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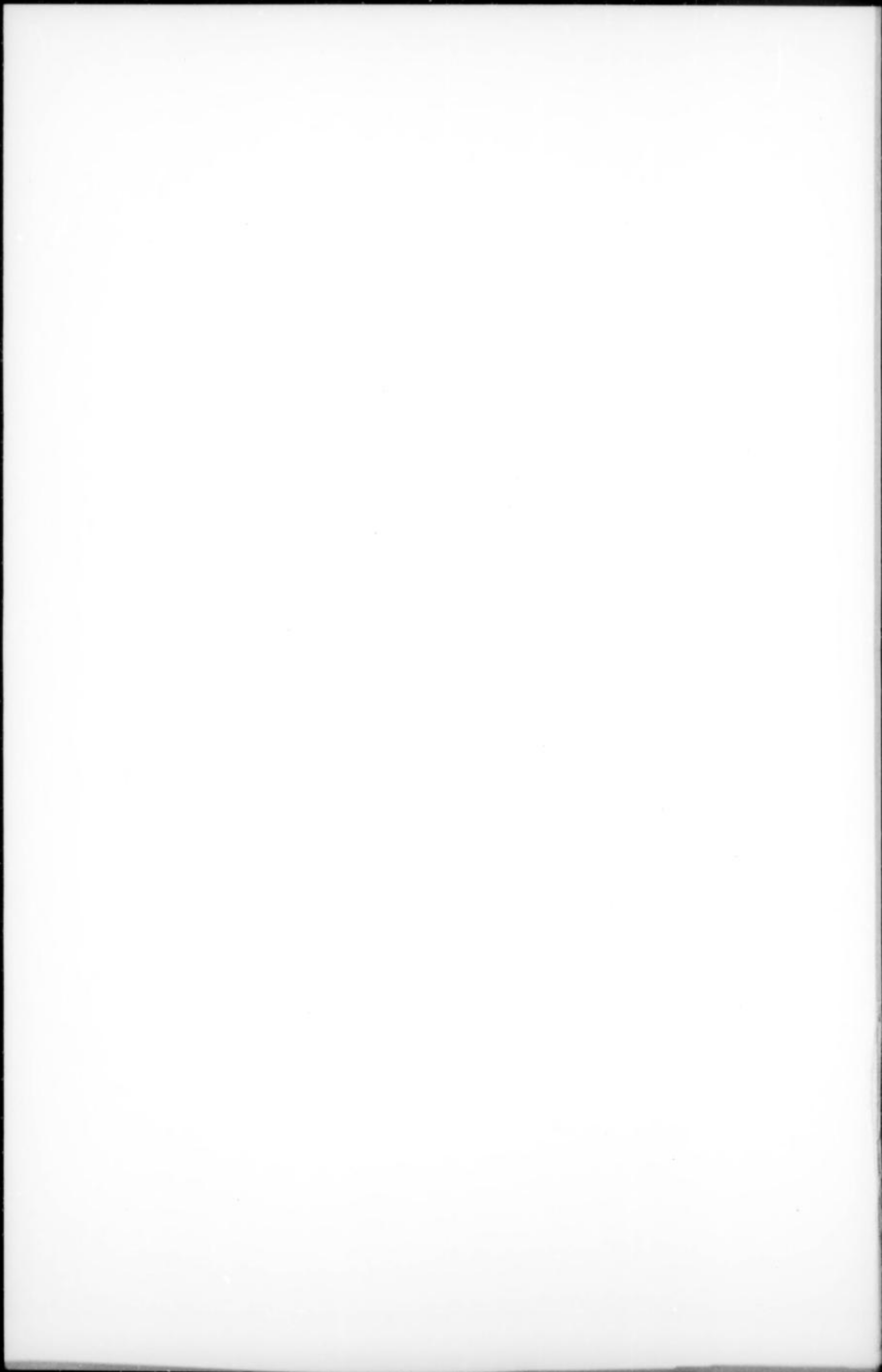
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features

People's Diplomacy Versus Diplomacy of Force

Dietmar Ahrens – Vice-Chairman,
Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

THE world we are living in has entered one of the most disturbing periods of its history. The stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction has reached a level where the question is no longer one of the single horrifying consequence of their use but of the unparalleled absolute character of the nuclear threat. In this context an unprecedentedly acute blanket problem confronting the peoples is that of protecting humankind's right to life and, in broader terms, life on earth. A nuclear war would mean the end of modern civilisation; it could amount to omnicide, to the incineration of all living things. Our beautiful planet would be reduced to a lifeless cosmic body. But this is exactly what is implicit in the critical threshold to which imperialism's aggressive forces have brought the world community of nations.

In a neuralgic point of the planet like West Berlin we have come to see with particular clarity the broad possibilities that were being opened up by the policy of detente. And we can see just as clearly how much there is to lose if this policy is abandoned. The danger of a nuclear catastrophe is not illusory. It is growing in proportion to how the leading imperialist power, the United States of America, irresponsibly steps up the arms race, for which it is allocating more and more hundreds of billions of dollars.¹ The character and magnitude of this imperialist course stand out with growing clarity in the more frequent and cavalier use of armed force to 'roll back socialism' and 'protect US interests' whether in the Caribbean, the Middle East, or the Indian Ocean, in the undisguised calls for a 'crusade' against the new social system.

With its anti-Soviet 'crusade' as its motivation international treaties are flouted, barbarous undeclared wars are being fought against the national liberation movements, independent states are being made victims of terrorist actions, and international law is being trampled by US imperialism's hobnailed, policeman's boot. It must be said the the European governments that consented to the deployment of US first-strike Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in their respective countries thereby subordinated the interests of their own peoples to those of the US military monopolies and the Reagan Administration in total disregard of the perilous consequences of this step.

We are witnessing what looks like the emergence of a broad international imperialist alliance that is projecting an ascending offensive on the positions of the forces of progress, democracy, and peace in different parts of the world. An international peace guaranteeing the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie at the expense of the security of peoples would suit the members of this alliance.

Imperialism's underlying foreign policy concept as formulated by Ronald Reagan is that peace must rest on coercion.² This return to the militarist 'policy of positions of strength' camouflages the capitalist system's growing social, political, and moral weakness. As it loses ground in the historic peaceful competition with the new social

system, imperialism seeks to blackmail the socialist countries with the nuclear threat, to compensate for the diminution of its sphere of influence with a buildup of military strength, with recourse to fist-law in its dealings with the peoples of the world. The occupation of Grenada has provided further evidence that as the political arm of the rabidly reactionary circles of military-industrial imperialist capital, the Reagan Administration brazenly uses every pretext for the attainment of the latter's strategic aims. Can this resurgence of imperial gunboat diplomacy on the new, nuclear level be halted and reversed? A sober analysis of the present situation and of the character and trends of world development allows answering this question unequivocally in the affirmative because militarist ambitions are countered by people's diplomacy, that very same diplomacy that, as Lenin noted on several occasions, has 'become strong enough to blunt the edge of the imperialists' bellicose policy'.³

There has now been a dramatic heightening of the influence that mass opinion in favour of peace has on the making and implementation of foreign policy, on the entire international climate. This is due, in the first place, to the growth of the political, economic, and defence capability of the USSR and all the other members of the socialist community, which is the mainstay of peace and security nations. The steps now being taken by the socialist countries to maintain military strategic parity play a key role in preventing another world war.

This parity allows bridling the appetites of the imperialists. But a tilt in favour of the USA and NATO would give imperialism the opportunity of bringing more pressure to bear on all progressive forces and it would increase the danger of the hawks in the White House and the Pentagon succumbing to the temptation to push the nuclear button.

The mounting influence of people's diplomacy is linked also to the downfall of imperialism's colonial system, the breadth reached by the national liberation movement, and the appearance on the world scene of tens of new states, whose voices, sounding ever more determined and confident, are heard from the United Nations rostrum, in the non-aligned movement, and at international conferences.

Lastly, a major factor determining the make-up and strength of this new people's diplomacy, as we in West Berlin can also see clearly, is the present peace movement, which unites hundreds of millions of people of different nationalities, persuasions, and social affiliation. Especially since the NATO decision of December 12, 1979 to deploy first-strike nuclear weapons in Europe this movement has become a factor that the political and military circles of capitalist powers, including the NATO states have to reckon with.

Many important peace initiatives originating from public opinion have been codified in international law. The principles of the 1950 Stockholm Appeal are incorporated in the UN draft declaration banning the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and in other international documents. Many of the suggestions put forward at the Brussels assemblies for security and cooperation in Europe underlie the Final Act of the Helsinki European Conference.

Protests by hundreds of millions of peace fighters compelled US President Carter to abandon his plan for the production of the neutron bomb. Under pressure from people's diplomacy the parliaments of Denmark and Greece rejected the Pentagon's idea for a further NATO nuclear arms buildup. Under the impact of the growing anti-missile sentiments the US House of Representatives had no choice but to pass a resolution on freezing nuclear arsenals. Canadian peace fighters made their country's Supreme Court consider their grievance that the government's consent to the testing of US cruise missiles on Canadian territory was unconstitutional.

The mass actions against the arms race in the NATO countries and against the escalating threat of nuclear war have acquired major political significance. In the course of only the two months of September and October 1983 such actions involved over 25 million people. There have been powerful peace demonstrations and rallies in

Europe, North America, and Japan. Between 100,000 and 800,000 people took part in each of the peace demonstrations in Athens, Bonn, Brussels, Vienna, The Hague, Kiev, Leningrad, London, Madrid, Moscow, Paris, Prague and other cities. More than 300,000 citizens of West Berlin participated in last October's Peace Week. Hundreds of thousands of people joined in this year's Easter peace actions. The public's energetic striving and ability to exercise a direct influence on the solution of cardinal problems of world politics have become an incontrovertible fact.

It may be said that the potentialities of people's diplomacy are growing also on account of the certain decline in the NATO countries of the prestige of government authority and the entire political system of bourgeois democracy. It would be fair to say that never in its history has traditional parliamentarism in Britain, the FRG, and Italy been tested so severely as last autumn when in defiance of the wishes of the electorate the parliaments of these countries passed decision to begin the deployment of American first-strike missiles.

There are growing doubts in West Berlin as well about the legality of the policy that is turning the city into a nuclear hostage of US imperialism. The polls conducted by district peace initiative groups (every family in every house on every street is asked about its attitude to the stationing of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles) show that between 61 and 79 per cent of those questioned deplore the West Berlin Senate's support for the deployment decision. For many citizens it is now clearer than ever that far from representing the people our so-called 'people's representatives' are acting without regard for their will. Of course, this is causing disenchantment and bitterness. However, it is important to prevent this feeling from melting into a sense of hopelessness and helplessness. It must generate anger and a compulsion to act.

It is noteworthy that now, with the first Euromissiles installed in Western Europe, there is no particular elation in the NATO camp despite all the efforts of some official spokesmen to portray this build-up as something of an epochal victory. On the contrary, the USA's partners are clearly worried about the further course of international relations. Never before have differences been so obvious in the Atlantic alliance and in its member states individually. The peace movement in Western Europe has created a distinctive political climate. There is a continuing polarisation of forces over the arms buildup issue in Britain, the FRG, Denmark and other countries.

The differences between the ruling conservative parties and the social democratic parties of some West European countries over the question of missile deployment are acquiring special significance also from the angle of the opportunities for the peace movement. Whereas until the close of the 1970s the Communists were the only political parties of these countries to oppose the NATO military strategic strategy, the USA's nuclear policy is now rejected by the vast majority of social democratic and socialist parties. It is indicative that of the five NATO countries where Euromissiles are being or are to be stationed, Italy is the only one where this deployment has the approval of the Socialists and the Social Democrats. The stand taken by the Socialist International likewise merits attention: at the end of November 1983 its Bureau subscribed to the suggestion that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation should sign a treaty renouncing the first-use of either nuclear or conventional weapons.

A fact of the utmost significance is that the trade unions, which had only recently kept aloof from the peace movements, are now not only joining in its actions more resolutely but also organising peace actions of their own. In West Berlin the Federation of German Trade Unions, for example, initiated militant actions on World Peace Day (September 1). This initiative was supported by the entire peace movement. More, last October at many industrial facilities, administrative offices, and campuses there were warning strikes against the deployment of American missiles. Over a hundred peace initiative groups have been set up at factories. Production councils and trade union representatives take an active and responsible

part in the work of these groups.

Thus, thanks to joint efforts, the peace movement and the working class movement have in the recent period significantly increased the effectiveness of their actions. There is an irreversibly spreading awareness that the struggle against the arms race is simultaneously a struggle against social dismantling, and that the accumulating armaments which tomorrow will threaten life are already today threatening the social condition of working people and the unemployed.

The weakness of the positions of imperialist reaction and the increasing isolation of its political and military executive organs from the peoples are making imperialism more and more hostile to peace fighters. It sees a threat to itself not only in the existence of the USSR, the entire socialist community, and the national liberation movements, but also in the actions of the peace forces, for which it has a deadly hatred. But the striving of the peoples for peace cannot be crushed.

A noteworthy development of the anti-war actions is that they embrace not only the centres and population strata traditionally involved in the peace movement over the past decades but all classes. Such actions are gathering momentum in many developing countries as well. Mounting pressure from the people for a democratisation of international relations is mirrored in these actions. In fact, it may be said that we are witnessing, alongside the demand for a new economic order and a new information order to free economic relations and the exchange of information from capitalist monopoly domination, the birth of a demand for a *new diplomatic order* to put an end to the practice of imperialist politicians and diplomats having the monopoly say about the destiny of nations.

After the deployment of new US missiles was started on the European continent the bourgeois mass media bent over backwards to give the impression that a sense of despair had prevailed over the peace movement, that that movement had petered out. Actually, it not only preserved but further enlarged its positions. It is now more militantly pressing for a halt to the deployment of American first-strike weapons and their removal from Western Europe, for an agreement on the non-use of force, for all the nuclear powers to commit themselves to a non-first use of nuclear weapons, and for the creation of nuclear-free zones as a step towards the creation of a nuclear-free world.

US imperialism's criminal acts against the peoples of Central America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East have reinforced the main thrust of the struggle—against the Reagan Administration. As was noted by our party, the peace movement 'did not succumb to the persuasion to disperse to their homes'. It has become a permanent factor of society's life.

Mass peace actions are now perennial in a number of countries, thereby showing that ideological and social distinctions are no barrier when the question is to preserve life, to save the human race. Industrial workers and former generals, academics and clergymen, employees and employers, and champions of the most diverse political views, including realistically minded conservatives, are uniting for the attainment of that objective. This was underscored very strongly last year in Prague at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which brought together more than 3,600 peace fighters from 140 countries. They represented some 2,000 national and international organisations, political parties, churches, and so on. Of course, this wide socio-political spectrum predicates rather than precludes divergences of views between individuals, groups, and schools of thought, a non-coincidence of interests in various areas of economic and socio-political life. However, the decisive factor today is not distinctions or clashes of interests but the common desire to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The growing internationalisation of the peace movement is inevitable and highly indicative in this respect. It seems to me that this process is the objective outcome of the ongoing changes in the world. Much as the epoch of great discoveries demolished

scientific notions then regarded immutable and the Christian dogmas of the time and much as the industrial revolution brought with it not only large-scale machine production but also theories about reshaping the world on the basis of social justice, so is the scientific and technological revolution, regardless of anybody's will or intention, influencing the entire range of humankind's social, philosophical, and ethical concepts.

The earth, around which a manned space station makes a full orbit in 90 minutes, has proven to be incredibly small rather than infinitely large. The release of the energy of the system has given humankind a force of cosmic dimensions. The development of electronic information media and communication has buried for good the days when people like the regulars of the tavern in Goeth's *Faust* could placidly observe that a war was being fought somewhere in far-off Turkey. Today no sooner do US naval vessels shell Lebanese villages than shock and anger fill the hearts of all decent people in Europe, Asia, America, Australia, and Africa.

Our contention is that mankind will be able to move towards an equitable settlement of ecological, energy, and raw material, problems and put an end to hunger, disease, backwardness, and other ills only when the money being spent on war preparations is channelled into peaceful purposes. And it is not accidental that prompted by their dialectical analysis of historical development the Communists, who have always fought all forms of enslavement of man by man, were the first to declare that alongside the struggle for social and national liberation the struggle for peace embodies the fundamental thrust of their activities.

We are aware that the movement against nuclear omnicide is not developing in a vacuum. It constantly comes under the influence of the two main, diametrically opposed schools of world politics reflecting the confrontation between the forces of peace and social progress and the aggressive forces of imperialism. For that reason the Communists see a task in helping the peace fighters to take their bearings correctly and clearly perceive the source of the main threat to peace—the sinister alliance of US imperialism and its West European NATO vassals.

This is a highly important task because the capitalist media are trying to impress upon people that the struggle for peace should be 'equidistant from the great powers'. But can the peace movement in fact follow this advice? It cannot, of course, for the objective reason that the Reagan Administration in Washington is opposing the peace movement, while the Soviet government pursues a policy that is intimately linked to the struggle for peace and mirrors the main demands of the peace movement. It is thus not a matter of 'keeping a distance' from the attitudes of the USSR and the USA, but of the different attitude of the great powers to the aims of the peace movement.

The peace movement is exhorted to be 'non-partisan', 'supra-party', and the charge is made that it is influenced by the Communists. But the peace movement is non-partisan and supra-party. Not a single party, the Communists included, either in West Berlin or anywhere else can take the credit for the movement's appearance and growth. It is another matter that most of the fighters against the nuclear threat, regardless of their party affiliation and world view, approve the calls and actions of the Communists, who are active in the struggle for peace and endorse their efforts to enable the peoples to live without weapons of mass destruction.

Not being able either to suppress or halt this process the imperialist politicians and psychological warfare strategists are seeking to use the movement's non-bloc character. This does not mean, of course, that in West Berlin, for example, reactionary elements of the CDU-CSU media have begun to carry accurate information about the actions of the city's various peace groups, or about the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries for reinforcing peace and security. Nothing of the sort! The West Berlin peace movement is told it should welcome with open arms people belonging to the so-called 'independent peace movement' in the GDR

and similar groups in some other socialist countries.

But from whom and from what are these capitalist-media-boasted 'friends of peace', whom we are urged to embrace, 'independent'? From the proposal of Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council, to include the whole of the German Democratic Republic in a nuclear-free zone? From the series of peace proposals and norms of international law (now known as the code of behaviour of the nuclear powers) advanced by Konstantin Chernenko, leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state? From the peace proposals in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation? From the tens and hundreds of millions of their own compatriots in the socialist countries, who by virtue of their communist persuasion, sense of civic responsibility, patriotism, internationalism, Christian morals, and humanism, support the peace policy of their governments and ruling parties? No, the peace fighters do not need this sort of 'independence'.

Lastly, in keeping with their own prejudiced logic, which evaluates acolytes of their aggressive policy merely as satellites, the leaders of the imperialist world are sparing no effort to 'prove' that the peace movement 'is directed from Moscow'. They hope that intimidation of this kind will help to keep a large proportion of people brought up in a spirit of anti-communism away from the struggle for the right to live in peace. But this gimmick, too, is misleading ever fewer people. Those who today tag the label of 'Moscow's fifth column' to the Catholic bishops of the USA, the Evangelical Church of the FRG, the West Berlin Social Democrats, some British liberals, US congressmen and senators, or leading West German industrialists are only revealing their own duplicity. The truth is that the peace proposals of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist countries harmonise with the interests of all the people of the world with the exception of those who are waxing rich on the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

The US Administration and the reactionary circles in NATO stand opposed to the rest of the world—this is now the watershed of attitudes and interests in this most vital of issues for humanity. And this is precisely where we see the foundation for the necessary and possible breadth of the peace movement.

Every proposal that is consistent with the common aim of preserving peace merits attention. It is not accidental that now with US medium-range missiles having become a reality on European soil, the peace champions see their immediate objectives in:

- under no circumstances permitting a decline of the anti-missile actions but, on the contrary, escalating the protest against the stationing of new missiles in West European countries and making every effort to bring all strata and groups of the population into this protest;

- getting West European and American opinion to understand that the counter-measures of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as a whole are forced and legitimate.

Precisely these conclusions provided the guideline for the Presidium of the World Peace Council at its extraordinary session in West Berlin early this year. This session, attended by people from the most diverse strata of society, called upon all the peace forces to unite in order to stop Reagan by joint, solidarity actions.

The West Berlin Communists subscribe to the action programme proclaimed in our city by representatives of different political circles with the objective of safeguarding peace and life on the planet. What actions are meant above all? No doubt the priority objectives are to halt the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe and remove those that have already been stationed; to free the European continent entirely of all kinds of nuclear weapons; to freeze nuclear arsenals, those of the USA and the USSR in the first place; to create nuclear-free and peace zones in Europe and other regions of the world; to get all the nuclear powers to pledge a no-first-use of

nuclear weapons; to place a total and general ban on nuclear weapons tests; to prohibit the manufacture and stockpiling of chemical and all other weapons of mass destruction; to reduce conventional weapons; to prevent the militarisation of outer space; and, lastly, to get the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO to conclude a treaty on a mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations.

It is quite obvious to everybody that the paramount issue today is to preserve and consolidate peace. In this are telescoped all the other socio-political problems. On it depend the freedom, independence, well-being, and social progress of all nations, and the very existence of the human race. That is why people of different nationalities, generations, classes, professions, political persuasions, and destinies are uniting ever more closely for the common aim of preserving peace in the world. Precisely this is people's diplomacy in action, the diplomacy within whose power it is to curb imperialist plans.

¹ During the past three years these allocations amounted to nearly 640 billion dollars. In only the current fiscal year appropriations for military purposes have reached 280 billion dollars.

² See *the New York Times*, August 24, 1983.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 492.

Peace in Asia: Problems and Prospects

Demchigiyn Molomjamts – Political
Bureau member and CC Secretary, Mongolian
People's Revolutionary Party

THE very geographical location of our country, one of the first socialist states of Asia,¹ predetermines the special attention which the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) devotes to developments on this continent. On the basis of Marxist-Leninist analysis, our party makes a comprehensive assessment of social, economic and political processes going on in Asia and does all in its power to participate meaningfully in their formation.

Today, when imperialism has confronted humanity with the fatal dilemma of whether a nuclear holocaust is to be or not to be, the international activity of the MPRP is aimed at making Asia, in accordance with the interests of the peoples inhabiting it, a continent of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation among nations. This is a requisite for Mongolia's further progress in building socialism.

In shaping its foreign policy, our party proceeds from the fact that at the threshold of the twenty-first century the main contest of the epoch—that between socialism, the forces of peace and freedom, on the one hand, and imperialism, the forces of war and reaction, on the other—is unfolding against the background of growing ties between states and whole regions. More than ever before, Asia and the oceans washing its shores are a sphere of world politics, and in turn, the situation in these areas influences it.

