there would be no voting.

The military and civilian leaders of the regime are out to preserve fascism at all costs behind the "democratic facade of elections." The President of the Republic, Lt.-Gen. Gregorio Alvarez (ret.), makes no secret of his intention to seek election for at least another five-year term. However, these plans of the dictatorship were exposed in 1983, during steadily growing popular actions, and so can hardly materialize. The masses feel more and more strongly that passivity will get them nowhere and that they must reject the time limits, methods and objectives envisaged by the "schedule."

The appeal read out at the working people's May Day rally stressed that the people would accept no preconditions and would seek real democratization and the adoption of decisions brooking no delay. That is when the slogan of "The whole country is on the look-out" was proclaimed.

The appeal of the huge November 27 rally mentioned earlier was still more explicit. "The de facto government imposed on the republic more than 10 years ago is doomed," it said. "It does not meet the interests of any section of the population and is an artificial element forcibly introduced into public life . . . This is why we are assembled here to reaffirm jointly and solemnly our irrevocable commitment to restore after 10 years of regress and obscurantism the dignity of the nation, the prestige of the country, the inviolability of the constitution, the irreplaceable role of the political parties, the respectability of rulers, which can only be won at the polls, the right of the ruled to elect them, the status of every citizen as a voter and a person entitled to be elected, the economic tranquillity of every home, and the right of every Uruguayan to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."[8]

We are faced with a hard struggle that will require the greatest effort and sound organization, something which cannot be achieved without broad unity and coordinated action. We will have to defeat an entrenched enemy armed to the teeth, who clings to power with support from without. There is no telling at the moment how his double game of "dialogue" with some parties and of repression and prohibition in regard to others, his treacherous moves and provocations will end.

However, these ploys of the military are not the only aspect of the situation in Uruguay today. The influence and role of broad social and political forces are growing; these forces

are prepared to demonstrate their ability to lift the country out of the abyss into which the regime has pushed it, to deal with the crisis and remove from power those who are trying to prevent normalization and progress by means of patriotic solutions. The movement of national concord among all patriots is maturing. The communists are an inseparable part of this movement.

The role and significance of our party in the fight against the dictatorship are evident. They are already manifest when the National Convention of Workers called a general strike in response to the coup. We declared in common with the working class and the masses that we would not allow the dictatorship a day's respite. And the regime retaliated by adopting the most brutal fascist measures against the communists. We had to pay a bitter price for our participation in this struggle; we lost comrades who were murdered, found themselves among the "missing" or were tortured to death. The regime wanted to destroy us physically, to end the party's influence among the people. Communists were hounded. They were exiled and looked on as second-rate citizens, fired or forbidden to hold any posts in trade unions, cooperatives, cultural or educational organizations.

But the party leadership worked on inside the country. The fallen were succeeded by new comrades. In spite of terror, the party recovered from its losses and healed its wounds; it continued its radio broadcasts, preserved its underground press and produced leaflets, which were so important in the situation and were passed on from one person to another, as our contribution to organized resistance. They contained slogans mobilizing the people and exposing the crimes of the dictatorship.

We also bring out the regime's crimes in the course of our activity abroad, demanding respect for human rights and freedom for political prisoners, launching extensive campaigns of solidarity, drawing all democrats into them and seeking international isolation of the dictatorship.

Uruguay's communists today join along with the people as a whole in actions marking a new political situation. The presence of veterans and young people in our ranks symbolizes the historical continuity of the vast experience of the struggle for unity in the trade union, working class and popular movement coupled with diverse up-to-date legal forms of action aimed at defeating the dictatorship's projects and decrees.

In the political sphere the communists uphold, as they have done over the past 10 years, the invariable line of the Broad Front as the united center of the most progressive forces. At the same time the party perseveres in its active advocacy of a merger of progressive Uruguayan organizations abroad on a common democratic platform and coordinated action by the opposition at every level of national life.