The forms and content of events in Asia are conditioned by objective factors; the more important of these are:

—the increasing strength of the socialist community, primarily the growing economic and defence potential of the Soviet Union;

—the abolition of the colonial system and the consolidation of the positions of new sovereign states, many of them taking a stand against neocolonialism, racism and zionism and the war menace and for an end to the arms race;

—the rise and consolidation of new socialist and socialism-oriented states;

—the increasingly active militarist policy of the United States and its allies, who would like to stop and turn back what is a historical process and make the region their raw material base and a bridgehead for the deployment of armed, first of all nuclear missile, forces in a bid to upset in favour of imperialism the existing approximate strategic parity with the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole;

—local conflicts between states inspired by imperialism, and posing a threat of global disaster;

—‘parallel’ actions by imperialist and hegemonic forces against peace and peoples’ national independence and social progress.

Asia’s place in the contemporary world can hardly be overestimated. A continent washed by the Arctic, Pacific and Indian oceans, it accounts for over half the population of the globe. The more than forty states of Asia have immense natural and manpower resources. The national and social consciousness of its peoples is growing.

The fact that the decisive role in defeating the main land forces of militarist Japan in 1945 was played by a *socialist* power, the Soviet Union, with Mongolian troops fighting shoulder to shoulder with it, lent that victory particular historic significance. The liberation movement on the continent entered a new stage, bearing out the following words written by Lenin: ‘Hundreds of millions of the downtrodden and benighted,’ Lenin wrote in 1913, ‘have awakened from medieval stagnation to a new life and are rising to fight for elementary human rights and democracy.’²

We Mongolian Communists invariably look on current events as being inseparable from the major social changes of the postwar decades that have thoroughly transformed our continent. The revolutionary forces achieved victory in China, North Korea and Vietnam. Washington’s ‘dirty war’ in Indochina ended in an ignominious failure. The people’s of Laos and Kampuchea set about building socialism. The Afghan revolution is gaining strength. Progressive changes are taking place in the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The Asian peoples’ sustained struggle to remove the effects of colonial rule, their resistance to neocolonialism and their struggle for real independence and development bear fruit. This liberation fight now involves the peoples of Arab countries resisting Israeli aggression and the zionist policy of genocide. The Cypriots, for their part, persevere in defending their sovereignty.

More vigorously and consistently than ever, the non-aligned movement, which originated on our continent and then spread to other parts of the globe, supports the peoples in struggle. Mongolia fully subscribes to the effort of the movement to ensure non-interference in the internal affairs of states and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, end the arms race and local conflicts and remove the danger of world war. The Seventh Non-Aligned Summit in Delhi showed once more that the MPRP is correct in regarding the movement as a major reserve of the anti-colonial, anti-militarist and ultimately anti-imperialist front.

The foregoing implies that the chief determinant of continental politics today is the resolve of Asian peoples to make social and economic progress, consolidate their independence, vindicate their national sovereignty and help call a halt to armed conflicts between states and do away with the threat of world war. Truly epoch-making changes are coming about in sub-regions of the continent.

However, we are far from regarding the situation as rosy. Asia, which has emerged from what Lenin described as ‘medieval stagnation’, is still an area of social contrasts, with socialist and capitalist states existing side by side. Many Asian countries find themselves under neocolonial oppression. Survivals of feudal or even tribal relations are not few. Poverty and illiteracy, hunger and disease, national discord and tribalism

have yet to be fully rooted out.

Forces of the past cling to these realities in resisting the operation of the objective laws of history. Imperialism and its menials are out to recapture lost positions by every means, even if it has to be frank aggression. Washington has elbowed out its allies whom it sees as rivals, for its aim is to dominate Asia all by itself and allow transnationals to plunder the continent.

Small wonder that throughout the post-war years Asia has virtually had no peace. In one area after another, tensions built up and wars broke out. Now as before, peace is lacking on the continent, where imperialism spearheads its counter-blows against areas which are or may become epicentres of social cataclysms sapping the foundations of world capitalism.

The situation in *Southeast Asia* is tense again. The US leaders fear that the international solidarity of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos serving peace may defeat hegemonic claims and plans, including those going beyond Indochina. These three countries are the object of overt and covert provocations, armed ones included.

The enemies of peace, national independence and social renewal have invented a 'Kampuchean problem' and play it up in various ways. But this 'problem' does not and cannot exist. The people of Kampuchea, who have thrown off the Pol Pot regime, are healing the deep wounds inflicted on them by it. Their only desire is to build a new life in peace and security, to put an end to attacks from without. As for the hue and cry over the 'Vietnamese threat', it only serves those who are casting about for a pretext to interfere in the affairs of the states of Indochina.

We share the three fraternal countries' concern. We know that it was the threat of an armed attack on Kampuchea that induced that country and Vietnam to reach agreement on joint defence and the dispatch of a contingent of Vietnamese troops to Kampuchea to this end. The presence of these troops there is a forced and provisional measure. We see their phased withdrawal, now under way, as proof of the desire of both governments to fully normalise the situation.

The situation is also tense in *Southwest Asia*. The imperialists and their accomplices have transformed Pakistan into their base and are waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a sovereign non-aligned state. Their aim is to divert Afghanistan from social progress and turn it into a fortified area on the southern confines of the socialist community. They disguise their plans with falsehoods about a 'Soviet threat', alleging that 'events in Afghanistan' in the early eighties destabilised the international situation.

As regards our party, it has stressed from the outset that the efforts of the Afghan people, who are effecting far-reaching social changes, are no threat to peace in the region, let alone in the world, for the real cause of tension is imperialist interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, an interference that has met the approval of the Beijing leadership.

The situation around Afghanistan can only be settled on principles guaranteeing the sovereignty of that country and taking account of the attitude of the states concerned.

The meetings and talks which Mongolian and Afghan leaders had in July 1983, during an official visit to our country by a party and government delegation of the DRA led by Babrak Karmal, CC General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, showed the views of the two sides on key regional and world problems to fully coincide.

Diktat, blackmail and pressure, which are typical practices of US foreign policy, take particularly sinister forms in the *west of the continent*, namely, in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean. While Mongolia is far removed geographically from the Middle East, it is compelled to take account of the impact of the situation shaping up there on the whole of the Asia and the world.

Washington has placed zionism in the service of imperialist reaction and made

Israel the mainstay of the USA in the Middle East, and is seeking undivided economic and political domination over the rich region for US monopoly capital. To achieve this aim successive US administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, have shown readiness to use any means from bribery and political subversion aimed at dividing the Arab countries (and at involving them in US plans if possible) to direct armed aggression. The United States has deliberately blocked all attempts at a fair settlement in the Middle East.

Mongolia is of the opinion that peace in the region cannot be attained without removing the effects of Israeli aggression, meeting the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to set up a state of their own and stopping interference in Arab affairs. A comprehensive peaceful settlement should serve the security and sovereignty of every country of the subregion.

Our people are deeply disturbed by the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. It has already claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, nor is the end in sight. We realise how very greatly this conflict injures the liberation struggle against imperialism. Indeed, imperialist forces trying to impose their political and military control on an area of enormous strategic and economic importance are using for selfish ends the senseless bloodshed going on there.

The true dimensions of the danger arising from the situation in three subregions of Asia can only be assessed in the context of the US global policy of building up military strength, in particular on the Asian continent and in the Pacific. The situation in Southeast Asia, around Afghanistan and in the Middle East are merely components of a plan which Washington has been pressing forward with. Tactically, the militarist preparations of the United States are intended to exert unrelenting psychological pressures in order to bring Asian countries under imperialism's sway, a pressure which often ends in direct use of force as a means of suppressing the 'recalcitrant'. As for the strategic aspect, Washington would like to make the area another bridgehead for military political confrontation with the socialist world by deploying further nuclear missile forces there.

We fully share the concern which our neighbours show over these trends threatening a global catastrophe. The USA, building up its military presence in the oceans washing the shores of Asia and in some Asian countries, has surrounded the continent with military bases. US war fleets are cruising on the approaches to Asia. The Pentagon has armed them with thousands of combat-ready nuclear warheads.

US military activity is growing. Early in 1983 Washington set up a Central Command (Centcom) in addition to the Pacific Command established in the mid-seventies. Centcom's sphere of 'interests' extends to the north-western part of the Indian Ocean and dozens of independent littoral and inland states of the continent. The USA is preparing to deploy medium-range nuclear weapons similar to 'Euromissiles' on the approaches to the socialist countries of Asia.

There is a further trend of US military political strategy that causes concern to the Mongolian people. It is the implementation of a concept advanced by the US rulers long ago and advocating 'war against Asians through Asians'. Hence Washington's stepped-up search for the greatest possible number of loyal allies in Asia.

The chief stake is put on Japan. As nascent Japanese militarism has ample opportunities to extend its military potential, the United States expects to make Japan its main ally in pursuing its military political strategy. It takes advantage of Japan's willingness to assume part of the burden of backing pro-US regimes in Asia that are to play an active role in the struggle against progressive forces. Japan has lately increased its aid to Pakistan, which has adopted a policy of confrontation with Afghanistan and India, to Thailand, which is operating against Kampuchea, and to the anti-popular regime in Seoul in the first place.

We believe the nature of cooperation between Washington and Tokyo is undergoing a substantive change. Whereas previously Japan participated in the

implementation of US militarist plans in the Far East indirectly, by now the Reagan Administration has secured direct commitments from Tokyo. These include the 'defence of sea routes' within a range of 1,000 miles and a promise to blockade certain international straits in an 'emergency'.

What we consider particularly disquieting is the demand for nuclear armaments that official Japanese quarters voice more and more frequently. Present-day Japanese militarists are ready to forget the fundamental principles of state policy which ban the manufacture, import and possession of nuclear weapons. There is increasing evidence that they are trying to join directly in the nuclear strategy of the USA and NATO.

South Korea holds an important place among Washington's Asian allies. It is not only for purely military reasons that US ultras are drawn to that country. The fact is that the unsettled 'Korean question' is a permanent threat to stability in the Far East and this suits the Pentagon well. It also explains Washington's rejection of the proposal of the DPRK for trilateral talks (DPRK, South Korea and USA) centring on the issue of replacing the ceasefire agreement by a peace treaty and of the withdrawal of US troops from the southern part of the peninsula. We appreciate the stance of the DPRK, which regards the presence of these troops in the South as the main obstacle to peaceful unification.

US imperialism, as well as seeking more extensive bilateral military strategic relations with its allies in Asia and the involvement of more Asian countries in the arms race, is intent on forming new military alignments on the continent and on stepping up the effort of existing ones. Among other things, it wants to formalise the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military political triangle. Peace and international security are also imperilled by a US-projected bloc alternately called the 'Pacific Community', 'Asian-Pacific Pact' and 'SEATO-2'. With this aim in view, Washington encourages closer ties between the member states of ANZUS³ and ANZUK⁴. It is out to draw into this military cooperation ASEAN⁵ countries not belonging to aggressive alliances. Also, it is contemplating the possibility of involving Taiwan in this type of bloc system.

These important aspects of the situation in Asia are of special concern to the MPRP and the communist and workers' parties of other socialist community countries. In line with dialectical methodology, these parties always approach general problems of world development with due regard to the situation on our continent; by the same token, they estimate Asian problems in the light of world processes. This was the approach to the analysis of the situation in Asia contained in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries (Prague, January 1983) and in the Joint Declaration of Party and State Leaders of Socialist Countries (Moscow, June 1983).

The MPRP CC decision on preparations for the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the victory of Soviet and Mongolian troops over the Japanese aggressors in the area of Khalkhyn Gol River says: "The peoples in various parts of the world are witnessing the growth of the war danger on the Asian continent. The revival of militarism in Japan, the formation of an aggressive Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military political alliance and the link-up of imperialist and hegemonic forces on the basis of militarisation and anti-Sovietism are the chief cause of an increasingly complicated situation in Asia. In these circumstances it is necessary to unite the anti-war forces of Asia still more closely and to encourage in every way the actions of peoples against the impending war danger."⁶

We attach great importance to the consultative meeting held in Ulan Bator last autumn by deputy Foreign Ministers of the fraternal countries of Europe, Asia and America, the first meeting to examine problems of our continent on what may be described as a global scale. The participants signified the readiness of their governments to study any positive initiative in a constructive spirit and to work out on their basis measures helping prevent a further deterioration of the situation in Asia,

promote peace and international security, build mutual confidence and foster good-neighbourliness and cooperation among them.

The initiatives taken by socialist diplomacy on the world scene are evidence of a sincere desire to take real steps to build up security in Asia and the rest of the planet and curb the arms race. Mongolia sees this historic task as a highly important objective of its foreign policy. This policy is and will invariably be aimed at providing peaceful conditions for socialist construction and at contributing to the unity and cohesion of the community of fraternal countries, in which the Soviet Union rightly holds the leading place.

We consider cooperation among socialist community countries in the world arena particularly important. Speaking to the Seventh Plenum of the MPRP CC (December 1983), Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, CC General Secretary of our party, Chairman of the Presidium, People's Great Hural of the MPR, put a high premium on the specific and realistic proposals of the Soviet Union intended to end the arms race, promote confidence and cooperation among nations, and deliver humanity from the horrors of war. 'In this struggle,' he said, 'the Mongolian People's Republic will march together with fraternal countries, steadfastly pursuing a policy for lasting peace and security in Asia.'⁷

Among the Soviet initiatives of recent date whose realisation would create a healthier climate in Asia, mention should be made of a proposal covering the Pacific and Indian oceans. It calls for a reciprocal restriction of naval operations by the Soviet Union and United States, the withdrawal of the missile carrying submarines of both countries from the vast combat patrolling areas of today and the confinement of their movements to agreed bounds. Mongolia seconds Moscow's appeal to all countries whose ships sail the Indian Ocean to refrain from any steps likely to complicate the situation in the area still further, and to desist from the dispatch of major naval forces there and from war games. Our country considers that the Soviet proposal to evolve and apply confidence-building measures in the Far East is gaining in relevance.

Mongolia received with keen interest the idea of drafting a code of norms governing relations between nuclear powers, which was put forward by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC. We are certain that if recognised and made binding, these norms would meet the aspirations of all peoples.

The Communists and other working people of the MPR applauded the results of the friendly meeting between Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal and Konstantin Chernenko last February. The leaders of the two fraternal countries noted with satisfaction the fruitful development of relations between their parties and their countries in every field. The exchange of views confirmed that the positions of the two countries on all fundamental international problems, including the situation in Asia, fully coincide.⁸

The formation of zones of peace and cooperation in Asia would go a long way towards bolstering security on the continent. We believe the initiative taken by Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, which have proposed to create a zone of peace, cooperation and stability in Southeast Asia, is most relevant. They consider with good reason that to work out an agreement on such a zone, it is advisable to convene an international conference of the countries of the region and the five participants in earlier conferences on Indochina (Britain, China, the Soviet Union, the USA and France) as well as India and Burma. The imperative need to transform Southeast Asia into a peace zone was reaffirmed by a party and government summit of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos in February 1983.

In view of the danger which the buildup of the US military presence spells for the peoples of Asia, Mongolia supports the idea of calling an international conference to reach agreement on making the Indian Ocean a peace zone. The idea has won UN approval. The agreement could be based on the declaration adopted by the UN more than ten years ago.⁹ Washington has stubbornly blocked the convocation of the

conference for years in an effort to retain freedom of action in implementing its militarist plans.

The promise which collective actions for regional peace hold was confirmed by the Helsinki Conference, the results of the participating states' talks in Belgrade and Madrid, and lastly, the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe. Of course, we do not think the present state of implementation of the accords reached at Helsinki is ideal. But when there is every reason to consider that the Helsinki principles have withstood the pressure of imperialist opponents of cooperation between countries with different social systems on the basis of equality. This is why we agree with Konstantin Chernenko's statement that 'in the end the course of events will again be turned in the direction of the strengthening of peace, limitation of the arms race and development of international cooperation'.¹⁰

In 1981 Mongolia, drawing on Europe's experience of advancing to the formation of a collective security system, proposed an international convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific states. The conference, which should draft the proposed convention, could involve the permanent members of the UN Security Council in addition to the countries of the region. This would provide international guarantees for the future document. The People's Great Hural of the MPR appealed to the parliaments of Asian and Pacific countries to support our proposal.

The Mongolian initiative won wide approval in the fraternal socialist countries and among the peace-loving public of the world. The Soviet Union was the first to respond to it. Its government pointed out that if international relations in the Asian region was reshaped on the principles of peaceful co-existence this would constitute a noteworthy change in developments on the continent.¹¹ The Mongolian concept of safeguarding continental security also won the approval of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, Babrak Karmal, CC General Secretary of the PDPA, Chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, and leaders of a number of other Asian states. The idea of the convention is gaining ground in political quarters in many countries and is supported by influential international and national non-governmental organisations in the region and the world.

It must be remembered, however, that the realisation of our proposal will encounter many difficulties. They stem from the policy of the ruling circles of Asian countries still burdened with the past and unwilling to acknowledge the realities of today. The governments of Japan and Pakistan, while not rejecting our idea, presented the situation in a false light, interpreting events in Asia in cold war terms.

Common efforts towards resisting imperialist policy are prejudiced by the 'special' line of the Beijing leadership on certain fundamental international problems. The latest events, in particular Reagan's and Nakasone's visits to the PRC, indicated that Washington and Tokyo are working together to 'establish' Beijing on anti-socialist and anti-Soviet positions. They exploit the Chinese leaders' hegemonic ambitions by means of political-strategical, economic and other promises. All this is detrimental to both the security interests of the Chinese people themselves and to the defence of their socialist achievements.

As for Mongolian-Chinese relations, our country, proceeding from its principled and consistent peace policy, advocates the restoration and promotion of good-neighbourliness and cooperation with China on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-use of force and non-interference. However, we understandably take exception to Beijing's hegemonic stand on the MPR. In China publications distorting Mongolian history and denying our country's right to national independence continue to be circulated.

We carefully follow political consultations between the Soviet Union and China and hope that in the end they will produce positive results. Mongolia fully supports

the line which the Soviet Union has been pursuing in the interest of better relations with China, of good-neighbour relations based on respect for the Chinese people.

However, there is no ignoring the fact that in the course of contacts the Chinese side lays down certain preconditions, including some which come within the jurisdiction of third countries. One of these is the demand that Soviet troops be withdrawn from Mongolian territory. The Mongolian government emphatically rejected this demand in a statement released last spring.¹² It confirmed again that the Soviet troops are in Mongolia on a temporary basis, at the government's request under the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed by the two countries. The issue of their withdrawal is not subject to discussion during Soviet-Chinese political consultations. Nor does the claim that the presence of these troops in our country is a 'threat' to China hold water. Neither the Soviet Union, nor the Mongolian People's Republic poses any threat to China's sovereignty. Any unbiased analysis shows that the real threat to the Chinese people come from imperialism.

Internationalism is the cornerstone of the foreign policy orientation of the MPRP. Our party is prompted in all its activities by the Marxist-Leninist conception of the nature of the present epoch, the paths and trends of the historical process and the development prospects of the world socialist system. The MPRP steadfastly seeks closer relations with fraternal parties. Accordingly, the 18th MPRP Congress supported the idea of calling a meeting of communist and workers' parties of Asian countries to exchange views on ways and means of achieving durable peace.

The peoples of Asia are more aware than anyone else of the danger of nuclear war, for it was in Asia that the United States first used the atom bomb and it is there that nuclear weapons tests have been going on. All this prompts our party and people to seek unity of action with redoubled energy in the name of a common goal, which is to make the political climate in the region much healthier and prevent Asia from being turned into an area of nuclear devastation.

¹ Sixty years ago the Mongolian people, having proclaimed a people's republic, set out to implement the general line of the MPRP, which called for non-capitalist developments leading the country to socialism.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 86.

³ Military political bloc formed by Australia, New Zealand and the USA under the 'Security Treaty' which became effective on April 29, 1952.—Ed.

⁴ Military alignment set up under the Agreement on the 'Joint Defence' of Malaysia and Singapore (it came into force on November 1, 1971 and is composed of Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Malaysia and Singapore).—Ed.

⁵ Regional organisation established in 1967 and comprising Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines.—Ed.

⁶ *Novosti Mongolii*, April 27, 1984.

⁷ *Ünen*, December 7, 1983.

⁸ See *Ünen*, February 26, 1984.

⁹ The declaration about proclaiming the Indian Ocean a peace zone was adopted by the 26th Session of the UN General Assembly (1971). The session formed an ad hoc committee to prepare for and convene a conference in order to specify the declaration.—Ed.

¹⁰ *Information Bulletin*, No. 9, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 15.

¹¹ See *Novosti Mongolii*, September 29, 1981.

¹² See *Ünen*, March 3, 1984.

Agrarian Policy Under Socialism

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THIRTY-FIVE years is a relatively short span in a nation's history, but it is one in which deeper transformations have been carried out on the territory of the German Democratic Republic than in the centuries before it.

The power of the working class and the whole people has been and continues to be the prerequisite of all our successes. A new society, a new world, a modern industry and a well-developed agriculture have been created, and the living and working conditions of millions of men and women improved under the leadership of the working class in close alliance with the class of cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and other working people. As they changed the material conditions of their existence, they themselves have changed in the process.

Agricultural production is highly important in the creation of a developed socialist economy, and at the present stage of socialist construction, the SED's agrarian policy has a two-fold objective: first, a steady increase in output and greater efficiency of agriculture to ensure stable and ever ampler supplies of food for the population and raw materials for industry, and second, approximation of rural and urban living conditions in order gradually to overcome the essential distinctions between town and country. The basic economic law of socialism, the boosting of the productive forces, notably progress in science and technology, and the development of social relations in the countryside objectively require further intensification of agricultural production. The creative efforts of the cooperative peasants have helped to make a major stride forward in attaining our programmatic goals.

The development of our country's agriculture is an organic part of the major revolutionary changes that have taken place over the past several decades, Erich Honecker, SED CC General Secretary and Chairman of the GDR State Council, said in his speech at the 12th Congress of GDR Peasants in May 1982. He added: 'What was once inconceivable for the peasant is now commonplace. Cooperative peasants now work with high productivity with ever wider use of industrial methods in cropping and livestock breeding. Life in the countryside has changed at root. The essential distinctions between town and country are being overcome step by step.'

The results of the diligent work of the peasants and agricultural workers of the GDR are impressive. Before going on, let us note that, when assessing their successes, one should bear in mind that these have been achieved with some reduction in the farmland and manpower resources in the countryside: in 1950, those working in agriculture made up 26.9 per cent of the total employed in the national economy, as compared with only about 10.1 per cent today, which means a drop from roughly 2 million to 840,000. Still, agricultural output has kept steadily growing: from 1949 to 1983, the cereal crop went up by 110 per cent, meat output by 600 per cent, milk by 210 per cent, and eggs by 570 per cent.

That kind of success was made possible only because the GDR working class has always supported the peasantry. The alliance of the working class and the class of cooperative peasantry is the political basis of our society. The SED has always given and will continue to give great attention to consolidating this time-tested alliance, as industrial methods of production are introduced, socialist relations of production in agriculture are perfected, and as agriculture meshes with the other sectors of the national economy involved in producing food. The workers and the cooperative peasants work together and for each other. The working class helps to develop the socialist way of life in the countryside, while the cooperative peasants work to raise the people's material and cultural standards, and so also their own standards.

Agricultural production cannot be boosted without raising the educational standards of workers in the countryside. In 1960, only 6 per cent of those employed in the sector had special training, as compared with roughly 90 per cent just now. We attach much importance to training skilled workers and regard this as the crucial factor of intensification, because high results have to be achieved not only by specialists with a higher and secondary special education, but primarily by the hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file working people raising the level of their knowledge and skills.

Although the people's requirements in foodstuffs, and industry's in agricultural raw materials have steadily grown, their satisfaction has been stable, and over the past several years, increasingly through the use of our own resources and production. In their emulation campaign to mark the 35th anniversary of the GDR, cooperative peasants and agricultural workers decided to increase crop output in 1984 by 6.6 per cent over the previous year. In livestock-breeding, their goal is to make ever fuller provision of the cattle population with our own feedstuffs, to use these more efficiently and constantly to improve the pedigree and productivity of their livestock.

This year's high national-economic plan targets make special demands on the creative activity of workers in agriculture and induce them to make fresh efforts: they are aware that their achievements help to strengthen the cause of peace and socialism. This has a bearing on the successful fulfilment of the main task set by the SED's 10th Congress in 1981, which is to pursue economic policy in close connection with social policy, and steadily to implement the party's economic strategy in agriculture, a strategy which sets forth a clear programme for attaining the challenging goals facing us in the 1980s under the changing conditions of reproduction.

GDR cooperative peasants and workers in agriculture have a clear-cut perspective and a secure future before them. The state guarantees the sale of their produce at stable prices, and this, for its part, impels them to expand production and make it more efficient. One unmistakable indicator of the people's social certitude is the building of handsome and comfortable homes, and many of these are now making an appearance in our ever more attractive villages.

What a contrast this is with the state of things in the capitalist countries! In one of his interviews, President of the FRG Peasant Union Constantin von Heereman, for instance, remarked that in 1983, an average of 56 farmers a day were forced to abandon their farms, a trend that has already been in evidence for years. He added, that the 'bitterness of the peasants is great' and that 'a real tide of protest' on their part was imminent.

The successes achieved in agriculture over the 35 years of our republic prove that the SED's agrarian policy is correct, and there is every reason to say that the remarkable achievements in which our people take such pride would have been inconceivable without such a clear-cut and purposeful policy.

When starting the agrarian transformations, our party was guided by the ideas Marx and Engels expounded in the *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*², and also by the principles which Ernst Thaelmann formulated in the peasant aid programme adopted by the Communist Party of Germany in 1932. The SED also translated into life the basic ideas of Lenin's cooperative plan in the great process of restructuring the countryside on socialist lines. Lenin made a thorough analysis of the agrarian question in the light of the doctrine of Marx and Engels to show that the peasants could escape from social oppression only in close alliance with the working class and under the leadership of its revolutionary party. The leader of the revolution in Russia also worked out the methods for carrying the peasants towards socialism. Lenin's principles of agrarian policy and class alliances have always been and continue to be a guide to action for our party, in the light of our republic's specific historical conditions and peculiarities. The SED has also made creative use of the

experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries.

First, the leading role of the working class and its revolutionary party has been unfailingly asserted in the solution of all the problems of social development in the countryside. That was the approach in putting through the 1945 democratic land reform, which gave land to more than half a million landstarved peasants and resettlers,³ workers and artisans. That was also the approach in setting up the agricultural producer cooperatives. Such is also the approach today in tackling the problems of intensification in the countryside.

Second, the development of agriculture in the republic has always rested on all-round support of the socialist state and the whole people, starting from the programme of assistance to the newly-landed farmers in building farmsteads, the establishment of machine-lending stations and the socialist transformation of the countryside down to our own day.

Agriculture is an organic part of the integral reproduction process in the country. Industry supplies the cooperative peasants with everything they need for their labours. Fixed production assets in GDR agriculture are now valued at more than 80 billion marks (a nearly four-fold increase over 1960, when the mass cooperation in the countryside began). The value of these assets per person employed in the sector now comes to about 75 per cent of the figure for industry.

When the producer cooperatives were being set up, our party initiated a campaign under the slogan: 'Workers into the Countryside!' and supported the initiative of scientists helping farmers with the beginnings of collective labour organisation. They were also effectively supported by the people's estates (i.e., the state farms).

Third, the principle of voluntary membership was most scrupulously and invariably observed in associating individuals in agricultural producer cooperatives and in all the subsequent steps in socialising production. The party opposed both petty tutelage of the peasants and any kind of free-drift theories, being guided by Engels's idea that the party's 'task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to cooperative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose'.⁴ He believed that the peasants should be allowed to 'think things over'. In the GDR, it took them eight years to do so.

Fourth, our party was guided by the principle that the transition to cooperative labour has to be effected gradually and in a diversity of forms, as it rises to ever higher forms of cooperation, so that the transition is carried out 'by means that are the *simplest, easiest and most acceptable to the peasant*,'⁵ as Lenin put it. This will be seen, for instance, from the establishment in our republic of three types of agricultural cooperatives differing in the extent to which production is socialised.

Cooperatives of the first type only cultivate their farmland collectively, and the second type cultivate the farmland and the meadows, with the farmers pooling their draught cattle and machinery. In the third type of cooperatives, the collective farming involves all the farmland, forests and other agricultural land, and also the livestock and farm implements. Such transitional forms reckoned with the different levels of the peasants' consciousness and so smoothed their entry into the cooperatives.

Fifth, the socialist development of the countryside in our republic has always gone hand in hand with the further raising of living standards and the spread of culture and education.

Every fundamental aspect and every successive step in these transformations were discussed with the peasants in numerous face-to-face conversations, at meetings, district conferences and state-wide peasant congresses. Thus, the 2,212 delegates to the 12th Peasant Congress were nominated by their work collectives and elected democratically at district conferences. In the run-up to the congress, 193 such conferences were held, with more than 51,000 delegates (of them almost 18,000 women) attending and 2,950 speakers taking part in the debates. The public

discussion of the draft congress resolutions and the Law on Agricultural producer Cooperatives lasted for several months. Peasants, workers and scientists put forward a total of 11,441 proposals, and these were taken into account in the final drafting of the documents.

Under the SED's leadership and in close alliance with the working class, the GDR peasants have travelled the hard way from individual to cooperative farming, but even at the hardest moments of the transformations agricultural production did not decline but continued to grow. The peasantry, once fragmented into several social strata, has been moulded into one class with a place of honour in the society.

Our party believes that cropping and livestock-breeding producer cooperatives and people's estates are the basic socio-economic forms of socialist agricultural enterprises which will continue to exist for a long time to come. Experience shows that the present state of maturity of cooperative property, supplemented with close production cooperation between the agricultural producer cooperatives and the people's estates, gives wide scope for developing the productive forces.

We now have roughly 1,150 cropping producer cooperatives, almost 3,000 livestock cooperatives, roughly 200 gardening producer cooperatives, 140 people's estates engaged in cropping, the growing of vegetables, fruits, flowers and decorative plants, etc., and also 350 livestock-breeding people's estates and enterprises.⁶

Cooperative property predominates in the agrarian structure: 82 per cent of all the permanent workers in agriculture are employed by the agricultural producer cooperatives, which cultivate 87.5 per cent of the farmland, keep 89 per cent of the cattle, and have more than 80 per cent of the fixed assets in primary agricultural production. The cooperatives account for roughly 95 per cent of the state procurement of cereals and potatoes, and for 77 per cent of the livestock products.

These figures show the great role of the cooperative peasants in supplying the people with food. More and more of them are becoming aware of their alliance duty to the workers as a duty to make the fullest use of the vast potentialities latent in collective property.

The people's estates are centres of working class concentration in the countryside. Cropping people's estates cultivate 7.1 per cent of the GDR's farmland, and the livestock-breeding estates grow 11 per cent of the cattle (apart from the livestock kept on the farmsteads). The economic importance of these estates consists above all in their extensive breeding and selection work. As model enterprises, they also have an important responsibility for introducing the latest scientific and technical achievements and for training young personnel.

The results of implementation of the economic strategy formulated by the SED's 10th Congress were summed up at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee in November 1983. In his speech, Erich Honecker emphasised that the main thing is to effect the asset-saving type of intensive reproduction even more consistently and purposefully, and markedly to enhance the efficiency of science and technology. The touchstone of success here is the ever greater efficiency of agriculture as a whole.

For those working in the sector, this means thrifty use of the land, the fertilisers and the plant-protectors, in short, the most efficient use of all the assets. We have concentrated our efforts on bringing out, to a greater extent than ever before, the reserves for higher productivity in agriculture, and considerably expanding and comprehensively intensifying production. The task is tangibly to enhance efficiency and quality, so resolutely improving the cost-benefit ratio. We seek to conjugate even more closely the advantages of socialism and the scientific and technical revolution as a basis for further raising labour productivity and crop yields, attaining a higher degree of produce processing, and further cutting losses.

In further developing socialist agriculture in the republic, we look to the guidelines set out by the SED's 10th Congress, which said that the main factors of intensification

in this sector are the working people's occupational training and the raising of skill standards, mechanisation, chemicalisation, land-improvement, breeding, selection, and the storage of farm produce.

Our emphasis just now is on cropping. Our main means of production is land, and in the GDR we have only 0.37 hectares of farmland per head. That is why the party and the state attach so much importance to the efficient use of every square metre of soil, constant efforts to increase its fertility, protect it against erosion, and observe favourable agrotechnical deadlines for farm operations, with a high quality of workmanship and lower losses.

Production cooperatives and people's estates have long-term programmes for efficient use of land which are regularly renewed in accordance with the latest scientific advances. The efforts of workers in the countryside are aimed above all to adapt production to the environment to an even greater extent and to obtain even higher crop yields and productivity.

So-called maximum-yield concepts, which are documents blending peasant experience with scientific and technical progress, and where all the factors of intensification are combined in the best way, are an effective and well-established means for doing so. What we believe to be especially important is that such concepts should be worked out for concrete conditions—every plot of land on which a crop is grown—through the joint efforts of work collectives, their management, and scientists.

These documents envisage all the organisational and technological measures required for the most efficient use of the soil, the genetic potential of the plants, and production assets, and eventually high yields of all the crops. Such concepts have helped the members of the agricultural producer cooperative at Albersroda, for instance, to take in an average of 61.9 centners of grain per hectare on good soil, and the workers of the people's estates in Lindenberg—40.4 centners per hectare on poor sandy soils.

More and more farms are adopting the maximum-yield concepts as programmes for action, because they regard them as a reliable means for improving the results of their labour and keeping production under control. These documents are also valuable in that they enhance the sense of responsibility among workers for 'their own' plot and crop, and generate new labour initiatives.

Increasing the yields of the staple cereals is of crucial importance in cropping, and our aim is to satisfy the requirements of the national economy in food and seed grains ever more fully and entirely through our own production.

Let us recall that the imperialist circles of some countries have not only declared grain to be a weapon against socialism, but have actually tried to use it as such. However, that has ultimately served merely to mobilise our forces for further increasing our own grain output. The 1982 and 1983 harvests showed that it can be done. Despite the bad weather, harvests two years running were the highest on record in the history of the GDR.

However, the point is to increase the yields not only of cereals but of the other crops as well, especially sugar-beet and potatoes. There are also considerable reserves for feed production in the use of meadow and pasture land. We have set the task of applying agronomic techniques, labour organisation and selection to attain high and stable harvests in a short time, while steadily improving the quality of farm produce. To do that we must everywhere rely consistently and in a balanced manner on scientific and technical achievements, because that is what our economic growth ever more tangibly depends upon.

The following figures give an idea of the development of the scientific potential of our agriculture over the past 35 years: in 1950, only 2,750 persons (including 280 specialists with a higher and secondary education) were engaged in research and development work in agriculture, forestry and the food industry, whereas today there

are, respectively, 16,650 and 8,150.

The long-term agricultural research programme approved by the SED CC Political Bureau in 1982 looks to the solution of the most important problems in this sphere, for instance, in raising soil fertility, improving plant and animal breeding, and making agricultural economics and organisation of production more efficient.

The latest scientific and technical achievements are being applied by more and more producer cooperatives and people's estates, with scientists vigorously helping to overcome the yield and productivity differentials which will still be found between collectives working in similar conditions. We regard this as a major reserve for raising labour productivity in agriculture.

The peasants are also getting much support from the agrochemical centres and district farm-machinery enterprises. The former are cooperative associations founded by agricultural producer cooperatives and people's estates to perform work involving the application of fertilisers, protection of plants, combating agricultural pests, and organising transportation. The latter are state-run district establishments designed to perform skilled repair of tractors, machinery and implements belonging to the cooperatives and people's estates and to see that all the hardware is ready for use. They simultaneously help to rationalise production and to arrange high-standard servicing and maintenance of technical facilities.

In livestock-breeding, the task of intensification consists above all in attaining high livestock productivity, more efficient fattening-up, minimum losses of marketable produce, and economies in feedstuffs. Here we look to the results of 1983, when we got 100 calves per 100 cows, and an average of 19.7 piglets per farrow. As in cropping, maximum-yield concepts worked out by individual livestock-breeding complexes have revealed their advantages.

We now have well-trained and experienced livestock-breeders, but ever higher demands are being made on this sector of agriculture as well. That is why our party gives much attention to providing effective assistance to the agricultural producer cooperatives and the people's estates in raising their workers' skill standards and providing them with the latest scientific and technical information. Here, an active role belongs to the Union of Free German Youth, which last year began a campaign called 'Livestock-Breeding'. It invites young livestock-breeders to go and work in the cooperatives and estates where labour productivity is still low, an initiative fully backed by the local organs of popular representation, which help young people to build homes, provide accommodation for their children in creches and nursery schools, and open discotheques, athletic clubs and cultural institutions for the young, doing everything, in short, to help them feel at home in the countryside as soon as possible.

If new reserves for intensifying agriculture are to be tapped, reproduction must be made economical at every stage, with skilled control of it. This, for its part, requires that state agencies, agricultural producer cooperatives and people's estates should further improve administration, management, planning and economic calculus.

Practising the principle of economical organisation of production means above all stimulating the people's material interest in and responsibility for the end-results of their labour, a purpose promoted, in particular, by the reform of farm produce prices which became effective on January 1, 1984, under a decision taken by the SED's 10th Congress. The new prices make it easier to measure national-economic inputs and efficiency of production, while precise calculation of the costs is the first step to reducing the ever more effectively. The purpose of the on-going reform is to induce cooperative peasants and agricultural workers to go on increasing crop yields and productivity in agriculture. Besides, the innovation operates in the spirit of the peasants' traditional reasonable thrift and common-sense economics and creates a material interest for attaining the best results at the lowest possible cost. Let us note that the changes in the prices of farm produce will have no effect on retail food prices,

which will remain stable.

Most of the cooperatives and people's estates are doing well in adapting the organisation of their labour and production to their territorial conditions: the location of villages, farms, etc. Sections and permanent teams whose ambit and responsibility are clearly delineated are a well-tested form of labour organisation. We believe that the task now is to secure production assets to these collectives, lay down definite plans and regularly settle accounts. Experience shows that this can help substantially to enhance resourcefulness and sense of responsibility among workers in the countryside and involve them more broadly in the actual management of the reproduction process.

The resolution of the 12th Peasant Congress says, in part: 'Cooperation in our agriculture⁷ is an objective requirement in further consolidating socialist relations of production, and is simultaneously a locomotive of intensification.'⁸ That is why our efforts are aimed to organise the most efficient and coherent reproduction process covering both cropping and livestock-breeding.

While scientific and technical progress does deepen specialisation in production and 'causes a further development of the division of labour',⁹ a network of diverse and close ties continues to exist between livestock-breeding and cropping.

At the end of the 1970s, as I have said, juridically independent specialised cropping and livestock-breeding agricultural producer cooperatives and people's estates were set up in the GDR. Cooperation between individual enterprises makes for the efficient organisation of the whole of reproduction, including biological, economic and social processes, and the entire system of 'soil-plants-livestock-soil' connections. This helps more fully to tap the potentialities of economic growth, locate production optimally, make better use of the natural properties of plants and livestock, and so ultimately raise the productivity of the sector as a whole.

Cooperation councils are organs of cooperation between the agricultural producer cooperatives and the people's estates, and they direct the development of livestock-breeding and cropping as an integral whole. These councils operate on the basis of economic calculus, while the individual farms remain juridically independent and the cooperation council is accountable to the enterprises banding together for their common purpose. Thanks to the purposeful efforts of the party organisations, over the past several years the cooperation councils have been markedly strengthened with experienced personnel.

The agricultural producer cooperatives and the people's estates cannot develop successfully unless the peasant is deeply attached to the soil. Of the utmost importance here is cooperation between local people's representations and the agricultural enterprises located on their territory: the closer it is, the better is life in the countryside.

The modern socialist village has well-educated farmers with their families, well-cultivated and manicured fields, highly productive cattle, handsome and well-appointed homes, orchards and parks, social, athletic and cultural institutions and, of course, efficient services.

The processing of some farm produce is now being arranged on the spot, a highly useful business, because it helps to use the fruits of the soil swiftly and without losses, and to improve supplies for the population. Such an arrangement has many advantages: it helps to cut transportation costs, and use waste on the spot (for instance, as feed), enables local residents engaged in processing farm produce to help cooperatives at harvest time, when the need arises and so on. Let us also note that small processing plants (say, small shops to produce fruit and vegetable juices) will also be helpful to the owners of auxiliary farms, making it unnecessary for farmers to travel to town to sell their produce.

Our conception of agricultural development includes the expansion of individual production. We have a special union of citizens who, as a hobby, and in their spare

time, grow vegetables and fruits on small plots on collective estates, or fatten up poultry and small farm animals. The union has more than 1.2 million members.

The SED regards individual production of vegetables and fruits and livestock produce as an important addition to the social sector's, and its significance will be seen from its share of state procurement: 14.1 per cent of the pork, 10 per cent of the beef, 99.1 per cent of the rabbit meat, 44 per cent of the eggs, 26 per cent of the wool, 27 per cent of the vegetables, and 98 per cent of honey.

If the production of meat is to be further increased on the auxiliary farms, we believe that it is necessary to expand the production of feedstuffs through better use of small plots of land which cannot be conveniently cultivated by machines. These matters are being ever more vigorously dealt with by the above-mentioned union, and also by the Association of Peasant Mutual Assistance.

Our party always makes a point of having a fundamental and timely discussion with our citizens of all the steps it intends to take and that not only on matters of agrarian policy. The SED will continue to act in this way, broadly cooperating with the peasantry and other rural dwellers. Over 44,000 men and women from the countryside have been elected deputies to the representative organs of every level. Fifty-nine peasants have seats on the People's Chamber, the supreme body of the GDR. More than 50,000 men and women work actively on the boards of agricultural producer cooperatives as elective members, while almost every other cooperative member takes part in the work of board commissions hammering out decisions. In addition, diverse initiatives come from youth and women's organisations throughout the country.

In the light of all these achievements, we feel sure that the SED can rely, in the future as well, on the creative activity and trust of the men and women of the countryside in conducting its policy, which serves to safeguard peace and raise the people's wellbeing. For that reason the motto of the 12th Peasant Congress was: 'Bread Needs Peace; All Our Efforts in Its Defence'.

¹ *Protokoll des XII. Bauernkongresses der DDR*, Berlin, 1982, p. 281.

² Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 3.

³ The peasants who had lived on the territory of present-day Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary before the war and who were resettled to GDR territory in 1945.—*Ed.*

⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Moscow, 1970, Vol. 3, p. 470.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 468.

⁶ In the 1970s, out of the agricultural producer cooperatives and people's estates there developed specialised cropping and livestock-breeding enterprises which have, however, continued to cooperate with each other on the basis of economic calculus.

⁷ Meaning the above-mentioned cooperation between agricultural enterprises in cropping and livestock-breeding.—*Ed.*

⁸ *Protokoll des XII. Bauernkongresses der DDR*, pp. 53-54.

⁹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 32.

Commentary

What the Spate of New Social Storms in the Third World Signifies

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THE Third World is on the brink of a chasm, it is facing political collapse, a human disaster of unprecedented proportions: such is the keynote of much of what the bourgeois media are saying about the developing countries. With the zeal of latter-day oracles predicting calamities and cataclysms for the human race, bourgeois journalists, diplomatists and politologists keep saying that the countries which have risen to independence and advanced along the way of 'modernisation' have now entered into a period of regress. Construction sites have been abandoned, thousands of children cannot go to school, beggars once again throng the streets, foodshops are being raided by wild crowds, and so on, and so forth.

Following the events in Tunisia early this year, when a storm of popular indignation exploded after the price of bread and other staple foods was nearly doubled, the bourgeois mass media keep talking about the danger of a repetition of 'bread riots' and similar other acts of spontaneous and violent protest by the population, like those which in the middle of the past decade rocked the social life of Egypt, and later of the Sudan, Morocco, Liberia and some other countries which found themselves within the neocolonialist orbit of imperialist capital. Leaders influential in imperialist circles, like Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former presidential national security adviser in the United States, David Owen, leader of the Socialist Democratic Party of Great Britain, and Saburo Okita, one-time foreign minister of Japan, deemed it necessary to draw the attention of the Trilateral Commission (for which they drew up a report containing global predictions) to the 'social upheavals in large areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America' which were fraught with violence.¹ There seem to be, after all, weighty reasons for disquiet in these circles, if such a forum of international monopoly capital, rising above the great-power disdain displayed for the developing countries by the White House incumbent, Ronald Reagan, has decided to sound the alarm.

Judging by the comments in the bourgeois press to the recurrent action by the oppressed, the members of the ruling capitalist class are alarmed over the acutely social edge of the protest, because it is the position of the reactionary forces personifying the class support of imperialism—the parasitic strata of the bourgeoisie (bureaucratic, etc.) in the countries of the Afro-Asian region, and the elite of the local monopoly oligarchy and the fascist-minded militarists in Latin America that nearly always turns out to be shaky and unstable. They are also alarmed over the future of the system of class domination in general. Finally, bourgeois propagandists, while now and again speaking with what could be taken for pent-up emotion about the dire plight of the population of whole continents, fraught with unpredictable upheavals and chaos, are quick to refer to the tattered idea of some 'external threat', be it 'Libyan', 'Cuban' or (of course) 'Soviet' which, they claim, should also be taken into account in the context of the explosive situation in many Third World countries.

Indeed, there are many reasons for the imperialist circles to be upset. The liberation movement, relying on the support of world socialism, has scored major gains over the past decades. Despite Washington's aggressive efforts, it has failed to roll back the movement. On the contrary, the manifestations of the national

liberation and class struggle are multiplying, and this is indicated, incidentally, not only by the recurrence of stormy spontaneous protest. In the mid-1980s, popular action is marked by a growing element of organisation and consciousness, as will be clearly seen from the experience of the working class movement in the countries of these continents.

The ranks of the working class have been steadily growing. In Brazil, for instance, the numerical strength of the proletariat in manufacturing has doubled over the past decade (1970-1980) to nearly seven million. The number of urban unionised employees has risen to more than four million. Similar shifts have also taken place in other industrialising countries in that zone of the world.

The workers' action is becoming more militant, and ever more often they win strikes and labour disputes, as will be seen from the record of India, Mexico, Egypt, Nigeria and Ecuador. Even in African and Asian countries where the trade union movement is controlled by military-bureaucratic regimes (Thailand, Indonesia), the workers have repeatedly challenged these regimes and risen to struggle for their interests.