On the speakers' platform of the historic November 27 rally, the communists were represented in the still illegal Broad Front by Marta Valentini, the wife of one of our most esteemed and prominent leaders, José Luis Massera, who is still in prison. Marta Valentini, who has experienced torture and imprisonment, was the messenger of Uruguay's communists, all political prisoners, whose release we have yet to secure, all comrades working underground or abroad, experienced activists and new members, who have gone through their formative period as communists under the dictatorship.

The Communist Party remains an organized force which has struck root among the working class and has many years' experience of political struggle. In analyzing the actual situation in the country and the tasks facing our party, we act upon Marxist-Leninist theory and the principles of solidarity and internationalism. Though it has suffered losses, the party is emerging from the terrible fascist night with honor and dignity. The communists will continue in the forefront of the struggle against the oligarchy as they seek patriotic and democratic solutions to the problems facing the nation, above all the great problem of rehabilitating our country.

The year 1983 is over. It added fine chapters to the record of major popular actions in Uruguay. The dictatorship has begun to crack and can no longer impose its will on our people with impunity. The early months of 1984 passed amid signs of new developments of very great importance for the destiny of Uruguay.

1. See Manuel Perez, "'No!': A National Slogan," *WMR*, No. 6, 1981.
2. For details, see Manuel Perez, "The Hour Has Struck," *WMR*, No. 7, 1983.
3. The Broad Front, formed in February 1971, unified the Communist Party of Uruguay, Christian Democratic Party, Socialist Party and other left organizations and groups. — *Ed.*
4. Provisional coordinating body of the trade unions authorized by the regime in some enterprises. — *Ed.*
5. See Eduardo Viera, "The Political Climate Is Changing," *WMR*, No. 1, 1982.
6. General Liber Seregni is leader of the Broad Front. He has been in prison ever since 1973. — *Ed.*
7. The program adopted by the Broad Front organizations is anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic. It calls for fundamental socio-economic reforms in the interests of the masses. — *Ed.*
8. *Opinar*, Montevideo, December 1, 1983.

In memory of a comrade

Comrade Sarada Mitra, member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India and member of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review*, died suddenly in Prague.

Born on January 1, 1927 in Andul, India, Sarada Mitra joined the Communist Party of India in 1946. In 1959 he became General Secretary of the All-India Youth Federation, which functions under the leadership of the Communist Party. In 1964 he became a member of the CPI's National Council.

In 1972 Sarada Mitra was assigned to represent his party on *World Marxist Review*, and he brought with him his vast and many-sided experience of party organization and of work in the international democratic movement, and his profound knowledge of key problems of the world revolutionary process. This benefited his work on the journal, where for 12 years he was Chairman of the Commission on Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Asian and African Countries. He contributed greatly toward the journal's publications and circulation in India, where it is now read in many languages.

An ardent patriot of his country and a staunch internationalist, Sarada Mitra devoted his knowledge, energy and journalistic talent to the struggle for the liberation of oppressed peoples, for peace and socialism. He was active in collective studies of present-day phenomena and problems, and his articles and other contributions in *World Marxist Review* invariably held the attention of readers throughout the world.

His comrades will always remember him as a true Marxist-Leninist and a talented communist journalist, whose firm principles, warmheartedness, modesty and charm attracted everybody who knew him.

Now available in

French, Spanish, Arabic

World Marxist Review and Information Bulletin

Same cost as English subscription:
$15.00 one year subscription

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst Street
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

Represented on the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM are the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in the following countries: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Palestine, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, South African Republic, Soviet Union, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam.

Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., $15 a year. Institutions, double rate.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Amharic, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

In the USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada. All Rights Reserved.