Another feature of the numerous acts of social protest in the mid-1980s is active support by their participants of political demands: abolition of anti-people measures and regulations, democratisation of social life, liquidation of reactionary dictatorships, pursuance of progressive foreign policy and external economic course, a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. Over the past year alone, a powerful tide of working people's actions has rolled across countries like Brazil, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Mexico, Argentina, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Philippines, Pakistan, Zaire.

There is also evidence of a general growth of discontent among wide popular strata in countries which have taken the capitalist road, and the reasons are objective. However much the leaders of imperialist or local bourgeois circles and feudal-monarchist elites may hold forth on so-called subversive action by 'leftists' or 'Fundamentalist Moslems' (something in vogue since the Iranian revolution), it is not left-extremist or right-extremist slogans that set in motion the masses in their thousands. The reason is the injustice of the policy of the oppressor regimes, which ever more frequently try to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the deprived. Resistance to that policy is a natural response on the part of those who are downtrodden by the inescapable material hardships and the misery of their life in penury, and who are indignant at the life of plenty and luxury led by a handful of exploiters.

This social discontent is now being sharply intensified by two types of factors: external and internal. Popular protest actions have taken place in the past as well, but now they spring up on the unprecedentedly fertile soil in *dozens* of countries which have suffered the worst consequences of the deep and protracted economic crisis in the capitalist world, the declining prices of raw materials and the soaring prices of manufactured imports, and the debt burden. The market mechanisms of the world capitalist economy, which went through another cyclical recession in the early 1980s, have slowed down economic growth in the periphery of the capitalist world to such an extent that in many of the developing countries there has been a drop in the gross domestic product per head. These countries continue to be the objects of neocolonial plunder. In the past decade alone, the real profits of the transnational corporations in the newly independent states have gone up by nearly 25 per cent.

The situation is being further worsened by the fact that Reaganomics, embodying the naked cult of force in international relations, and based on economic suppression and diktat, is now inflicting ever heavier blows on the underdeveloped countries. On direct orders from the advocates of Reaganomics, development-aid programmes are being cut back and every step of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) is now

increasingly subordinate to Washington's monetarist line. Any 'enlightened' initiative coming from some capitalist governments, which advocate, for instance, an increase of such aid, recommendations from realistically-minded Western politicians, and the concern, expressed now and again, over the misfortunes of the Third World, are either deliberately ignored (as in the case of the first and the second Brandt reports) or rejected out of hand.

Under pressure from the Reagan Administration, international monopoly circles are now inclined to 'treat' the ills of the developing countries exclusively by means of 'bitter pills'. That is precisely what the IMF and the World Bank have been doing. For every dollar of new credit made available to these countries, they are ever more frequently forced to freeze wages, cut back government subsidies for the prime necessities, greatly increase the prices of food and medicines, devalue national currencies, etc. It is not surprising that the regimes agreeing to sacrifice the interests of broad strata of the population to the prescriptions of the banking bosses have become the targets of the unprecedentedly powerful and wide action by the working class, the semi-proletarian strata of the towns and the poor of the countryside. The popular unrest has spread not only to the individual towns and villages, but literally across entire countries. That is what happened at the beginning of the year in Tunisia and Morocco, and just recently in the Dominican Republic. In the punitive action mounted by the army and the police, hundreds of people were killed and wounded, while others were subjected to draconian justice on trumped-up charges. The Communists and other left-wing forces in these countries condemned the policy of subordination to IMF dictates and persecution of those taking part in the mass struggles.

Although the continued relations of dependence limit the scope for social manoeuvring by the ruling elites, the people's discontent has more than once forced them to cancel the most unpopular economic measures. The ruling circles have to reckon with the working people's response. The Guyana masses, for instance, have also been forced to bear a heavy burden since the government signed its first agreement with the IMF in 1978. The known austerity measures which such accords impose are meeting with growing resistance by the working people. The working people's struggle has prevented the conclusion of another agreement with the IMF, which was mooted last year.

Among the major anti-imperialist tasks facing the working class and its vanguard in the developing countries, ever increasing importance attaches to firm resistance to the policy of 'austerity' and the IMF-imposed line of fixing 'true prices', which is ruinous for millions of people who are doomed to intolerable living conditions as it is. The experience of the Sudan shows very well that the more pliantly the reactionary authorities do IMF's will and the harder they 'tighten the screws' on their own people, the greater the zeal with which that watchdog of the neocolonialist order tightens the noose of dependence. The imperialist creditors are also keen on keeping the Nimeiry dictatorship going in the face of another powerful tide of popular discontent.

The 'models' introduced by the advocates of Reaganomics have also ended in failure where they have tried, with reliance on the pro-imperialist circles, to 'improve' economic life in accordance with the politico-economic recipes of the proponents of the 'free market' philosophy. Jamaica offers an example. It is described even by the imperialist press as a country living off US aid, ranking fifth among the recipients of US aid per head, a country turned into a trans-shipment base for the drug traffic, a country with almost one in three able-bodied persons out of work.² A very difficult situation has risen in Sri Lanka which has also pursued a 'free market economy' policy. The euphoric hopes of prosperity and industrial boom on the Singapore model, such a favourite with the transnational corporations and the transnational banks, never come true. In Sri Lanka, new tens of thousands of unfortunates have been doomed to poverty by the curtailment of government food subsidies, of the free

system of education, of medical services, and by similar other measures. Inflation, unemployment and other social diseases characteristic of a society based on oppression and exploitation are raging. With the worsening of the economic situation and the mounting drive on democratic rights, interethnic relations on the island have been sharply exacerbated.

Those are the real facts, and they cannot be ignored in the citadels of capital. US political commentator Jonathan Power said as much: "For once the right should agree with the left and admit that continued Third World poverty in the 1980s *can be blamed on capitalism.*" (Emphasis supplied.—Auth.)³ We might as well note, however, that this is not merely forced admission, but something of a modern instance of demagogical self-flagellation which imperialist ideologists are prone to resort to, being concerned about the steady growth of contradictions between capitalist centres and Third World countries. To be sure, while 'exposing' capitalism in this way, they offer these countries none but a bourgeois road.

There is ever wider public awareness of the historical limitations of the capitalist ways, methods and forms chosen by the ruling circles after gaining independence for the purpose, as they claimed at the time, of development and economic growth. The invariable external limitation of this line is the integration in the world capitalist economy, and the internal limitations, the economic backwardness and the legacy of the colonial epoch.

According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the number of unemployed and semi-unemployed in the developing countries comes to half a billion. In many Asian, African and Latin American countries, a quarter of the able-bodied population is now deprived of work and has to live from hand to mouth.

As the peasantry is eroded, the handicraftsmen ruined, and the former rural inhabitants drop out of their class, they are forced out into the urban areas where they become paupers, lumpen proletarians and other outcasts. As a result, powerful inflammable material tends to accumulate in these areas. The terrible conditions of existence spark the frequent outbursts of spontaneous protest, and this is, incidentally, also used by the right-wing circles in their efforts to channel the discontent of the oppressed to suit themselves. Furthermore, the potential of socially conscious fighters against oppression and exploitation, against anti-popular dictatorial regimes and practices, for democracy and the ideals of social justice, is growing in step with the growth of the numerical strength of the proletariat and the leverage of the trade unions and other mass organisations in public life.

If the patriotic forces are aware of the mood of the dispossessed and take action to remove the corruption-ridden governments and eradicate the most crying injustices, the urban and rural poor, and the other working people demonstrate their support for these forces, as they did after the recent military coups in Ghana and Upper Volta. It is indicative that the military coup in Nigeria staged six months ago was preceded by the adoption by the civilian bourgeois government—two days before the events—of an unprecedentedly tough economic programme, once again dictated by the IMF. And no one came out to save the bankrupt regime. That was because the much-vaunted bourgeois democracy was associated in the minds of broad masses of people with a legalised system of corruption, the remittance of plundered funds by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to bank accounts in Switzerland, etc. The authorities ignored the most elementary things, like the payment of wages and salaries to workers and employees.

There are now dozens of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the main social outcome of exploiter rule is a deepening differentiation within the society, with wealth and luxury concentrated in the midst of poverty and deprivation. Fortunes are being made hand-over fist, the rich in power live off the poverty of their countries and peoples, appropriating for themselves a part of the funds and food coming in along foreign-aid channels. The privileged classes are served by the army,

the police and other forces of suppression which do the dirty work of putting down the broad masses as they take to the streets, bloody but unbowed, to protest against the policy of the authorities. The bourgeois governments try ever more often to damp down the tide of popular action by means of blatantly authoritarian methods (permanent state of emergency, use of the army, etc.).

The continued social inequality has been and remains a source of powerful social protest, whose manifestations force the imperialist circles to sound the alarm again and again. When their ideologists depict 'Doomsday' pictures of the Third World in crisis, behind them lurks the fear of losing the economic and political domination of imperialism where it is still kept going, fear of instability fraught with social change, and fears for the existence of dictatorial regimes.

The Communists do not take a fatalistic view of development and shun pessimism of any kind. The above-mentioned processes deepening class antagonisms and intensifying the social protest of the working masses in the countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa developing along the capitalist way provide fresh proof that the communist parties were right when they anticipated such a prospect on the strength of their Marxist-Leninist analysis. The movements of the oppressed induce the Communists to multiply their efforts so as to add organisation and consciousness to the actions of the masses. These tasks are already being tackled by the fraternal parties with reliance on the working class and the labouring strata of town and country, and in close contact with the other patriotic forces.

Clearly aware of the causes behind the sharpening social protest in the underdeveloped countries, the Communists voice solidarity with their struggle to restructure the unfair economic order which dooms entire nations to poverty and stagnation. The Communists understand the platform of the non-aligned movement acting with a sense of profound responsibility for the future of the billions-strong masses on the periphery of the capitalist world, for radical solutions of the global problems of hunger and illiteracy, and for human conditions of existence. That struggle is now closely linked with the world-wide anti-war movement, from which it draws support and strength. One can well imagine the gigantic potentialities that will be opened to mankind if it succeeds in bridling the arms race launched by the imperialists and directing the resources squandered into developing the economy of the lagging countries!

Against the background of the new social explosions jeopardising the exploitive order, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have opted for the socialist orientation have once again demonstrated their viability. There are now almost 20 of them. Virtually in none of them—and this needs to be especially emphasised—have the burdens of the international economic crisis produced such a devastating effect or social upheavals like the 'bread' and 'rice' riots. And that despite imperialism's unabated hostility and its ceaseless aggressive attacks and systematic acts of sabotage designed to undermine the developing economies of countries like Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Nicaragua. Once again, life has demonstrated the superiority of the political systems which express the will of the masses and the policy of the communist and vanguard revolutionary-democratic parties with their orientation towards the interests of the working people. Social emancipation, anti-imperialist policy, mobilisation of the masses for just goals, and concern for the people's wellbeing are guidelines straightforward in class substance and still serving revolutionaries and patriots in dozens of Asian, African and Latin American countries. Their struggle is inspired by the great example of the socialist community, that dependable bulwark of the forces of national and social liberation and progress on all continents.

Current events in the developing world show that the present tide of popular action which has rocked many countries signifies a further deepening of the social tenor of the liberation process as more and more millions of oppressed people are involved in

it. Lenin's idea that 'in the long run capitalism itself is educating and training the vast majority of the population of the globe for the struggle'⁴ is being borne out. The techniques of the struggle are now being most successfully mastered by the forces of the capitalist periphery engaged in the most consistent anti-imperialist battles and standing up for the ideals of freedom, democracy, and social progress. The experience gained by the fighters for social justice will go on showing them the need for conscious action and revolutionary organisation, the crucial condition for success in the class battles.

¹ See *Le Monde*, April 3, 1984.

² See *International Herald Tribune*, September 21, 1983; November 7, 1983.

³ Ibid., August 31, 1982.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 500.

the party

Communist Congresses

Jordan

The Goals of Our Struggle

Faik Warrad – First Secretary, CC,
Jordanian Communist Party

OUR party held its Second Congress in December 1983. Preparations for it, in particular the drafting of the JCP Programme, took about two years. The draft was discussed in detail at general meetings of all party branches, enlarged meetings of activists and district conferences at home and abroad. The Congress and its decisions were thus a fruit of sustained effort by all party echelons, from top to bottom.

The most important result of the Second JCP Congress was that it accomplished two fundamental and pressing tasks: it strengthened the political and organisational unity of the party and adopted its new Programme, putting an end to the activity of splitters and factionalists. Our earlier programme document was the 'Current Tasks', formulated and approved shortly after the 1967 Israeli aggression. But in the subsequent sixteen-odd years there occurred many momentous changes, and so it no longer met the exigencies of the day.

The new Programme contains a precise definition of it as 'a programme for the stage of national democratic revolution'.¹ The immediate tasks of the party, which are inseparably and dialectically bound up with the Communists' strategic goals, are formulated accordingly.

The Programme stresses that the revolutionary struggle in any country must never be viewed in isolation from the general trend of the world revolutionary process, without regard to the main content of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism at world level and the resultant change in the balance of international forces. The Congress, analysing the situation in the world from this angle, states that the 'policy from strength' which recent years have seen aggressive imperialist circles, primarily in the USA, resort to more and more often, is nothing but an indication of the increasing instability of the pillars of imperialism and the

deepening crisis of the entire capitalist system. Searching for a way out of a historical impasse, the exploiting system, now in decay, is resorting to militarising the economy, increasing international tensions and whipping up war hysteria. It is pushing the world to the brink of the precipice by escalating the danger of a nuclear war that could wipe out civilisation and mankind.

The issue of war and peace is the pivot of the global struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism, on the one hand, and those of capitalism, imperialism and reaction, on the other. The Arab peoples' real contribution to the fight for peace consists primarily in their increasing resistance to imperialist and Zionist plotting in our region, to plans intended to transform it into a bridgehead for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. However, this fight is not restricted to the region but includes actions against the arms race, the deployment of US nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe, and attempts to go back on the Helsinki accords and revert to the cold war.

The imperialist-Zionist alliance is carrying on an increasingly fierce attack against the Arab national liberation movement. This onslaught varies greatly in form, ranging from all sorts of ill-intentioned projects like Camp David or the 'Reagan plan' to open aggression, the latest of which was the invasion of Lebanon.

The congress held that the Arab national liberation movement is going through serious difficulties fraught with great dangers. It revealed their causes, which include, first and foremost, the abandonment of radical positions by the majority of patriotic Arab regimes. These regimes made appreciable gains at a definite stage, especially in the shape of progressive socio-economic changes. However, the petty bourgeoisie, which monopolised power, proved unable to preserve these gains, let alone carry them forward, being inconsistent by virtue of its dual class nature. In the ruling quarters there emerged elements of a bureaucratic and parasitical bourgeoisie, a development which had most adverse socio-economic and political effects.

What was particularly harmful was the curbs imposed on the people's democratic freedoms, on progressive patriotic forces, organisations and parties. This slowed down social progress and even led to a reversal in some countries. Our party considers that the lack of democracy, the forcible barring of the people from politics, is the chief cause of the worsened situation in the Arab world. Life itself makes the problem of democratic freedoms highly important, indeed central to the ongoing struggle.

Nor can we shut our eyes to the effects of subversion by Arab, above all Saudi, reaction. In the past decade it has secured further powerful leverage in the form of huge petro-dollar reserves. Once on the defensive, it has gone over to the counter-offensive with the backing of its defenders and patron, imperialism, endangering the Arab peoples' revolutionary achievements. Yet imperialism and Arab 'petrocracy' would never have been able to attain their destructive objectives in, say, Egypt but for the inconsistency, vacillation or even apostasy of the ruling petty bourgeoisie.

This state of affairs imperatively poses the problem of political and class alliances and that of leading them. We are certain that the Arab national liberation movement will go beyond what it has achieved under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie. The Second JCP Congress drew the following important conclusion: 'The history of the Arab national liberation movement has entered a new stage. This stage is characterised by the manifestly inadequate ability of the petty bourgeoisie to continue leading the national liberation and social struggle and a sign of the need for a new leadership in the shape of an alliance between the parties of the working class and revolutionary democrats. None but such an alliance is equal to ensuring the fulfilment of the tasks of the national democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.'²

It should be borne in mind that in this context revolutionary democrats are not a synonym of the petty bourgeoisie even though they are overwhelmingly of petty-bourgeois origin. They are mostly revolutionary-minded intellectuals whose progressive social and political concepts of historical development provide for social

transformations conducive to the socialist future.

In examining the situation on the Arab scene, the congress devoted special attention to the Palestinian problem in view of its connection and interlocking with the situation in Jordan. First, because this problem is at the heart of the Middle East conflict and because lasting peace in the region is unthinkable unless it is solved on a fair basis. Second, because historical development has created an inseparable connection between the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples, and their struggle for national and social liberation.

In the more than thirty years that have passed since the Hashimite monarchy annexed the West Bank, our country has been composed of two fraternal peoples, the Jordanians and Palestinians. During this period they have established strong political, social, economic and cultural bonds between themselves. To maintain and facilitate its rule over both peoples, the regime has adopted a policy of regional discrimination fomenting Jordanian-Palestinian discord. Yet the Palestinians living in Jordan are fully fledged citizens of the country and have become integrated into its socio-economic and cultural life without losing their Palestinian identity.

The Palestinian problem underwent serious changes after the 1967 aggression of Israel. By the mid-seventies, the Palestine Liberation Organisation was recognised in the Arab world and internationally as the only legitimate spokesman of the Palestinian people fighting for their inalienable right to return to their homes, exercise self-determination and establish an independent national state. Our party has invariably and consistently supported the struggle for the restoration of the usurped rights of the Arab people of Palestine: moreover, it sees participation in this struggle in every form, hence also armed participation, as its direct duty. This is our contribution to the effort to create the conditions for building Jordanian-Palestinian relations on the principles of voluntariness and equality and on the basis of common interests in the struggle against imperialism, zionism and reaction.

The Communists of Jordan give every moral and material support to the staunch resistance being offered to the Israeli invaders by the population of the occupied territories and emphasise the need for close cooperation with the patriotic forces active there, primarily with the fraternal Palestinian Communist Party. We emphatically reject the imperialists' and defeatists' liquidationist plans for a 'settlement' on the lines of the Camp David accords, the 'Reagan plan', the project of establishing 'administrative autonomy' or that of transforming Jordan into an 'alternative homeland' for the Palestinians.

At the same time, the character of the national movement in our country, a movement whose Jordanian and Palestinian content now forms a single whole, imperatively demands that the unity of the struggle and political organisation of the two peoples be maintained. 'This unity of struggle and organisation,' the JCP Programme says, 'does not contradict the Palestinian people's right and obligation to fight for the recovery of their national rights flouted by Israel, any more than the struggle for national democratic rule in Jordan. These tasks are interconnected and influence one another.'³ The existence of any organisation based on region or commune would undermine the class and national struggle in Jordan; it would pose a most serious threat to both the destiny of the Jordanian people and the just cause of the people of Palestine and play directly into the hands of their enemies. In an atmosphere of militant unity and fraternal friendship between our two peoples, the Palestinian's struggle serves the solution of the Jordanian problem, which consists in establishing national democratic rule and putting an end to Jordan's dependence on imperialism, while the Jordanians' struggle serves the solution of the Palestinian problems. Those two problems, whose substance is at variance with the interests of imperialism, zionism and reaction, merge into one problem having two aspects.

Defining the Communists' tasks for the period ahead, the congress made a deep analysis of the domestic socio-economic situation. It noted that ever since the rise of

Jordan as a separate state the colonisers and imperialists had assigned it the role of a strongpoint in operations aimed at putting down the Arab national liberation movement. To confine Jordan to this role and make it difficult for our country to break with imperialism and reject its financial 'aid', the British colonisers and the US neocolonialists who succeeded them sought to perpetuate Jordan's economic lag and bar its road to independence.

The economic development plans launched in the early sixties were likewise geared to neocolonial political objectives. Their primitive purpose was to pave the way for the formation of new social sectors that, having interests close to those of imperialism, would serve both imperialism and the Jordanian regime as an internal basis. A further objective was to reduce the impact on Jordanians of the socialist trends that had become widespread in the region and minimise the significance of progressive changes under way in some Arab countries.

While the economy has been given what seems at first sight a certain spur, and while new economic entities have gone into operation and the standard of living has risen, none of this can last, the congress pointed out, for it is not based on real progress in various industries but chiefly on passing, external factors. The Jordanian economy is still weak and more deformed than ever; its chronic problems are not solved and are growing more acute from year to year.

One of the biggest of these problems is an enormous tilt in favour of the service sector to the detriment of productive spheres. In 1980, their share in GNP was 61 and 39 per cent respectively. In the same year agricultural output stood at a mere 8.5 per cent of GNP, which meant 3.5 per cent drop from the 1972-1975 period. Dependence on food imports is steadily growing. Things have reached a point where Jordan, an agricultural country, is compelled to meet three-fourths of its demand for food grains by importing them.

In 1980 industry accounted for 22 per cent of GNP. Four-fifths of it are made up of small enterprises employing fewer than five workers. Jordanian production is highly unsophisticated except for phosphates, cement, ferrous metals, electricity and a few other items. But even this output is hard to sell due to a limited home market and unchecked foreign competition.

The Jordanian economy may generally be described as a consumer economy in the sense that public and private consumption greatly exceeds GNP, which in 1980 were worth 1,013 million and 705 million dinars respectively. Among other extremely negative phenomena are the mounting balance of trade deficit, increasing dependence on foreign loans, which have virtually become the main source of revenue, and a growing internal and external debt.

Emigration, chiefly to oil-producing Arab countries, has assumed vast proportions, so much so that it is compared to a manpower drain. By the end of 1980, over 300,000 Jordanians, or about 40 per cent of the workforce, were employed abroad, according to data released by the Ministry of Labour. Paradoxical as it may seem, about 170,000 foreign workers held jobs in Jordan at the same time.

This abnormal situation is a product of official policy. What the top rulers dread most of all is the emergence of a powerful national working class that, operating in organised fashion, could play a notable socio-economic and political role as a factor for changes meeting the people's hopes and aspirations. This is why they allow Jordanian workers to emigrate en masse while foreign labour, which is cheaper and easier to control, takes their place.

Our working class, which is small but gaining steadily in political influence, also encounters other major difficulties. Reactionary labour legislation allows the employers wide scope for brutal exploitation and arbitrary practices and robs the workers of many democratic rights and freedoms. Certain categories of worker are forbidden to form trade unions. As for authorised trade unions, the security agencies grossly interfere in their affairs, block the appointment of persons who do not suit

them to leading posts, harass and terrorise activists. Opportunists introduced into the leadership of many unions are trying to undermine the organised working class movement and to prevent it from consistently defending the interests of labour.

What makes it difficult for the working class to achieve a higher level of unity and organisation is that most workers are employed in trade and the service sector (66.5 per cent of the total compared with 9.5 per cent in mining and manufacturing) and scattered over numerous workplaces. We have noted that the overwhelming majority of enterprises are small. Half of their employees get no pay at all because they are members of the owner's family. The situation is not much better in enterprises considered large (i.e., employing five or more workers). By far most of these employ a maximum of 15 workers, nor does labour legislation extend to them.

On the other hand, the formation of the working class shows positive trends, such as, first of all, the flow of migrants from rural areas into industry. There is also an increased influx into the working class of young people who have a reasonably high standard of education and are more receptive to revolutionary ideas.

Having analysed the alignment of social class forces in the country, the Second JCP Congress called on the party membership to work for the formation of a broad national democratic front of workers, peasants, members of the petty and national bourgeoisie and revolutionary intellectuals in order to bring about national democratic rule. The new power would be expected to sever the ties linking Jordan to imperialism, and dependence on it and lead the country to democracy, independent economic development and social progress. All curbs on democratic freedoms must be removed and the masses enabled to really participate in public life. Our party demands the repeal of emergency legislation, first of all the notorious law on combating communism. The state apparatus must be rid of corrupt elements.

The Programme contains detailed proposals and demands concerning highly important social and economic issues. We Communists declare for, among other things, a guaranteed right to work, the possibility of forming labour unions without hindrance, better working conditions and a minimum wage. It is necessary to keep labour migration within bounds meeting the real requirements of the national economy, set up a vocational training system and provide employees with opportunities of raising their standard of education.

The Programme calls for measures putting the economy on solid foundations; for the development and expansion of the public and mixed sectors, which should move into key positions and become the basis for subsequent progress towards socialism; for the nationalisation of foreign enterprises and banking, the concentration of foreign trade in the hands of the state, and encouragement of private business under state control. The JCP insists on effecting a radical agrarian reform, distributing large-scale property in land among poor and landless peasants as well as agricultural workers, launching a cooperative movement, cultivating new lands and carrying out land reclamation. We favour a policy promoting trade and economic relations with socialist countries and drawing on their varied assistance. The Programme includes sections on problems of education, national culture and the media, on women's condition, and on party work in the armed forces and security agencies.

The Programme adopted by the Second JCP Congress closely combines problems of the national struggle with those of the social struggle and current tasks with long-range ones. To ensure that all these problems are solved, the party needs solid ideological, political and organisational unity, with every Communist doing all in his power and showing greater efficiency than ever. We must strengthen our links with the working people, primarily the working class, for the party regards it as its mission and a privilege to express the interests of this class on the basis of the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party owes its vanguard character to both the view it upholds and a revolutionary practice corresponding to its views. It is this practice enjoying the

confidence and support of the working people that makes the Jordanian Communist Party their recognised and reliable leader.

¹ *Programme of the Jordanian Communist Party Adopted by the Second JCP Congress (December 1983)*, p. 2 (in Arabic).

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Spain

Long-Term Guidelines

Santiago Alvarez – CC member,
Communist Party of Spain

THE Communist Party of Spain (CPS) held its 11th Congress (Madrid, December 1983) in an exceedingly complicated situation. For the first time ever, power is in the hands of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (SSWP) but the country is wrestling with a deep economic crisis and unemployment affects over 17 per cent of the workforce. The trend towards greater unemployment is intensifying due to the so-called modernisation of industry which has nothing to do with real reindustrialisation.

The government did not keep the Socialists' electoral promise to take Spain out of NATO. Its foreign policy adapts basically to President Reagan's militarist course. The Communists of Spain realise that the danger of nuclear war has increased as a result of the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe and US imperialism's policy of aggression generally.

Our congress was preceded by a debate in party branches on a draft political document and amendments to the party Rules approved by the Central Committee in June 1983. The internal crisis of the party lent the congress a particular character. Over 1,000 delegates (with the right to vote) from organisations operating at home and in exile carefully discussed the Central Committee report and other material. The congress was attended by hundreds of guests representing Spanish public opinion and about 50 delegations of foreign organisations, in particular the largest communist parties, including delegations from the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, the GDR, Romania, Italy, France and Portugal, as well as delegations of national liberation movements from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia and the POLISARIO Front. They expressed fraternal solidarity with the CPS, whose internationalism has deep historical roots, by their presence at the Palace of Congresses and their messages to our congress.

The congress approved the political report of the Central Committee submitted by Gerardo Iglesias, General Secretary of the CC, and other documents. The sittings were open to the media. Commission and plenary meetings proceeded in an atmosphere of full international democracy and incisive self-criticism in analysing national and international issues as well as the CPS position on the world communist movement.

The nature of the present crisis in the world, the nuclear war danger, the roots of US imperialism's aggressiveness, distinctions in the character of the two major military blocs, existing socialism, our tactics towards the SSWP government and its

policies, and some amendments to the party Rules are but an incomplete list of the issues that drew the greatest attention. Their discussion was not exempt either from clashes of ideas, or from friction. Occasionally a differentiation of forces prevented a deeper analysis of this or that problem. Even so, the congress did serious theoretical and political work. And it should be noted that the opinion of the minority was invariably taken into account. The congress deliberations were marked by a keen sense of political responsibility and a revolutionary, patriotic and internationalist spirit.

That open debate and that sense of responsibility made it possible to avert a split in the party. Indeed, they were helpful in that the two main opposed trends adopted resolutions by democratic procedure and promised to carry them out. This meant closing the ranks in defence of the unity of a party which has been in existence for 64 years and has an impressive revolutionary record. The congress elected a new Central Committee which, in turn, elected Dolores Ibarruri Chairperson of the party and Gerardo Iglesias, General Secretary.

It follows that the 11th Congress opened a new stage in strengthening the CPS and its cohesion on the basis of revolutionary Marxism, that is, scientific socialism, and the political and organisational unity of party ranks, for the CPS is based on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, which guarantee unity of action after an open and democratic discussion of a question.

Under the motto 'Peace, Disarmament and Detente', the Congress examined various international problems as well as relations between the CPS and other communist parties and national liberation movements. The political document adopted by it points out that US imperialism is trying 'to regain the hegemony lost after the Vietnam war and the winning of independence by many colonies, and . . . to overcome the current crisis of capitalism by means of a new international division of labour and by imposing the power of the dollar on the other capitalist economies. To achieve this, the Reagan Administration is prepared to push the world to the brink of the precipice and to deploy its armed forces on all continents. It is a suicidal policy leading inexorably to a nuclear confrontation. With such a war in view, the Pentagon has already evolved plans and theories counting on Europe as one of the main theatres of military operations. . . . The devastating effects of this new offensive make themselves felt in everything—steadily increasing dependence and inequality, which result in hunger and death in underdeveloped countries; a frontal attack on the gains of the workers of developed capitalist countries; a confrontation with the socialist countries designed to undermine their economies and socio-political system; a reactionary offensive in the ideological and cultural spheres throughout the West. . . .

'Faced with this reactionary trend diverse social forces the world over are fighting for democracy, freedom and social wellbeing, against the threat of war and for peace. The process of national liberation of former colonies is continuing. . . . More and more peoples are joining in the historical process of building a new society that begun with the October Revolution in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. . . .

'The working class of developed capitalist countries is defending its gains, which big capital is trying to snatch away. . . . Theories claiming that capitalism has found a way of overcoming its own contradictions within the framework of 'post-industrial society' and of eliminating the revolutionary function of the working class are miscarrying. Reality bears out the Marxist prediction that capitalism cannot surmount the antagonistic contradictions engendered by its own system. . . .'

The Congress noted the tremendous impact on public opinion and the government of the fact that millions of men and women have already spoken out against the arms race, for peace, detente and the abolition of military blocs. Actions of this nature are mounting in response to the growing war menace, specifically in response to the

Reagan Administration's plan to site about 600 cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Europe, a plan whose implementation was begun late in 1983.

The political document of the congress stresses that in these circumstances the ideas of liberation advanced by Marxism are particularly relevant. Socialism is a necessity, since it offers an alternative solution for problems created by the crisis of the capitalist economy and civilisation. Socialism makes it possible to guarantee the survival of mankind, promote peace, advance to democracy in all countries, base international relations on the principle of cooperation, and ultimately to place the vast resources of our planet in the service of man and his emancipation. Proceeding from the prospect of a socialist transformation of society, we must realise that the fundamental task today is to fight for peace, detente and the dissolution of military blocs. We must expose a false idea which gained currency at the height of detente, to the effect that the disastrous consequences of nuclear conflict reduce the very likelihood of war to nil. Also, we must reject the Pentagon strategists' insensate idea about a 'limited' nuclear war in Europe.

The Reagan Administration's bellicose imperialist policy, the document notes, has invariably been a decisive factor for intensifying tension in recent years. Its main manifestations are economic, political and military interference in Central American affairs as exemplified by the barbarous invasion of Grenada and the buildup of a US naval presence in the area; aid to Israel with regard to its plans for expansion in the Middle East; support for the South African racist regime and its policy of apartheid, aggression against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, and occupation of Namibia. Further manifestations are encouragement of the rearming of Japan and plans for involving it in NATO activities in Asia; aid to the pro-fascist dictatorship of Turkey, a NATO member; pressure on West European governments to make them increase military spending and agree to the deployment of new US missiles. There are also the US position on disarmament, in particular the refusal to ratify SALT-2 or to take account in talks with the Soviet Union of French and British strategic medium-range weapons, and plans for carrying the nuclear arms race into outer space.

Washington's dangerous activities have greatly damaged the international situation and increased the likelihood of a global conflict. World tensions and the cold war climate bolster the positions of conservatives and reactionaries, who would like to preserve anti-popular and outdated socio-political structures.

On the issue of military blocs, the document states: 'We Communists know that the blocs differ in historical origin, for at first it came to the formation of NATO for plainly aggressive ends, and that the countries in these blocs are different socially. But the gradual and simultaneous dissolution of both military blocs is a requisite for fully achieving durable peace.'

The Communist Party of Spain takes a positive view of the existence of the non-aligned movement, which may become a factor for resistance to the policy of blocs and actively commit itself to the universal struggle for peace, disarmament, the independence of peoples and the establishment of a new international economic order. The Communists take part in this struggle, preserving their identity and realising that actions for peace, against imperialism and for a new international economic order must be components of a common political process. The Spanish Communists' chief contribution to peace is to seek the implementation of a policy for the withdrawal of Spain from NATO, the dismantling of the US bases on Spanish soil, and active neutrality.

'The CPS will redouble its efforts to denounce imperialism's acts of aggression, and express still more vigorously the Spanish Communists' support for and the Spanish people's solidarity with all the peoples and revolutionary and progressive forces fighting for liberation from imperialist domination, for their freedom and independence.'

We Spanish Communists have a long-standing record of deep internationalism.

which has always inspired our political activity and the struggle of thousands of CPS members against fascism and for the independence of many countries. Today our internationalism should help primarily the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean—Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Grenada. They are threatened with war, with a large-scale US military intervention involving puppet governments of the region as accomplices.

Spain lies in Europe but it is linked with Latin America by close bonds. This is why, the congress pointed out, our country should resolutely support the effort of the Contadora Group and take the lead in the campaign of solidarity with Nicaragua involving all countries interested in staving off war in Central America. Realising the danger which events there pose to world peace, the CPS reaffirms its determination to seek the widest possible mobilisation of our people against US imperialism. The USA must not be allowed to play the role of world gendarme with impunity, to go back to its former gunboat diplomacy, which endangers world peace. The peoples of Latin America, like those of the whole planet, have a right to decide by themselves on the political system that suits them best, without asking permission of the United States or other countries.

The congress carefully examined problems of economic integration and European autonomy, since every project of social change carries the struggle against the crisis and for peace beyond the boundaries of one country and into the international arena due to the growing internationalisation of production. The defence of independence necessitates economic integration at regional level. The future of Western Europe will depend on the ability of progressive forces to bring about a change in the situation, which is characterised by increasing dependence on the United States and by Washington's impositions of confrontation with East European countries. In the interests of peace and an end to the crisis, we declare for a Spanish policy of active neutrality helping build up all factors for autonomy in Europe.

In line with the strategy pivoted on the idea that socialism rests on democracy, the congress decisions indicate that the Communists do not propose any universal model. We know that other peoples set out to build a new society in a different historical, social and cultural context. Recent events have shown that in the countries of existing socialism as well, it is necessary to ensure by political means greater participation of the masses in the management of society, failing which the new social formation cannot develop.

At the same time it is necessary to firmly expose the intrigue of imperialism, which misrepresents the situation in socialist countries, tries to foment internal conflicts there with an eye to undermining the system, seeks to make the cold war atmosphere colder still and provokes anti-communist campaigns that are also directed against our party.

The CPS, rejecting Reagan's 'zero option' and advocating full independence of the country from blocs, sees its chief task of seeking an end to the arms race on the basis of military parity between the Soviet Union and USA and equal security. We believe talks should be concerned simultaneously with all nuclear armaments (including the SS-20 missiles deployed in the European part of the Soviet Union in the seventies); the Soviet leadership is agreeable to this, as its proposals indicate. The CPS considers that the demand for the complete scrapping of these missiles (deliberately misnamed the 'zero option' by Reagan) while French and British medium-range missiles are ignored is unacceptable.

Our party regards as constructive every initiative that would make it possible to start talks and help reduce the nuclear potentials of the great powers. This is why the 11th Congress took a positive stand on the declaration of the Soviet state that it is willing to cut the number of SS-20 missiles as a first step towards a simultaneous reduction of nuclear potentials in Europe. The political document of the CPS declares in no uncertain terms for an immediate end to the deployment of new

missiles, against making them operational and for the resumption of the Geneva talks, including those on strategic missiles, and in general, for agreements on the gradual and simultaneous reduction of all nuclear arsenals.

The CPS is favourable to the participation of the European countries concerned in the Geneva talks. This should also be the attitude of the Spanish government, since the escalation of armaments resulting from the deployment of Euromissiles is bound to effect our country. We think Premier Felipe González took an unacceptable stand during his visit to Bonn by expressing 'appreciation' for the policy of NATO towards deployment and virtually backing the new and dangerous round of the arms race.

Our party will support all actions against the siting of Euromissiles. It declares for the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe, primarily in the Mediterranean, which should become a sea of peace.

The 11th Congress reaffirmed our support for the vast peace movement, which is going from strength to strength in many countries as an autonomous, pluralist movement unassociated with either of the two military blocs. We will contribute to this movement by seeking a referendum on Spanish membership of the North Atlantic alliance, withdrawal from NATO, the dismantling of the US bases on Spanish territory and the denuclearisation of the Iberian peninsula.

In examining the issue of 'Eurocentrism', the congress stated that the maintenance of unequal relations between the Old World and developing countries over many years is an aspect of European conservative policy and a reflection of the limited character of social democratic projects. The dimensions of the present crisis call for a revision of the nature of existing relations, the renunciation of any 'Eurocentrist' concept of ending it, the establishment of a new type of relations between Western Europe and developing countries, and the creation of a new international economic order.

Various socio-political forces, including our party, are aware of the need for a new European policy. While anti-communist prejudices persist in socialist and social democratic movements, many of the parties belonging to them take a progressive stance. At the same time there spring up and develop new feminist, youth, environmental and other movements. These forces can play an important part in the struggle for peace and the autonomy of Western Europe in relation to the USA. We see a major long-term task in heightening the militancy of the working class movement in the western part of the continent. This would be made easier if the 15 million immigrant workers of diverse nationalities and their families joined more widely in the movement. Old differences must be overcome to achieve unity. It is very important that the working class and all progressive movements, including Christians advocating peace and national liberation, should closely cooperate.

The Communist Party of Spain has revised some of its earlier positions and is ready to do its utmost in order to strengthen relations and cooperation with all communist parties on the understanding that each party will retain its independence and the right to its own point of view and that there will be no guiding centre. It has the right to criticise other communist parties and is ready to hear their criticisms of it. The CPS is going to do this modestly, without arrogance, in order to spell out its concept of socialism to the Spanish people. It will make a point of ensuring that its criticism has nothing in common with the ideological campaign of imperialism.

Ever since the October Revolution, the international communist movement has had a fundamental role to play in the reshaping of capitalist society and the winning of independence by many colonies. The increasingly intricate processes of today—a product of historical progress—do not fit into old concepts already overcome by the communist movement. As a component of this movement, the CPS considers that the heterogeneity of the latter is an indisputable fact today and that there is no applying the concept of leading centre. We recognise the community of the historical origins of the international communist movement (with due regard to the different role played

by the Social Democrats at the turn of the century), note its heterogeneous character and insist on independence in working out policy and theory and on the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. Despite differences, we are for the primacy of the role of the communist parties in the struggle for peace, against the crisis and for the achievement of international solidarity against imperialism.

The congress debate on the Central Committee report clarified in self-critical terms certain controversial issues of the period of transition from the Franco dictatorship to democracy, and answered the questions that arose in its course. The Congress singled out the problems set out below.

From 1979 on, our leadership carried on a situational policy towards the Democratic Centre Union (DCU) and Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, with the result that the CPS began to lose its identity. The leadership overlooked the processes going on in society and failed to realise that as the DCU did not organically or fully represent the interests of the more influential right-wing forces closely linked with the USA, these forces were regrouping fast.

When it came to a bipartisan manoeuvre in the form of a tactical alliance between the more conservative groups and the Socialists, the CPS confined itself to verbal criticism, for there was 'a tendency to move away from work among the masses in favour of the institutional forms'. The party's activity was not based on 'social organisation and mobilisation', nor did it exert proper influence on those members of SSWP branches who were really on the left.

The Communist reaction to the potential threat of a military coup in Spain should not consist in overplaying the threat, which would lead to fear and confusion, but in striving for the necessary changes in the armed forces and in organising a vast campaign of social forces.

The congress essentially reaffirmed our policy towards the SSWP government. The CPS voted for the González government. It decided that any confrontation with the government, unless sufficiently justified and explained to the millions of Spaniards who had voted Socialist, could boomerang and result in isolating the CPS. The Central Committee report submitted to the 11th Congress did not speak of verbal criticism but of a wide mobilisation of public opinion against the more negative activities of the SSWP government, especially its economic and foreign policy. The congress discussed and approved economic, political, social and cultural measures that constitute a progressive alternative to the policy of the present government.

The congress joined issue with those who considered that the general election on October 28, 1982 had resulted in a swing to the right. It rejected this view. The opinion which prevailed was that there exists a broad social basis for the restoration of a real left movement adhering to Marxist positions. This basis is largely made up of Spaniards voting Socialist.

The political document of the congress, 'For an Advanced Democracy: the CPS Alternative of Progress', points to the need for changes in the Spanish economy. The government's policy provides for no deep-going changes in this sphere and is still a policy of adjustment. This is why the CPS decided on the following principles of a new economic policy: an integral agrarian reform; reindustrialisation; democratisation of the state sector; control over the financial system to the point of nationalising the banks; a reform of social security, which should be a public service for all Spaniards; a policy of national solidarity in combating unemployment; a democratically planned economy.

Proposed along with alternative economic measures were steps aimed at changing the superstructure of society. To democratise the state means democratising its administrative system, parliamentary mechanisms, police system and ideological apparatus. The task is also to evolve a foreign policy of peace and neutrality and an autonomous national defence system based on neutrality and preserving the armed forces, and to foster education and culture in a way giving a new spur to democracy.

The totality of our proposals envisages a more active role of parliament in public life, the enactment of a law on proportional elections, the free development of the autonomous regions of the democratic state, the establishment of an inter-regional compensation fund, democratic municipalities supported by the state, and recognition of the social usefulness of 'civic initiative'. Our proposals call for a reform of the state security system, modernisation and democratisation of the armed forces, the administration of justice as a public service, guaranteed civil rights, crime prevention, more effective measures against terrorism and putschism, protection of the environment, information pluralism, a renewal of culture.

This CPS alternative to the policy of the present government is linked in the long term to the struggle against the economic and political domination of monopoly capital and calls for progress on the lines of social and political democracy, towards socialism and communism. In this context the political document indicates some characteristics of such democracy, proceeding from the thesis that 'the goal of the CPS is the socialist transformation of society'. Every action of the party is directed towards 'building socialism and communism in Spain'. The measures specified in the political document and intended to 'renew and strengthen the CPS' likewise correspond to this perspective.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that the 11th Congress was a decisive step towards ending the crisis and correcting mistakes which had lately weakened the party. The congress created more favourable conditions in which to fight for peace and socialism.

Contrary to the allegations of its detractors, the CPS has not lost its significance; it has neither become a social democratic organisation, nor lost the characteristics setting communist and other revolutionary parties apart from parties or groups which do not aim to transform society.

Revolutionary Marxism is the basis on which the CPS is operating. Lenin's thesis of the need to apply Marxism dialectically, with due regard to the conditions prevailing at the given moment of history and in the given revolutionary process, is, in our view, a theoretical heritage of the entire communist and working class movement. Spain's Communists fully support the principles of international solidarity, which the working class and all progressive forces need if they are to fulfil their historic mission, the transformation of society.

The Communist Party of Spain is a united party open to all Spanish Communists. It is a party of the working class by origin, class character, traditions of struggle and composition. It is also a party of the working class by virtue of its national character, unquestionable independence and internationalism. It is a party of the working class by virtue of its policy line, which is geared to defending the exploited and fighting for the development of democracy and the construction of socialism in Spain.

new experience

Our Interviews **Le Drapeau Rouge: Concerns and Hopes**

Pierre Beauvois — CC Political Bureau
member, Communist Party of Belgium,
Political Director, *Le Drapeau Rouge*

—What are at present the main tasks being tackled by your newspaper?

The way the daily newspaper of the Belgian Communists¹ is run and the tasks being tackled by it are determined by the situation prevailing in a country with two autonomous communities, each of which has its own culture and its own language (French and Flemish). This is reflected also in the structure of the Communist Party of Belgium. In Flanders and Wallonia, and also in Brussels, there are regional councils and bureaux, which are charged with implementing the party's integral policy in concrete circumstances.

In accordance with the structure all the problems relating to the newspaper's work and budget are considered and resolved by the Francophone Council and Bureau; similarly, all matters relating to the weekly *De Rode Vaan* are handled by the analogous Flemish organs of the CPB. Our Flemish colleagues orient their newspaper on problems specific to Flanders, while *Le Drapeau Rouge* addresses itself to the population of Wallonia and Brussels. There is, of course, a certain coordination: both the Francophone and Flemish bureaux make sure that their publications abide by the general line laid down by the CPB Central Committee.

The difficulties that *Le Drapeau Rouge* encounters at present are linked with the general crisis of the Belgian press on account, in particular, of strong competition from the audiovisual media. We are trying to improve our newspaper's contents and make-up, give it a new image, and make it more distinctive from the other newspapers, which often confine themselves solely to major national and international problems. Although the funds at our disposal are not large, we try to fill the vacuum in the progressive press, i.e., we disseminate the experience of social battles, report conflicts at industrial enterprises, and propagate the Communist alternative to the capitalist proposals for a way out of the crisis. *Le Drapeau Rouge* has begun to give more attention to research into trade union and political problems. This meets with the needs of party members and middle and lower-echelon activists of the working class movement. In short, we are carrying a larger volume of in-depth information on key issues of the class struggle in the country.

Le Drapeau Rouge has what it takes to cope with a social role of this kind. The newspaper unquestionably has a readership in the trade unions, for instance, in the unions affiliated to the General Federation of Labour of Belgium.² It is read also by entrepreneurs. To carry out its tasks more successfully, the newspaper does its best to print thematic studies more frequently—'dossiers' on questions of special interest to the Communist Party and the working class and trade union movement.