Editions of the journal

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH:

Central Books Limited,
14 The Leathermarket,
London, SE1 3ER, England

Progress Subscription Service,
71 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6, Canada

Imported Publications,
320 West Ohio Street,
Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA

New Horizon Publications,
P.O. Box 2165
Mushin, Lagos, Nigeria

FRENCH EDITIONS:

Coopérative Ouvrière de Presse et d'Editions,
16, rue Christoph Plantin,
Luxembourg/Gasperich

Société Populaire d'Editions,
rue de la Caserne, 33-35
1000 Bruxelles, Belgique

Editions Nouvelles Frontières,
185, rue Ontario est,
Montréal, Québec H2X 1H5, Canada

Gestu BP 2678
Dacar, Senegal

AMHARIC EDITION:

Press Department
Ministry of Information and
National Guidance
P.O. Box 30232
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ARABIC EDITIONS:

Al-Wokt, POB 6247,
Beyrouth, Liban

32, rue Ledru Rollin B.P. 152
Casablanca, Maroc

Dar Al-Hilal
16 Mohamed Ezz-Arab Street
Cairo, Egypt

BULGARIAN EDITION: Hemus,
Russki 6, Sofia, Bulgaria

CZECH EDITION: Artia,
Praha 1, Ve smeckach, 30, CSSR

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden,
Bredgade 37, 1260 Kobenhavn K, Denmark

FINNISH EDITION: Aikakauslehti Kommunisti,
Kotkankatu, 11, 00510 Helsinki 51, Finland

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Buchexport Volkseigener Aussenhandelsbetrief
der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,
701 Leipzig, Leninstrasse 16, DDR

Brücken-Verlag GmbH Literatur-Vertrieb,
Export-Import, 4000 Düsseldorf,
Ackerstrasse 3, FRG

GREEK EDITIONS:

Papayannis Stephanos,
Menandru 66, Athens, Greece

People's Agency
Tricouppis 53c, Nicosia, Cyprus

HEBREW EDITION: Problems of Peace
and Socialism, POB 9525, Haifa, Israel

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kultura,
Könyv-és Hirlap, Külkereskedelmi-
Vállalat, Budapest 1, fö u 32, Hungary

INDIAN EDITIONS:

Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055, India.
In: Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Oriya, English,
Punjabi, Tamil, Gujarati and Telugu

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita,
Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4,
001 86 Roma, Italia

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Ulaanbaatar Mongol,
Ulsyn Nomyn, Khudaldaany Gazar,
V.I. Lenin gudamzh 1, Mongolia

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Verden og vi,
Boks 3715, GB Oslo 1, Norway

PERSIAN EDITIONS: P.B. 49034,
10028 Stockholm 49, Sweden

16 Azar Ave.
No. 68, Tehran, Iran

POLISH EDITION: RSW "Prasa-
Ksiazka-Ruch", BKWZ Warszawa,
ul Towarowa 28, Poland

PORTUGUESE EDITION: Revista Internacional,
Av. Santos Dumont, 57,
30 Lisboa-1, Portugal

ROMANIAN EDITION: Ilexim,
Calea Grivitei 64-66,
POB 2001, Bucuresti, Romania

RUSSIAN EDITION: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga,
Moskva 121200, USSR

SINHALESE EDITION: 91 Cotta Road,
Colombo 8, Sri Lanka

SPANISH EDITIONS:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Aéreo 1253, Bogotá, Colombia

Revista Internacional,
Apartado 4665, San José, Costa Rica

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
16 616 Praha 6, Thakurova 3, CSSR

Ediciones Cubanas,
Ministerio de la Cultura,
La Habana, Cuba

Empresa Editora e Importadora C.A.,
Villami 211 y Calderon,
Casilla 6217, Guayaquil, Ecuador

Ediciones de Cultura Popular S.A.,
Filosofia y Letras 34,
Col. Copilco Universidad,
Mexico 20, D.F., Mexico

Revista Internacional,
Calle 46, Este No. 16,
Panama, Rep. de Panama

Ideologia Y Politica,
Jr. Rufino Torrico No. 671-Of. 401,
Lima, Peru

San Pedro a San Francisquito,
Edif. Cantaclaro, Caracás, Venezuela

SWEDISH EDITION: Internationell Revy,
Fack, 12206 Enskede 6, Stockholm, Sweden

TURKISH EDITION: Baris ve Sosyalizm
Sorunlari, PK: 41, Sirkeci
Istanbul, Türkiye

VIETNAMESE EDITION: S'o xuât nhâp,
Kháu sách bào 32, Hai Bà Tru'ng,
Há-Nôi, Vietnam