A few words on how these 'dossiers' are compiled. Let us assume that an acute problem appears on the international scene or in Belgium's socio-political life: say, the constitutional legality of the planned deployment of 48 US cruise missiles on Belgian territory; the dramatic increase of prices in Belgium, or the government's tax policy. We then start an information campaign on the given problem—we publish interviews with authoritative personalities, surveys, and series of articles. In this way the newspaper enables readers to get a better understanding of the problem.

For these studies we solicit contributions from our comrades in the parliamentary group, leading economists, university professors, and party functionaries. With their assistance the newspaper publishes surveys on many important problems.

Le Drapeau Rouge devotes special issues to the preparation of large-scale mass actions in the country. Such issues were brought out, for instance, just before the anti-missile demonstrations in Florence and Brussels,³ and on the eve and during last year's powerful actions by Liege steelworkers and Wallonian working people. These special issues set out the party's view about the motivations and objectives of the demonstrations and its proposals on the character of future actions. Practice has shown that we have struck upon an effective way of explaining the views of the CPB and also of enhancing the newspaper's prestige.

As regards international problems we try to bring to readers all the peace initiatives of the Communists and report what is being done in this context in the different federations of the CPB. We have published articles about every commune that proclaimed its territory a nuclear-free zone (there are more than 200 such communes in Flanders alone), carried reports about the resistance put up by the inhabitants of the Florennes area to the plan to deploy US missiles, and brought out a special issue devoted to the biggest-ever peace demonstration in Belgium.

—How does *Le Drapeau Rouge* interact with party organisations?

It is doubtful if, left to itself, the editorial staff would be able to cope with the tasks confronting the newspaper. We therefore place great reliance on assistance from comrades in the leading organs of the CPB and in primary party organisations.

The newspaper is now paying main attention to establishing durable and productive contacts with federations that until recently sent it nothing save critical comments and complaints. We believe if the same requirements were made of the federations and other party organs in charge of cultural affairs, peace activities, or work with young people as are made of *Le Drapeau Rouge*, the influence of the CPB as a whole and of its local departments would certainly grow.

To illustrate. Two years ago we decided to run a column devoted to the life of various districts. We had good reason to expect that leading functionaries of the federations would eagerly take upon themselves the role of our correspondents. What came of this? To this day the newspaper receives very little information about what is occurring in the localities. As a way out of this situation we suggested that some federations should themselves run a weekly column. If our calculation is correct, this should have repercussions, for it is unlikely that the comrades in any locality would want *Le Drapeau Rouge* to pass their specific problems over in silence.

The Communists are much more demanding of their press than are readers of any other newspaper. We receive many letters with comments and suggestions. The editorial staff is often able to find a common language with comrades whose criticism is constructive. Let me mention one form of cooperation that is getting an eager response: the newspaper gets a request to cover a local problem; we send a correspondent and print his report, and in exchange the source of the request pledges to sell additionally several thousand copies of the newspaper in the given commune. We feel this sort of mutual assistance is very promising.

Lastly—and this should hardly be concealed—the ideological divisions in the party are adversely affecting the work of *Le Drapeau Rouge* and the atmosphere prevailing among the editorial staff. On our editorial staff we have had comrades adhering to various viewpoints, and we see this as normal. But what was less than normal was that they expressed these viewpoints publicly. Organisational measures had to be taken to ensure a more precise compliance with the newspaper's guidelines as set by the latest congresses of the CPB.

—How does your newspaper resolve its financial problems? What are you doing to enlarge your readership?

Le Drapeau Rouge is circulated chiefly by subscription, and this brings us most of our revenues. In Belgium daily newspapers receive assistance also from the state.⁴ But this is unnnually diminished under the government's economic austerity policy.

Of course, the limited budget affects all our work and prompts us to take steps to ease the situation, notably, to improve quality and increase the volume of information without additional financial outlays. There has been some progress. For instance, in 1982 we increased the newspaper's size to 12 pages and on Sundays and on days when big demonstrations are held we often have 16 pages. Our circulation stands at 10,000 copies. By the end of 1983 we had increased the number of our subscribers by 15-20 per cent. We achieved all this without enlarging our writing staff or our printing facilities.

But we are concerned with the poor sales at the newsstands. By tradition Communists go out into the streets, in workers' neighbourhoods, with the Sunday issue in their hands. But the effect of this work is diminishing. Through this channel we sell a maximum of 1,500 copies. For a number of years there has been a decline of sales at factory gates as well. The party feels it is important for its members to be more active in circulating their newspaper.

We are trying to use independent radio stations to advertise *Le Drapeau Rouge*. There are quite many of these stations in Wallonia and Brussels. Not having much money, they are quite eager to use material from the press for their broadcasts. We send many of them such material gratis. Thousands of people listen to the daily morning newscasts of the 'Chaine du Centre' prepared on the basis of news material provided by us. 'Radio-Borinage' likewise uses our news service. As a result, the Communist view reaches a larger audience.

Today, with the newspaper running a larger number of heads and offering more profound analyses, and with a more attractive make-up, we are justified in counting on its voice coming through clearer and with more confidence in the interests of the party, the working class, and other democratic forces in Belgium.

¹ The Communist Party of Belgium runs two newspapers: a French-language daily (*Le Drapeau Rouge*) and the Flemish-language weekly *Le Rode Vaan*.—Ed.

² This is one of three leading Belgian trade union federations influenced by the Socialists. It has 1,100,000 members.—Ed.

³ These massive peace demonstrations were held in April and October 1983 respectively to protest against NATO's missile programmes. It is planned to station 48 nuclear cruise missiles in the vicinity of Florennes.—Ed.

⁴ Ten years ago, through the efforts of the progressive forces, a law was promulgated on state financial assistance to the press.

Documents

BULGARIA

PARTY PRIMARY ORGANISATIONS

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has published a document summing up the results of an inspection of militancy of primary organisations that was conducted in the course of 1982 and 1983. The purpose of this inspection was to enhance the role of party organisations, make their work more effective, help Communists to get a good grasp of new theoretical guidelines, facilitate the

application of these guidelines when the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the BCP are put into effect, and turn every primary organisation into the political headquarters of the work collective in which it functions.

In the course of the inspection the primary organisations mapped out concrete measures to improve their organisational, political, and ideological work. An appraisal was given to the fulfilment of adopted resolutions and new tasks were formulated in accordance with the congress instructions. To help primary organisations the higher organs of the BCP formed 25,820 inspection commissions on which there were more than 70,000 veteran, experienced Communists—members of party committees and inspection commissions, foremost people in production, economic executives, and government officials. The party press fostered exchanges of expertise and gave publicity to the results of the inspection.

An analysis made it possible to bring shortcomings to light in the work of party primary organisations and create a self-critical, constructive atmosphere that helped to improve inner-party life and enrich the content and forms of the political and ideological work of party primary organisations. The inspection reaffirmed that the BCP is developing on the basis of the Leninist principles and norms of party life.

In the Mirror of the Press

Adelante

PLATFORM OF ANTI-DICTATORSHIP FORCES

Adelante, the secretly published newspaper of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, has carried an Appeal by the Standing Assembly of Solidarity with Paraguayan Political Prisoners. This appeal signed by more than a thousand persons representing all shades of public opinion in the country lists the following demands: the release of political prisoners, the creation of the conditions for the return of political emigres, an end to torture, the granting of freedom of the press and of association, the abrogation of repressive and extraordinary laws, the arraignment before a court of law of all persons guilty of murder and torture, and the creation of more humane conditions for life and work in the country. In the assessment of the Communists the very fact that this Appeal has appeared is of immense significance for the struggle for Paraguay's democratic future.

Pasason

AN ANALYSIS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

The tasks of the Lao People's Revolutionary party is ideological work, in educating the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are analysed in an editorial in the party newspaper. The editorial notes that there has been a significant improvement of the party's ideological and information work among the people since the 3rd Congress. At the same time, there have been cases of party organs failing to take the specifics of this work into account and acting unimaginatively, without initiative. There are shortcomings in the selection and placing of propaganda workers. The editorial calls upon party organisations to make a determined effort to put an end to these negative phenomena and improve the forms and methods of their ideological work more actively.

In the Face of Lawlessness

WHY ARE PEACE FIGHTERS TREATED AS CRIMINALS

The trial by military tribunal of 23 leaders of the Turkish Peace Committee, among whom were well-known writers, artists, physicians, academics, and cultural personalities, went on in Istanbul for 18 months, from June 1982 to November 1983. The tribunal sentenced them to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to eight years with subsequent exile and deprivation of political rights. But those who masterminded this farce were unable to cast a slur on the Turkish peace fighters or malign their committee. On the contrary, the committee's leaders turned the trial into a blistering indictment of all forces of reaction and war.

The following are excerpts from statements made at the hearings by *Mahmud Dikerdem*,¹ Chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee, and *Ali Taygun*,² member of the Committee Board. This material was made available by the Communist Party of Turkey.

Mahmud Dikerdem. At this trial we, leaders of the Turkish Peace Committee, have declared with a clear conscience that world peace, detente in the relations between nations, and general disarmament are our sole objective. We have no ulterior motives and have not conducted any other activity. The prosecution offers as proof of guilt my statements against military blocs, imperialism, fascism, chauvinism, racism, and apartheid. I should like to make it clear that I spoke of my views with many people of peace. In no country where freedom of conscience is guaranteed constitutionally is the defence of these views illegal.

The danger of a nuclear war has today become a terrible nightmare and a real threat. For that reason the participation of millions of people in the anti-war movement cannot be attributed to any propaganda. When people's principal and natural right, the right to life, is imperilled, their feelings and their instinctive responses are stronger than any influence that can be exercised by propaganda.

I have been charged on several counts. One is that our committee uses the peace slogan as a 'screen' for efforts to depose the system of administration existing in Turkey and replace it with the Marxist-Leninist system. Another label that is being tagged to us is that we are 'Serving the Interests of the Soviet Union'.

My reply to this is the following. The anti-war movement does not have any ideological objectives. Its aim is to prove that in the world today the two different socio-economic systems can coexist without confrontation, without the use of force against each other. Any other approach will bring mankind to the brink of disaster. Despite the assertions of the prosecution, we are by no means championing the interests of any individual party. The preservation of peace is the cause not of any single individual or group of people. It is the cause of each and every person. Our appeal for unity to defend peace is addressed to people of the most diverse political views and persuasions, to all organisations, and not only to those of them that are disfavoured by the prosecution.

The allegation that our committee 'serves the interests of the USSR' is absurd. The committee does not participate in the making of Turkey's foreign policy and is neither a proponent nor opponent of any country. I should like to make one more point: We believe that Turkish-Soviet friendship, the foundations for which were laid during our people's national liberation struggle, is the most dependable guarantee of Turkey's security today and in the future. And when we assess the state of

international relations, criticise the conduct of some countries or approve the actions of others, we have only one criterion which is concern for world peace.

In my statement I have tried to explain why I joined the peace movement and why every Turkish intellectual should participate in the struggle for a lasting and just peace in the world. I sincerely believe that during my three and a half years as Chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee I have done more for my people than throughout my 37 years as a civil servant.

Ali Taygun. Throughout history we, people of the arts, have been custodians of peace—for when war rages creative activity comes to a standstill. We have realised that efforts aimed at devastation and destruction dramatically reduce people's potentialities. We have realised that wars rupture the cultural links that have bound people to each other since time immemorial.

This rupture inflicts irreparable harm not only on the people living in the given historical moment, but on all subsequent generations: when barbarians made bonfires of books and set fire to libraries humanity's progress was held up for long centuries. For that reason people of the arts, who bear the responsibility for all the cultural values created by humanity, regard peace and its main prerequisites—

independence and democracy—as the paramount, basic conditions of the historical existence of these values. In keeping with our millenium-long tradition we cannot step down from the road of peace. Life is the very essence of art and culture. The essence of war is death.

Therefore, by virtue of my position, by virtue of my work in culture, I am on the side of peace, in the Peace Committee, and now stand here before this tribunal.

Humankind has been striving for peace throughout its history. But in our age peace is not merely a wish motivated by moral, religious, or personnel considerations, not merely an abstract idea. Today people are well aware that they can change the state of affairs. And their striving for peace is becoming a demand for peace with which everybody has to reckon.

For many years, I lived, studied, and worked in the USA. I was a producer in American theatres. I have nothing but affection and sympathy for most Americans, who work in the sweat of their brows in order to earn an honest living. But I now know that those who rule that country are prepared to throw their own people and the rest of the world into the flames of war so that a few can live in luxury and self-indulgence. I know how reckless, egocentric, and unscrupulous these people are, I know that they are accessories to the barbarous crimes that were committed in Beirut. And I will speak of what I know. This is what millions of Americans will do. And tens of millions of voices throughout the world will blend with our voices and resound together. We are united by the idea of peace. Our aim is not the solution of this or that individual problem. It is to fight for the whole of humanity, for all the values created by humankind.

Other accused members of the Peace Committee have been asked 'Has anybody induced you to become a member of that association?' The same question will evidently be put to me.

To this question I shall answer in the affirmative. Yes. There was a person who not only induced but forced me to join the peace movement.

That person is **Ceren**, my daughter. She is eight and a half years old. She studies in the third class. I became a member of the Peace Committee for her sake. I worked there for her sake. So that she and other children, and if not they then their children, would watch the battles, mass murders, and genocide on television with the same shock that we would today watch cannibals. So that the same revulsion that we feel today when we look at medieval instruments of torture will be felt by my daughter and other children, and if not by them then by their children, when they look at nuclear

weapons that can reduce the world to ruins, or at toys imitating these weapons, or watch films and broadcasts that make a harmless pastime of killing, or see all the other abominable things that are being done to make people forget the horrors of war.

I am a father. And like all fathers I want all children to grow up healthy both in body and mind. I want them to be free of the fear that there will be war. I want them not to know war. That is why I serve the cause of peace.

I take issue with the way of thinking of those who each year demand more and more instruments of death. I say: 'Enough, it is time to open the road to peace.' Let us make for children a world in which creation is revered above destruction.

I am an artist. I was born to create, not to destroy. I believe in human beings. I believe in peace.

From the Editor. There has been wide international support for the Turkish democrats, who have demanded the release of Mahmud Dikerdem and all other political prisoners in Turkey. The same demand has been made by many communist and workers' parties, as well as by the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, members of the British Labour Party, 52 members of the US Congress, and other political forces. The struggle continues.

¹ Mahmud Dikerdem was for many years a ranking official of the Turkish Foreign Ministry. He was Turkey's ambassador to Jordan, Iran, and India. He has written many articles and books on the struggle for peace. In 1977 he helped to form the Turkish Peace Committee, on which he was the Chairman until September 12, 1980, when the committee was outlawed by the junta. In 1978 he became a member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council.—*Ed.*

² Ali Taygun is a prominent theatrical producer and progressive public figure of Turkey.—*Ed.*

In Brief

AFGHANISTAN

A theoretical conference on the theme 'People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—Leading and Guiding Force of the April Revolution' has been held in Kabul. It was attended by teachers and students of the institute of Social Sciences of the PDPA Central Committee, ranking officials of the CC, and ideological workers. The conference discussed questions related to the revolution's development at the present stage, the PDPA's role in society, its ideological, organisational, and political work, and party building.

COLUMBIA

The 14th Congress of the Colombian Communist Party is to be held in the nation's capital, Botoga, from November 7 to 11 of this year.

JAPAN

More than 300,000 people took part in the festival of *Akahata*, newspaper of the Communist Party of Japan, in a suburb of Tokyo. The festival slogans were: 'For a Nuclear-Free Peaceful and Neutral Japan', 'No Medium-Range Missiles in Japan', and 'We Shall Defend Peace and Democracy'.

SENEGAL

The Central Committee of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour has resolved to convene the party's 2nd Congress on September 28-30 of this year in Dakar. It has set up a national committee to prepare a draft party programme to be discussed at the congress.

SWITZERLAND

On the initiative of a local organisation of the Swiss Party of Labour a working group of left-wing forces has been set up in Geneva to study ways and means of halting the curtailment of production and the mass dismissals. Represented on the group are, in addition to the Communists, the Geneva organisation of the Social Democratic Party and trade unions.

exchange of views, discussion

Pages of History

The Social Revolutions of the 1940s

A period of social revolutions began four decades ago in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The *WMR* Commission on the Problems of Socialist Construction met to discuss what is a milestone in the historical development of these countries.

Among those who took part in the discussion were: from Bulgaria—Senior Researcher Gancho Ganev, BCP CC member; GDR—Dr. Roland Bauer, SED CC member; Hungary—Szorcsik Sandor, Cand.Sc.(Econ); Poland—Jerzy Waszcuk; Romania—Professor Vasile Nichita; USSR—Sergei Tsukasov, Dr.Sc.(Hist.), *WMR* Managing Editor, and Professor Anatoly Butenko, Dr.Sc.(Philos.); and Czechoslovakia—Assistant Professor Pavel Auersperg, CPCz CC member, *WMR* Managing Editor.

The discussion was held to show not only the substance of the revolutions and their common features and uniformities, but also the diversity of forms in which they proceeded, and the methods and techniques used in carrying out the radical social transformations.

The summary of what they said lays no claim to covering all aspects of the problems arising from the revolutions in these eight countries and their subsequent development down to our own day, but only those which the participants in the discussion believed to be the most pressing ones in the light of the fundamental debates on the problems in revolutions, their uniformities and peculiarities, and the ways, forms and means of transition from capitalism to socialism.

THE revolutions which began four decades ago in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia had fiery champions and obdurate enemies, as all the revolutions of the past did. Their polemic has continued to this day, and the attitude to the socio-political revolutions which took place in that period continues to be an issue in the ideological contest and a pretext for diverse inventions and insinuations by the adversaries of socialism.

Many bourgeois ideologists and theorists continue to take a distorted view of the events of the 1940s in these countries and either cannot or will not consider their peculiarities and take a closer look at their various facets. Others are still in two minds about what would be more advantageous politically: either to recognise the historical experience and achievements of the socialist states of Central and Southeast Europe or to depict their development as an unbroken succession of hardships, failures and mistakes.

Even within the working class movement, one will frequently hear this question: were the changes in their eight European countries true revolutions? The point is that the events of those years had nothing like the storming of the Bastille or the Winter Palace, both historical symbols of revolution. The social system was changed without the bloodshed of civil war, while anti-fascist uprisings did not occur in Hungary and on the territory of the GDR.

Nevertheless, these were political and social revolutions meeting all the scientific criteria, for they substituted the power of one class for the power of another (or several classes), and radically changed the social structures, the class relations, and all the forms of political, constitutional, spiritual and cultural life. The peoples of these eight countries rose to a qualitatively higher stage of development and advanced to a new socio-economic formation. These revolutionary changes proved to be deeper and more radical than anything these peoples had experienced over the previous centuries.

The mid-20th century revolutions are events of world-wide historical scale and significance for the whole of mankind, because after the Great October Revolution they blazed new trails and developed new forms and methods of transition to socialism. They not only opened up the way of progress for the peoples of these eight countries, but also brought about important changes in the political map of Europe; together with the revolutions in a number of Asian countries—Vietnam, China, and Korea—they changed the face of the world. As a result, socialism, which had initially been established in the Soviet Union, transcended the framework of one country, and this was followed by the formation of the world socialist system.

With the benefit of hindsight over the decades since the most acute class clashes in Central and Southeast Europe, we can now see more clearly the significance of those changes. However, the historical retrospect has both its pluses and its minuses, for as these unique events recede into the past, the concrete features and details are blurred, their eye-witnesses pass on, and there is an ever greater danger that the once highly intricate and internally dynamic and contradictory revolutionary period will be oversimplified and schematised.

Revolutionary Innovation

The mid-20th century revolutions had a number of peculiarities and distinctive features as compared with earlier ones—the numerous bourgeois revolutions, the Paris Commune of 1871, the Great October Socialist Revolution or the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919—for they cannot be classified without reservation either under the head of bourgeois-type revolutions or of the earlier proletarian-socialist-type revolutions.

The first thing that leaps to the eye is that they grew gradually, step by step out of the people's anti-fascist resistance to the German or Italian fascist occupation regimes (the exclusion being the territory of what is now the GDR). In Albania,

Yugoslavia and to some extent in Bulgaria, where the resistance assumed the forms of partisan struggles, the anti-fascist national liberation war merged with the people's revolution, as a result of which the peoples not only drove out the fascist invaders, but also overthrew their own exploiter classes and established the power of the workers and peasants.

As early as 1942, the national liberation armies of Yugoslavia and Albania established control over wide territories in their countries, dismantled the old apparatus of coercion, and set up new organs on power. In November 1943, the second session of the anti-fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia in Jajce proclaimed itself the supreme legislative body in the country and set up the National Liberation Committee, a provisional government operating in the liberated areas. A similar step was taken in May 1944 by Albania's National Liberation Front. Bulgaria's Patriotic Front, relying on the partisan army, led the people to the victorious anti-fascist uprising of September 9, 1944. These events are regarded as the starting point of the revolution in all these three countries.

In Poland, resistance to the German fascist invaders developed into a revolution after the formation of a provisional government, the Polish National Liberation Committee, in July 1944. The same thing happened in Czechoslovakia after the Slovak National Uprising (August 1944), which marked the start of the revolution, and the formation of the Košice Government (April 1945), and the Prague Uprising (May 1945). In Romania, the first step was the overthrow of Antonescu's fascist regime (August 1944), and in Hungary, the formation of a provisional government at Debrecen (December 1944).

Finally, on the territory of what is now the GDR, changes proved to be possible only after Hitler Germany's unconditional surrender, the liberation of the German people from fascism, and the formation of anti-fascist, democratic organs of self-government.

The peculiar change of power is the second important feature of these revolutions which distinguishes them from all the earlier ones. In all the revolutions before the 1943-1945 period, the power of one class was, as a rule, overthrown and the undivided rule of another class established through uprising or other armed forms of struggle, with the new class taking over state power in the form of a government springing from the revolution. In the 1940s, the radical change in the character of power (and that is known to be the main criterion of revolution) was not a one-off act but a gradual and relatively peaceful process. Even in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania, where uprisings took place, the undivided rule of one class did not take shape all at once. Everywhere governments involved the participation of representatives of various classes of the society.

There was a similar characteristic feature to the solution of a fundamental task in the revolution like the breakdown of the old and the establishment of a new apparatus of state power. In the first half of the 1940s, the German and Italian invaders or their satraps (in the vassal states of Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia) held all the political and economic power, including the organs of repression and administration in all these eight countries. As the fascist occupation regimes and the vassal-dictatorship structures crumbled under the blows of the relentlessly advancing Red Army, partisan contingents and other armed forces, the old apparatus of administration and coercion (above all the army and the police) fell apart in all these countries: at once in some, and somewhat later in others (as in Romania). Other forms and elements of the old state apparatus in most of the countries were eliminated only in the course of the revolution, and in some cases were even used and transformed into organs of the new power.

New organs of power and administration—central and local—simultaneously emerged in the anti-fascist Resistance or on the territories liberated by the Red Army.

Let us bear in mind that provisional governments were constituted everywhere from 1943 to 1945. People's liberation committees, which regulated and directed social life in the liberated territories were already operating as local organs in Yugoslavia as early as 1941. From 1942, national liberation councils were formed in Albania. Patriotic Front Committees were set up in Bulgaria. In the second half of 1944, still illegal national councils appeared in the communities, districts and provinces of Poland. At the end of the year, national committees emerged in Hungary. From 1944 on such committees also had a big part to play in Czechoslovakia.

These organs, constituted by the people themselves, were the first to seize the initiative in the liberated areas, to mobilise the forces and resources for the country's final liberation, work to resume production, supply the population with the prime necessities and prevent the restoration of the old order. The national committees and national councils were helped by the civil militia, the people's courts, the factory committees, the trade unions and other social bodies which grew out of the organised people's movement.

The power which gradually took shape in the various countries had different names and—what is even more important—had a different class content.

The state forms in which these revolutions developed and the new people's power was constituted were also highly differentiated, especially in the early years. Apart from Czechoslovakia, Poland and the part of Germany liberated by the Red Army, all the other countries nominally—and Romania actually—continued to have monarchies. Yugoslavia was the first to declare itself a federal people's republic, in November 1945. Albania became a republic in January 1946, Hungary in February, Bulgaria in September, and Romania at the end of 1947. As in the pre-war period, Czechoslovakia remained a parliamentary republic with an avowed bourgeois politician as president. In East Germany (later the GDR) the revolution developed without any central German state power.

In the early years, many juridical norms and state structures taken over from bourgeois democracy were put at the service of the revolution. Thus, the 1920 bourgeois constitution remained effective in Czechoslovakia until 1948. In Poland, the 1944-1946 revolutionary transformations rested on the bourgeois-democratic constitution of 1921. Parliamentary elections in 1945 and 1947 in Hungary, in 1946 in Czechoslovakia, and in 1947 in Poland, as also the first democratic elections in the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany in 1946 were held in accordance with slightly modified bourgeois-democratic electoral laws.

The next characteristic feature of these revolutions is that, with the exception of the GDR, they were at first all equally directed both against external and against internal enemies: German or Italian fascism and imperialism, and their satraps in these countries. This closely linked the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, and the resolution and consistency with which radical socio-economic measures and reforms were put through. In Poland, for instance, the land reform was started as early as 1944; in Albania, Hungary and East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia in 1945, and in Bulgaria in 1946.

Almost everywhere, the property owned by the German Reich and the war criminals was confiscated immediately upon liberation, while the enterprises of the occupiers and collaborators were sequestered, subjected to workers' control and subsequently nationalised (as early as 1944 and 1945, for instance, in Bulgaria, Poland and Yugoslavia). In accordance with the will of the peoples demanding hard guarantees against any repetition of the vicious events of the Second World War, foreign capital was expropriated and the key industries, financial institutions and banks nationalised in all the eight countries but at different times and in different ways.

Such measures were carried out in Albania in 1945 and 1946; in Yugoslavia and

Poland in 1946; in Bulgaria in 1946 and 1947; in Czechoslovakia from 1945 to 1948; in Hungary from 1946 to 1948; in Romania in 1948; and on the territory of what is now the GDR from 1946 to 1948.

As a result, the revolutions in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe went beyond the framework of all the bourgeois revolutions, but did not yet go as far as the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The concrete historical situations in the individual states were so diverse, the balance of forces taking shape in them so differentiated, and the depth and pace of socio-economic transformations so different that no generally accepted definition of the new relations and of the character of these revolutions could be produced. That is quite natural, for the fascist occupation regimes gave way to a new, democratic order, which looked neither like the bourgeois order, nor the Soviet system. To designate the new type of states, the Yugoslav and Albanian comrades used the concept of 'people's republic'. As early as 1944, Georgi Dimitrov used the term 'people's democratic state', while others spoke of the 'state of new democracy', 'anti-fascist democratic system', and so on.

Accordingly, the character of the individual revolutions was also differently defined in that period. In Bulgaria, it was regarded as a people's democratic revolution; in Czechoslovakia, as a national-democratic revolution; and in the GDR, as an anti-fascist democratic revolution. As time went on and experience accumulated, the substance of these revolutions was also more deeply comprehended. Seeking to have some general concept suitable for all the countries, the term 'people's democratic revolution' came to be used, but it was largely abstracted from the national specifics and is not in use everywhere. Besides, historians take different views of its content.¹

Indeed, the character of the revolutions cannot be expressed in any single definition covering every aspect of that multifaceted phenomenon. The anti-fascist, democratic element was the most pronounced element of the revolutions everywhere. In Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia, the point of national liberation stood out more clearly than it did in Hitler Germany's formal vassal states, for instance, Hungary and Romania. Where heavy feudal survivals remained, the revolutions had anti-feudal facets. Considering that the fascists and their henchmen had personal connections with big industrial and financial capital, the revolutions in all the eight countries were, from the very outset, explicitly anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist.

In the retrospect, the revolutions of the 1940s are now, with good reason, regarded and defined in general terms as a new form, as a new mode of transition from capitalism to socialism. Depending on the concrete conditions in the individual countries, their ruling communist and workers' parties lay special emphasis on this or that aspect of the revolution.

The documents of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia speak of a people's liberation war and a socialist revolution. The Bulgarian CP regards the people's uprising of September 9, 1944, as the starting point of the socialist revolution because, the Bulgarian comrades say, the people's democratic power began to exercise the functions of the proletarian dictatorship from the first day of victory. The CP Czechoslovakia holds the revolution to be a national-democratic one; its completion paved the way to socialism. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party emphasises the fact that the democratic revolution developed into a socialist revolution. The Romanian Communist Party notes the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the deep revolutionary transformations and the advance to a higher stage, the socialist revolution. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) lays emphasis on the unity of the revolutionary process in the course of which the anti-fascist, democratic transformations prepared and initiated the socialist revolution.

The revolutions of the 1940s cannot be divided into two revolutions, as some did in the past, because no grounds for such a deep demarcation are provided either by the development of the power, the socio-economic changes, or combinations of the two.

Their specific feature lies precisely in the fact that they were a coherent process, that they were 'revolutions in movement'. Depending on the concrete situation, specific accents were laid in the individual countries, but all the revolutions were under the influence of international processes that were common to them all: those in the socialist countries, in the world communist and working class movement, on the one hand, and the 'cold war', on the other.

Internal and External Conditions

The revolutions of the 1940s did not proceed in a vacuum, or in isolation from the surrounding developments. They were closely connected with the victorious Red Army's westward drive as it scored one victory after another over the Hitler invaders. The balance of forces in the world largely determined the broad class alliances in the revolutions of the 1940s, their economic and political potentialities, and the forms of struggle, so that, for all the national distinctions, the revolutions in these eight countries proceeded virtually in one and the same historical situation.

The fundamental prerequisite of the revolutionary changes consists in the fact that these developments began after the Great October Socialist Revolution, which had transformed socialism, once a social ideal and a scientifically-grounded idea, into existing reality and ushered in the new world-wide historical epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. After the Second World War, the general crisis of capitalism deepened and entered upon a new phase.

From the standpoint of the concrete balance of forces in the world, the development of the revolutionary process in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe was determined by four factors.

First, Hitler Germany and its satellites suffered a crushing military, political and moral defeat.

Second, fascism was routed by the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, with the Soviet Union, a socialist state, making the greatest contribution to the victory and shouldering the main burden of the war against the Hitler Reich. The fact that national liberation, which rescued the peoples of these countries from downright physical annihilation, had come from the East, from the USSR, was for them of tremendous political and moral importance.

Third, Germany's defeat was simultaneously a defeat for the reactionary forces supporting Hitler and Mussolini in the occupied countries and collaborating with the invaders. The right-wing circles were irreparably discredited in the eyes of the popular masses. The fact that members of the former ruling class, the big capitalists and landowners in the first place, had committed heinous acts of national betrayal could not but have an effect on the goals of the revolutions and the aspirations of the masses. For all practical purposes, the parties which had compromised themselves were excluded from active political life.

Fourth, in the course of the struggle against Hitler Germany and its vassals in the Resistance and in the partisan war, cooperation developed among the various political forces which is why, when it came to forming the new power and laying the foundations of the economy, a sufficiently broad national unity was already in existence.²

Those are the prerequisites which created a favourable situation for the revolutions of the 1940s from which the Communists were able to proceed. However, it is not right to discount the factors which had a negative effect on developments and on the speed with which social problems were solved. There was, above all, the economic backwardness of these countries—with the exception of the future GDR and

Czechoslovakia. Besides, the war, which had been fought mainly in Europe, brought tremendous devastation in its train.

In Yugoslavia, for instance, the losses were estimated at 3.7 times, and in Poland at 3.5 times the value of the 1938 national income, and in East Germany—at 3 times the 1936 figure. For Hungary, the figures were 1.9, and Czechoslovakia—1.2; Romania and Bulgaria suffered less but they, too, lost roughly a third of their annual national income.

Finally, in the early post-war years, the imperialist powers, notably the United States and Great Britain, made use of their rights and powers as members of the anti-Hitler coalition to meddle in the domestic affairs of the countries of Central and Southeast Europe and tried to hamper the ongoing social transformations.

The three leading powers of the anti-Hitler coalition—the USSR, the United States and Great Britain—had agreed at the Crimea Conference (February 1945) to pursue a concerted policy in restructuring national-economic life and establishing a post-war order in Europe that would 'enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice'.³ But as soon as the common enemy—Hitler Germany—had been routed, the contradictions of interests stemming from the social systems of the allies made themselves known. For the Western imperialist powers, the urge to halt the ongoing changes turned out to be more important than their commitments to eradicate fascism and militarism. The United States and Great Britain secretly conducted a fundamentally different political line cutting across the agreed decisions of the anti-Hitler coalition. In a cable to the US President Harry Truman in the spring of 1945, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill already expressed profound concern about the 'Muscovite advance into the centre of Europe'. In March 1946, Churchill delivered his notorious Fulton speech about an 'iron curtain' allegedly having been lowered by the Communists in the heart of Europe, and called for an Anglo-American alliance against 'Eastern communism'. A year later, President Truman proclaimed a foreign policy doctrine which has gone down in history under his name and whose main purpose was to support the reactionary regimes and promote counter-revolutionary schemes in the 'totalitarian' states of Europe by military and economic means in the name of 'democracy and freedom'. The Marshall Plan, which was made public in the summer of 1947, was designed to serve the same purposes.

Direct or indirect cooperation took shape between the United States and Great Britain, on the one hand, and the reactionary circles of the states of Central and Southeast Europe, on the other. Bourgeois politicians operating within these countries or in exile hoped to take over key posts at home with the aid of the Western powers and to prevent the revolution from deepening. By economic or diplomatic means, the US and British governments supported these forces and exerted pressure to force desired changes in the make-up of governments formed after the expulsion of the invaders.

The United States and Great Britain were most stubborn in defending the interests of the bourgeois Polish circles. In 1944, US and British politicians made great play of their propaganda thesis that the Krajowa Rada Narodowa, the country's provisional legislative body operating on the liberated territory of Poland, was 'unrepresentative', and wanted to see it reorganised so as to guarantee the preponderance of the emigré circles. They used the recognition of Poland's western borders, its representation in the United Nations, and so on as a means of political pressure. When the unrealistic nature of these claims became clear in the spring of 1945, Winston Churchill, who wanted to see the USSR join in the war against Japan, tried to convince the London emigré leader Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, whom he had but recently been grooming for the post of Polish prime minister, to accept any terms in the negotiations with the Krajowa Rada Narodowa, so long as he managed to get a

foot in the door and tried to open the whole of it. As a result of the 1945 agreement between the Krajowa Rada Narodowa and the emigré government, four ministers representing bourgeois parties were included in the new cabinet.

The United States and Great Britain also tried to hamper the consolidation of the people's democratic system in Yugoslavia and to create the prerequisites for a restoration of the old order. They tried in various ways to get the bourgeois politicians into the government and to undermine the sovereignty of the People's Liberation Front at the moment of the country's complete liberation. In the summer of 1944, London exerted direct pressure and made the diplomatic recognition of the new Yugoslavia contingent on the make-up of the cabinet. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia's National Liberation Committee, desirous of strengthening the country's international positions, agreed to a compromise in early 1945 and brought into the cabinet, headed by Josip Broz Tito, six representatives of the bourgeois emigrés.

Furthermore, in the summer of 1945, the United States and Great Britain declared that they would recognise the governments of Bulgaria and Romania only after these were reorganised. They also demanded a change in the status of the Allied Control Commissions operating in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary so as to widen the legal opportunities for interfering in these countries' internal affairs, something the United States and Great Britain had already done in the past. Bulgaria rejected the ultimatum. In 1946, two ministers representing the so-called historical parties (national-zarunist and national-liberal) were included in the Romanian government.

Hungary was also subjected to overt pressure: shortly before the 1947 parliamentary elections, the British delegate on the Security Council came out against its admission to the United Nations on the pretext that 'basic political freedoms' were being violated in the country.

Means of economic pressure were also used against these countries, which had been bled white by the war and which were badly in need of assistance.

In early 1946, the US ambassador in Poland protested against the nationalisation of industry and declared that he would object to the granting of US credits to the country. In 1947, the World Bank, under the influence of the Western powers, refused to give Poland a loan. In 1946, the US Export-Import Bank withheld a credit to Czechoslovakia and Hungary for political reasons. In 1947, in response to the nationalisation of US property in Czechoslovakia, the US Administration not only refused to let the country have the economic aid it had already promised, but also impounded a large part of Czechoslovakia's gold stock, which the nazis had taken out of the country and which had fallen into US hands. Despite Klement Gottwald's promise to make good the losses caused by the nationalisation, the United States did not return the gold (the issue was settled only in 1982).

The revolutionary events of the 1940s in the eight countries of Central and Southeast Europe are closely connected with the outcome of the Second World War: the Soviet Union's liberatory role and the Red Army's advance to the Wismar-Plzen-Trieste line. Bourgeois ideologists have tried to use this incontrovertible fact to back up their claim that the Soviet Union was allegedly 'exporting' revolution, that these revolutions had been imposed from outside, and so on. There has even been some misunderstanding and false interpretation within the ranks of the working class movement.

The USSR certainly played a big part in these revolutions, but it could neither fabricate their fundamental causes, nor 'make these peoples happy' against their will. Revolutions cannot be caused at will, and they do not flare up under the impact of external factors alone. Revolutions are always based on deep-seated national and social requirements, which spring above all from the exacerbation of antagonistic contradictions within the countries concerned. That is precisely what happened with the revolutions in Central and Southeast Europe. At the outset of the Second World

War, the egoistic class policies pursued by the ruling bourgeois-landowner circles in these countries led to their defeat and, as a result, to their enslavement by German and Italian fascism. For Albania, Poland and Yugoslavia that meant military defeat and occupation, for Bohemia and Moravia—surrender and occupation, for Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, membership of the anti-Soviet coalition and their conversion into vassals.

The conversion of these countries into colonies and semi-colonies of German or Italian imperialism led to tremendous economic, political and cultural regress in these countries. In those conditions, the antagonistic contradiction between labour and capital was modified, assuming the form of the basic contradiction of social life, between foreign fascists and their satraps, on the one hand, and the broad popular masses, on the other. There was a regrouping of the class forces. It is not the Soviet Union, but German and Italian imperialism conducting a colonialist economic policy that intensified the struggle against the invaders by the workers, handicraftsmen, peasants and a section of the anti-fascist national bourgeoisie.

The Red Army was scoring the victories that decided the outcome of the war. In 1944, it began to advance towards the borders of what are now the socialist states of Europe. It became obvious that the Hitler bloc's defeat was inevitable. That, together with the intensified fascist terrorism, the losses, the wartime hardships and the devastation, exacerbated the discontent, protests and resistance of the masses. The above-mentioned basic contradiction was increasingly intensified and ultimately led to the ripening of a revolutionary situation.

The formation of national-liberation fronts (in Yugoslavia in 1941, Albania and Bulgaria in 1942, Czechoslovakia and Romania in 1943, and Hungary and Poland in 1944) was an important milestone on the way to it.

As their influence in the masses grew, the subjective prerequisites were created for the anti-fascist struggle developing into revolution. It is not the Soviet Union that generated them, but the inexorable logic of developments which may not have been understood with equal clarity by everyone, but which was most keenly felt by all the strata of the population. It is not the Soviet soldiers who carried out the revolutions, but the popular masses in these countries, acting independently and for themselves.

The Soviet Union's contribution consisted in the advance of its troops rousing the peoples to overt struggle, while its defeat of the fascist armies, the police and other organs of repression carried out much of the destructive work which is attendant on any revolution. But it fell to the lot of the peoples themselves to carry out the hardest part of the revolutions: the establishment of the new power and the organs of administration, and the revolutionary transformation of the society's socio-economic structures and spiritual and cultural relations.

At that time, the countries which became the arena of the revolutionary events had roughly 100 million people. The fascist period showed, it is true, that the peoples can be kept in fear for some time, but they cannot be ordered to carry out a revolution, to set up new state organs, to share out the landed estates, to restart the factories and plants, and to demonstrate in their hundreds of thousands in support of the nationalisation of enterprises belonging to the monopolies and members of the financial oligarchy, in support of the reform of the schools and the whole system of education, and the democratic renewal of culture. Indeed, the success of the liberation struggle and the popular revolutions in these eight countries was ensured by the massive participation of their peoples.

When Yugoslavia was liberated from fascism, its national liberation army had 800,000 officers and men, the Albanian—70,000, and the Bulgarian—40,000 partisan fighters; over 2 million Poles fought against fascism on the various fronts. The Slovak National Uprising involved 80,000 armed fighters, and nearly 100,000 people erected barricades during the Czech people's May uprising in Prague in 1945. During the 1946 referendum in Bulgaria, 92.7 per cent of those who took part voted for the liquidation

of the monarchy. In June 1946, 2.7 million citizens (77.6 per cent of the electorate) in Saxony (Soviet Occupation Zone) came out in favour of gratuitous confiscation of the enterprises of war criminals and nazis and their conversion into the peoples' property. In Hungary, land reform commissions involved 35,000 people, and in East Germany 50,000 peasants, agricultural and industrial workers. These were not Soviet citizens, but Yugoslavs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Romanians, Hungarians and Germans all freely taking key socio-political decisions for the first time.

The Soviet Union's role (apart from what has been said) lay in the fact that the presence of its army and its exercise of control functions in a number of countries until the conclusion of peace treaties protected the revolutions against intervention and paralysed domestic reaction, so assuring the revolution of a peaceful way of development. Under a different balance of forces, the probability of armed intervention from outside and sanguinary clashes would have been great. In Romania, for instance, armed provocations were staged in early 1945 by the government of General Radescu. Thanks to the resolute support given to the democratic forces by the USSR representative on the Allied Control Commission in Romania, the 800,000-strong demonstration staged in Bucharest in response to a call from the Romanian Communist Party, and the mobilisation of the patriotic contingents, the clashes did not develop into a civil war. The Red Army's presence also had a similar role to play in Poland, where the right-wing bourgeois circles not only preserved their emigré political centres (the government, the provisional parliament, etc.), but in May 1945 had at their disposal a regular army totalling 200,000 under the command of the Western powers, and also armed underground contingents.

While preventing the export of counter-revolution, the Soviet armed forces observed the rules of international law so scrupulously that even bourgeois politicians from the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, as archive documents testify, were forced to admit in 1946 that "the obligation not to interfere in our internal affairs is being fulfilled by the USSR consistently and with a tact that is not always usual in the attitude of big powers to a small state. There was not a single case in which the USSR has in any way tried to exert an influence on the settlement of our internal affairs, and its behaviour in this respect sets an example of honest fulfilment of obligations." An equally high appreciation of the activity of the Soviet representatives on the Allied Control Commission was given by the head of the Romanian government Petru Groza, when he said: "Throughout the whole armistice period, the sovereignty of the Romanian state and its independence, and the national dignity of the Romanian people were not infringed on a single occasion. On the contrary, the representatives of the Soviet Government have been a shield protecting that independence, freedom and dignity against any encroachments whatsoever. Thanks to that support, we have been able to rebuff every attempt to limit our sovereignty and independence through external interference in our internal affairs."⁴

The Soviet Union's support in the international arena in the period in which the post-war order in Europe was shaped was also of great significance for the fortunes of the revolution in all the eight countries. From 1943 to 1945, the USSR concluded treaties of friendship with Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. At every stage of the highly complicated negotiations with the Western powers, which were members of the anti-Hitler coalition, on the Polish, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak questions, the Soviet government invariably sided with these countries' democratic forces.

Its stand was most clearly expressed in the drafting and conclusion of peace treaties with the states that had once been satellites of the 'Third Reich'. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1946, the USSR expressed the view that the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania could not be held responsible for the policy of their ruling

classes, especially since at the closing stages of the war these states had declared war on Hitler Germany, sided with the allies, and honestly fulfilled their commitments in fighting against the fascist army. The peace treaties concluded in Paris in February 1947 with Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania consolidated their international positions, and created favourable conditions for ensuring national independence and internal democratisation.

The Soviet Union, which suffered the greatest human and material losses in the war, helped to create and strengthen the new social order in the eight countries by economic means as well. In the early post-war years, the economic ties between these states and the USSR were mainly in the field of foreign trade. Large-scale Soviet deliveries of fuel, raw materials and equipment were highly important, for instance, in reviving Polish and Romanian industry. In addition, in 1946 and 1947, the Soviet Union repeatedly came to the aid of the people's democratic states with large deliveries of grain, thereby frustrating the counter-revolutionary plans of reaction, which had a political stake on hunger.

The foreign trade between the USSR and these eight countries was largely carried on under Soviet credits: by the end of 1952, it had made available long-term credits totalling 15 billion roubles on exceptionally easy terms: at 1-3 per cent interest a year. From 1945 to 1948, the USSR and the people's democratic states concluded foreign-trade agreements. Klement Gottwald characterised the 1947 Soviet-Czechoslovak trade treaty as follows: "The treaty ensures us, on advantageous terms of payment, regular deliveries of a large part of the raw materials our industry needs, and at the same time the sale of a large part of the products of our heavy and light industry, which makes it the iron backbone of our economic plan for the next five years. The treaty has been concluded on a realistic economic basis and meets the interests of both countries, without any political strings whatsoever."⁵

Let us also emphasise that, by its presence, the Red Army, a class force, helped to invigorate the working people's revolutionary action and to create favourable conditions for the success of their independent struggle. The very existence of the mighty Soviet Union was confirmation that revolution is feasible and that socialism is not a utopia but a reality. The world's first socialist state already had much practical experience on which the other peoples could rely. In their constructive activity, the communist and workers' parties of the countries of Central and Southeast Europe could always rely on the USSR's moral and political support. The fundamentals of the socialist revolution and the building of a new society had been tested in the Soviet experience, but it was up to the peoples taking the way of deep social transformations to master them for themselves.

The Communists' Revolutionary Strategy

The revolutions of the 1940s did not flare up spontaneously, but they were not the handiwork of a handful of bold revolutionaries either. Both the start and the course of these massive movements were prepared ideologically, organisationally and militarily, strategically and politically thought out, and purposefully and circumspectly carried out at every stage by the Communists, the leading political force of these revolutions.

The communists and workers' parties in the countries where these events proceeded had to work deep in the underground, and hundreds of thousands of their members and experienced functionaries died in the dedicated and consistent struggle against the invaders.

Thus, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia lost 50,000, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—25,000; nearly one-half of the membership of the Communist Party of Germany—300,000 in 1933—fell victim to fascism: they were executed, imprisoned and thrown into concentration camps. In view of that ordeal, it is not surprising that at the beginning of the revolutions the communist parties of these

eight countries were not too numerous: the Polish Workers' Party, for instance, had about 20,000 members, the CP Yugoslavia—12,000, the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist) 25,000, and the CP Albania—only 600–700.

Through their heroic and dedicated resistance to fascism, invaders and quislings, the Communists, however, succeeded in winning not only high authority and recognition, but also great trust among the broadest popular masses. Since it was perfectly obvious that even after liberation they continued to take the most consistent stand for the interests of the workers, peasants and other labouring strata, there was a rapid influx of new members into their ranks.

In May 1945, the Hungarian CP had 150,000 members, and at the end of 1947, 860,000; in August 1945, the CP Czechoslovakia had 712,000 members; in June 1947, the Polish Workers' Party had 848,000 members, and the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist)—about 500,000; at the end of 1947, the CP Romania—800,000, and the CP Yugoslavia—146,000.

The communist and workers' parties were, without doubt, the largest numerically, the best organised and politically the most influential of all the parties and movements involved in the revolution, both supporting and opposing it. Their policy and tactics had a scientific Marxist–Leninist basis. That is what made the Communists the most active and purposeful participants in the revolution. They had an explicit programme, they advanced the revolutionary process, and organised the masses. In short, they were the core of the revolution. The Communists exposed the roots of the disastrous economic situation which existed in some countries, warned against a repetition of the errors of the pre-war period (for instance, the Munich policy in Czechoslovakia) and formulated the pressing tasks of the day, a broad spectrum ranging from food for the people, and the restarting of factories and plants, to the eradication of the survivals of fascism and of the occupation and vassal regimes.

The Communists' historic achievement is that they provided a realistic political form for the aspirations and interests of the working class and all the other working masses, showed that these could be translated into reality, organised the social forces required to do so, and gave the lead in the great process of social and political transformations.

But the Communists' great political influence, activity and purposefulness do not yet signify that from the very beginning the revolutions set themselves socialist tasks, that they were carried out under socialist slogans, or that they even had a socialist character. On the contrary, the experience of the class battles in the period between the October Revolution and the Second World War, especially the lessons of the European revolutions of 1918 and 1919, the 24-year history of the comintern, and also the fact of the fascist takeover and the struggle against it—experience often acquired at the price of blood—inexorably impelled the Communists to draw the conclusion that actual social life and the struggle of classes do not so much depend on the formulation of goals or on good will, as on the balance of social and political forces and the actual weight of the parties and social movements among the masses.

In the course of the liberation struggle and revolution, the Communists, the left-wing Social Democrats and the other forces traditionally acting under the slogans of socialism did not, of course, make any secret of the fact that their ultimate goal was to rescue the working people from exploitation and oppression. Nevertheless, in most countries (except Albania and Yugoslavia, where the parties in effect put through socialist measures even in the course of the national liberation war), the Communists in that period did not make any socialist demands and did not fight directly for socialism. From their own experience, they drew the conclusion that objective and subjective prerequisites were required for building the new system, and that the masses had to be won over only with the aid of understandable slogans and task which they were prepared to fulfil. That is why, in accordance with the situation then existing in the individual countries, the communist parties put forward

numerous and diverse current demands in the hope that these could be carried out in a broad alliance of the working class and other classes and strata, in alliance with the democratic parties and organisations.

That was completely in line with the popular front strategy worked out by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern for the purpose of overthrowing fascism. In the course of the Second World War, the bestial fascist policy of genocide created the prerequisites for extending the chosen strategy to the formation of anti-fascist liberation fronts, to include, apart from the workers and peasants, sizable sections of the middle strata, the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie which had not compromised themselves by collaboration with fascists. In view of the differentiated conditions and the balance of class forces in the individual countries, there was a difference in the influence enjoyed by the Communists and their programmatic task within the patriotic or national anti-fascist liberation fronts.

In Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, for instance, the communist parties were the recognised leaders of the anti-fascist popular movement from the outset. In Hungary, Poland and Romania, where the Social Democrats (and in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, also the emigré governments) had a greater influence, the Communists succeeded in winning clearly leading positions only in the course of the struggle.

The class basis and the political make-up of the national liberation fronts also determined the character, programmes and composition of the first government organs on which the representatives of the communist parties acted as initiators of the most important economic and socio-political reforms.

The first programmes of the revolutions were formulated: by the Bulgarian Fatherland Front in July 1942, the Polish July Manifesto was issued in July 1944, the Hungarian Debrecen Programme in December 1944, the Romanian Administration Programme in January 1945, the Czechoslovak Košice Programme in April 1945, the decisions of the Albanian Përmet Congress in May 1944, and the Appeal of the Communist Party of Germany in June 1945.

None of these programmes called for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship or transition to socialism. The emphasis was on the country's final liberation and the establishment of close friendly relations with the Soviet Union and all the other peace-loving states. Attention was also centred on preserving, extending and strengthening the broad alliances of all the working people and of all the anti-fascist democratic parties in rehabilitating the national economy, and punishing foreign and local fascists, war criminals and their henchmen, and depriving them of economic positions. It was, of course, also centred on building the new democratic organs of power, so as to conduct a policy of peace, democracy and social progress, and on ensuring unity of action by the workers and all the other working people as a necessary prerequisite for successfully carrying on the revolution.

The communist parties formulated and made public the following immediate goals: Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist)—removal of the monarchy and creation of a people's democratic state; Hungarian CP—overthrow of Hungarian reaction and the country's democratic transformation; CP Germany—creation of an anti-fascist, democratic regime, a democratic parliamentary republic; Polish Workers' Party—national liberation and creation of a new Poland without landowners and big capitalists; CP Romania—the establishment of an independent, sovereign, secure and flourishing Romanian state; and CP Czechoslovakia—liberation of Czechoslovakia, consistent conduct of a democratic national revolution, and solution of the nationalities problem on the basis of equality for the Czechs and the Slovaks. In doing so, the Communists were fully aware that the concrete potentialities, speed and forms of development of each revolution depend not only on the national realities, not only on the actions of the working class and the popular masses, but to a great extent also on the international situation, on the place of the new states within the

system of international relations, and likewise on the extent of the influence exerted by the Soviet Union and the Western powers, which were members of the anti-Hitler coalition, in the individual countries.

The documents of that period show that a majority of the communist parties had no intention of swiftly moving on to socialism. Klement Gottwald emphasised at the Eighth Congress of the CPCz in March 1946 that a large private-economic sector would remain alongside the nationalised people's enterprises, and that small and middle private enterprises would be kept going within the new economic systems. Georgi Dimitrov also spoke out from 1945 to 1947 in favour of retaining private property and encouraging private initiative for the country's economic development. A programmatic declaration issued by the new Fatherland Front government in November 1946 even proposed the lifting of a number of restrictions on private initiative which had to be imposed in the early period after the September 9, 1944 uprising to defend the people's democratic gains. In 1946, the SED issued a special declaration in connection with the referendum on the gratuitous confiscation of enterprises belonging to active nazis and war criminals, saying that these measures did not affect the personal property of individual citizens or capitalist property in the means of production.

Following the nationalisation of industry in 1948, Poland still had 12,000 capitalist enterprises, and East Germany—36,000. At the time, the capitalist sector accounted for 10 per cent of industrial output in Poland, for 15 per cent in Czechoslovakia, and for 39 per cent in East Germany.

In the fight against right-wing socialist demagoguery and bourgeois slanders, the leaders of the communist and workers' parties repeatedly said that they had no intention of introducing Soviet power or turning the country into a Soviet republic. Guided by the generally recognised Marxist tenets, which said that countries and peoples could not advance to socialism along one and the same, stereotyped way, all the parties strove to proceed from the concrete conditions, the correlation of social forces in their states, and their people's mood, aspirations and wishes. The Communists were fully resolved to use the existing historical opportunity and the favourable international situation to blaze new and hitherto untried trails to revolution. That is exactly what they did.

Georgi Dimitrov in 1945-1946, for instance, repeatedly stressed that people's democracy was not Soviet power, and that the conditions of struggle for socialism in the European countries were different from those which had existed in tsarist Russia in 1917-1918, and that when Bulgaria started to advance towards socialism, they would strive to have it built by the whole people. When the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was set up in 1946, the German Communists drew special attention to the fact that the new party 'regards the basic propositions of Marxism not as a scheme or a hard-and-fast credo, but as something to apply in the specific German conditions and to the specific German way of development.'⁶ In the summer of 1945, Klement Gottwald said: "We in our Republic are going through a peculiar type of development which cannot be fitted into any stereotype and under which we must seek our own ways, our own methods, and our own Czech and Slovak policy."⁷

The logic of revolutionary development and the change in its conditions, above all the acts by the reactionary bourgeois forces and the 'cold war' atmosphere created by US imperialism, and also some of the processes within the emergent socialist camp, subsequently called for more radical measures of a socialist character and accelerated the transition to socialism.

Let us recall that even during the national liberation war, such revolutionary measures were advocated by the CP Yugoslavia. The CP Albania looked to a socialist revolution from February 1946. The Hungarian CP (jointly with the Social Democratic Party of Hungary) put the propaganda of socialist ideas on the agenda in May 1946. That same year, the Polish Workers' Party formulated the conception of a

Polish way to socialism. The Bulgarian and Czechoslovak parties began to speak of transition to socialism at the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948.

From 1947 and 1948, these countries got down to national-economic planning. The rehabilitation of the national economy was completed in general form within the framework of the early annual or two-year plans. With the drawing up of the first five-year plans in 1949-1950, most of these states started the balanced construction of the foundations of socialism. In the GDR, the transition to socialism was announced in 1952.

The establishment of the ideological and organisational unity of the working class and the working class movement became an important prerequisite for advance to socialist construction.

As early as April 1946, following a year of solid politico-ideological preparation and practical unity of action in East Germany, 680,000 Social Democrats and 620,000 Communists united in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). In 1948, united working class parties took shape in most of the other countries where the revolutions had taken place. In February, the Communist and the Social Democratic parties of Romania merged into the Romanian Workers' Party, and in August the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist) and the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria merged into the Bulgarian CP; in mid-June, the Hungarian CP and the Social Democratic Party merged into the Hungarian Working People's Party, and at the end of June the unification of Czechoslovak Social Democrats with the CP Czechoslovakia was completed. In December of that year, the Polish Worker's Party and the Polish Socialist Party set up the Polish United Workers' Party.

These processes developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, markedly accelerating the maturity of the subjective factor of the revolution and turning the fraternal parties into a true leading and guiding force of the society capable of coping with the exceptionally difficult task of transition from capitalism to socialism.

In the Flames of the Class Struggle

The revolutions in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia were not minority revolutions, as bourgeois ideologists assert. These were truly major democratic revolutions. First, they were characterising the massive involvement of all the classes and strata of the society. Second, all the fundamental decisions of the revolutions were taken in the course of the mass struggle carried on by democratic, parliamentary or extra-parliamentary means. Third, these revolutions were distinguished by their democratic methods.

Revolutions do not develop in sterile social conditions, and certainly not in an atmosphere of universal good will. They make headway through acute conflicts, ideological, political, economic and sometimes military confrontations between classes. Only through the clash of opinions, strategic conceptions and political programmes, which is inevitable in any revolution, do the parties and social movements win over the masses and make their way to power. There is no mechanical determinism about the class struggle. To recognise that the revolutionary process is law-governed and that it reflects social progress does not imply a denial of the role of accident, the subjective factor or the individual. On the contrary, in that sense every revolution contains within itself a broad spectrum of diverse alternatives, and it depends above all on the forces which are predominant in the revolution which of them is to be translated into reality.

In all these revolutions, the Communists were unquestionably just such a political force. That being so, did they hold all the key positions from the very outset? No, they did not. The communist parties remained in a minority in all the early provisional governments.

Of the 16 ministers of the first Fatherland Front government in Bulgaria in September 1944, only four were Communists. The first Czechoslovak government in

Kőszice consisted of nine Communists, 13 members of other parties, and four non-party ministers. In the first Hungarian government in Debrecen, the ministerial post ratio between Communists and non-Communists was three to seven, in the Yugoslav government formed in March 1945—eight to 20, and in the reorganised provisional national unity government of Poland in June 1945—seven to 14. The first Romanian government set up after the August uprising even had a big-bourgeoisie character. Only the fourth government set up in March 1945 under the chairmanship of Petru Groza could be regarded as a people's government: it included 13 members of the National Democratic Front, including four Communists, and five members of the National Liberal Party. In the early period, even the posts of chairman of the council of ministers in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania were initially filled by non-Communists. President Edvard Beneš of Czechoslovakia was a bourgeois politician, while the Hungarian President Zoltan Tildy articulated the attitudes of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

This make-up of the highest organs of power often failed to reflect the actual balance of forces, the influence on the masses and the revolutionary potentialities of the individual parties and politicians. This applies especially to Poland and Yugoslavia, where representatives of the bourgeois emigrés were included in the governments only under pressure from Britain and the United States.

All the revolutionary provisional governments relied on a broad alliance of class forces and on the patriotic (national) fronts which emerged in the course of the liberation struggle, and politically brought together several parties, including typically bourgeois parties.

In Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, five parties were represented on the government, in Poland—four, in Czechoslovakia—six; and in Hungary—four (plus individual supporters of Horthy, in the role of 'non-party' ministers). In Romania, there were five, and in the GDR first four and then three and five parties.

The checkered social and party-political make-up of the governments corresponded to the political reality of that period and in the main reflected the existing pattern of class forces in the individual countries. Apart from workers, peasants and democratic intellectuals, members of non-fascist groups of the bourgeoisie were also represented on the governments, and the latter naturally sought to direct the revolutions along bourgeois lines and to get them over with as soon as possible. Under the pressure of events and the mood of the masses, the Horthyites on the Hungarian provisional government, and the bourgeois ministers of the Czechoslovak and Polish governments were forced to sign anti-fascist, democratic programmes. That was of great importance for the further advance of the revolution, for it testified to the whole people's urge for revolutionary transformations. There was also a possibility of confronting bourgeois politicians who pursued counter-revolutionary purposes with this alternative: either they fulfilled their obligations and remained participants in the revolution, or they exposed themselves before the masses as an anti-democratic force.

Consequently, the political condition, character of power, and balance of class forces, the interrelations of the political parties within and outside the national fronts in that period were extremely diverse and multi-layered, or pluralistic, to use a modern term, in all the countries.

Bourgeois politicians within the governments and leadership of the political parties not only held important posts, but also had the possibility of carrying on legal political and public activity. Initially they did have a considerable influence on the masses of working people, such as the peasants in Hungary and Poland, and the urban petty bourgeoisie in Czechoslovakia.

The opponents of the revolutions of the 1940s frequently say that the members of the provisional governments and other new organs of power were not elected in a democratic way and, for that reason, ruled 'illegally'. Indeed, these organs did not

emerge from bourgeois parliamentary elections, but, as in other revolutions, sprang from the revolutionary sovereignty of the people, who set up these organs, controlled them and, whenever necessary, removed those who badly served their interests.

While those who exercised the revolutionary power and built the new life from the very outset had not been elected, they were none the less true representatives of the people, as will be seen from the composition of the revolutionary organs and the policy they conducted. Here is one example. The Provisional Debrecen National Assembly consisted of more than 80 workers and poor peasants, 60 intellectuals, 36 middle and rich peasants, and about the same number of businessmen and merchants.

The profoundly democratic character of the revolutionary organs which were set up is evidenced by the following fact which is, in principle, unusual for any revolution: they were fairly rapidly legitimated electorally and then acquired a constitutional basis.

Parliamentary elections were held in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia in 1945; in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Romania in 1946; and in Poland in 1947.

Never before in the history of these countries had the elections been prepared or held in such a democratic way. They were held just when the early socio-political reforms were in full swing: the landed estates were being shared out, the enterprises of the fascist big bourgeoisie confiscated, and the education system restructured. By then, the programmatic goals of the national fronts were well known. That is why the voting amounted to a decision on the goals and content of the revolutions which the people took by means of their ballot papers, i.e., with the observance of democratic legality even according to bourgeois-parliamentary concepts.

All the political and social forces—both proponents and opponents of the new democracy—were aware of this, and that was the spirit in which they all prepared for and took part in the elections. In Yugoslavia, the right-wing political circles grouped round the erstwhile head of the emigré government Ivan Subašić, acted as the legal opposition and came out against the National Liberation Front, the land reform, the nationalisation of industry, and the government's nationalities policy. In Bulgaria, the opponents of the revolution withdrew from the government and the Fatherland Front to form three independent opposition parties. In Poland, the former prime minister of the London government Stanislaw Mikolajczyk set up a bourgeois party (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe*) immediately upon his return from exile in 1945, a party which paid lip service to the revolution and its transformations but which, in actual fact, strove to overthrow the people's government and weaken the Polish Workers' Party. In Romania, the opposition parties not only switched to demagoguery and chauvinistic anti-Soviet propaganda, but also engaged in armed attacks on and killings of supporters of the revolution.

In Czechoslovakia, Hungary and what subsequently became the GDR, where there were no overtly opposition parties, the supporters of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners set up opposition groups within the national front parties to campaign against the revolutionary forces in the elections and try to explode their unity from inside.

Sensible of their political weakness, the right-wing bourgeois circles looked to the Western powers for support in the electoral struggles. The Yugoslav opposition, for instance, opted for the tactic of boycotting the elections in 1945 in the hope of providing the United States and Great Britain with a pretext for intervention. Bulgarian reaction took the same attitude: it cast doubt on the democratic character of the forthcoming elections and proposed that they should be held under the control of the allied powers. At the Potsdam Conference, the US delegation made diplomatic recognition of Bulgaria and Romania directly contingent on the elections and a reorganisation of their governments. That was followed by a string of official notes

and ultimatums by the British and US representatives on the Allied Control Commission in Bulgaria. But none of this helped, and Bulgarian reaction suffered a crushing defeat in the elections. In 1946, the bourgeois circles once again tried to use the same means before the elections to the Grand People's Assembly of Bulgaria. A month before the electoral campaign ended, the United States demanded that an international commission should be set up to supervise the course of the elections and that two prominent members of the opposition should be co-opted into the government, without waiting for the election returns. For several years, the West kept putting the most stubborn pressure over elections in Poland: the United States and Great Britain wanted the polling to be held as soon as possible, before the democratic forces were politically consolidated, and tried to interfere in the electoral law. The returns testified to the outcome of that stormy class struggle.

The revolution faced the most difficult situation in the parliamentary elections in Hungary (November 1945). The Communists and Social Democrats together won 34 per cent of the vote, the Small Holders' Party—57 per cent, and the others another nine per cent. A week later, the elections to Yugoslavia's Constituent Assembly gave the Popular Front candidates over 96 per cent of the vote. Equally convincing were the results of the voting held simultaneously in the elections for the People's Assembly of Bulgaria. Despite the boycott announced by the opposition, 85.5 per cent of the voters went to the polls, and 88 per cent of them voted for the joint ticket of the five Fatherland Front parties. During the election to Albania's Constituent Assembly (December 1945), Democratic Front candidates got 95 per cent of the vote (with 92 per cent of the voters taking part). In the elections to Czechoslovakia's Constituent National Assembly (May 1946), the National Front parties campaigned on their own tickets. The Communists won 38 per cent of the vote, four of the other six parties got from 12 to 16 per cent and two—less than one per cent. In East Germany, where the three parties of the anti-fascist democratic bloc also campaigned with their own tickets, the SED won in the elections (September and October 1946) to the organs of communal self-administration and the district people's representations (Kreistags), respectively, 58 per cent and 51.7 per cent, and to the Länder parliaments—47.6 per cent of the vote. In the parliamentary elections in Romania (November 1946), 71.8 per cent of the electorate voted for the bloc of democratic parties. Finally, in the elections to Poland's legislative Sejm (January 1947), the common ticket of the four Democratic Bloc parties won 80.1 per cent of the vote, while Mikolajczyk's opposition party got only 10.3 per cent.

These results were a resounding vote of confidence in the way the revolutions had travelled until then, and simultaneously a mandate from the electorate to the legislative assemblies, governments and parties to continue advancing along that way.

Soon after the elections, the Yugoslav and Albanian national assemblies proclaimed people's republics and adopted new constitutions. The Bulgarian parliament passed laws on a land reform, and on leadership and control in the army. The Hungarian national assembly approved a law nationalising the coal mines and the electric-power stations servicing them, and shortly abolished the monarchy and proclaimed people's republics and adopted new constitutions. The Bulgarian with the election returns, Klement Gottwald became the first Communist to fill the post of head of government. In Romania, the elections were followed by the nationalisation of the National Bank, and in Poland by the adoption of a 'mini constitution', a law governing the structure and powers of the highest organs of the republic, which operated until the adoption of a new constitution.

That did not, of course, mark the end of the contest, i.e., of the acute struggle between the proponents of the revolution, and the forces trying to restore the pre-war order. In the hope of support or direct intervention from the United States and Great Britain, the counter-revolutionary opposition tried again and again to reverse the tide

of history. But being unsure of winning in open democratic struggle for the masses, these circles opted for conspiracy, sabotage, reactionary plots and even armed attacks. Thanks to the Communists' circumspect policy, the revolutionary forces' unity, patience and vigilance, and, not least importantly, the temporary presence of Soviet troops, the bitter class struggle did not, as a rule, assume the form of armed clashes or civil war.

In long, hard and often sharply exacerbated contest between the people and reaction, and clashes of opposite political conceptions, the progressive forces, with the Communists at their head, gained superiority and won over the masses to their side. This will be seen, for instance, from the fact that in the following parliamentary elections in Hungary (August 1947), the left-wing bloc of democratic parties already won 61 per cent of the poll, while the communist party (22 per cent) became the strongest group in the national assembly.

Did the Communists behave disloyally with respect to their partners and the other national front parties? No, they did not. Even where the elections showed them to be the strongest parties and where they had, according to the rules of bourgeois democracy, the right to form one-party governments, the Communists refrained from doing so. In 1945, Georgi Dimitrov put it very concisely when he said: "It is malicious legend and slander to say that the Communists wanted to seize the whole of power and that they had allegedly even seized the whole of power. . . . It is not true that the Communists wanted to have a one-party administration."⁸

The February 1948 events in Czechoslovakia showed how the communist parties acted in the revolution, making use of the legal forms of democratic action and struggle, including parliament, mass demonstrations, rallies, etc. When preparing for the parliamentary elections, the CP Czechoslovakia got down to vigorous work under the slogan: 'Win Over a Majority of the Nation'. In response, the reactionary forces decided to take a gamble and to engineer a government crisis. They expected President Beneš to accept the resignation of the right-wing ministers and to form a provisional government of civil servants, whom the West would then help to pave the way back from the national democratic revolution to the traditional pre-Munich-type bourgeois democratic order. But in response to the attempt to stage that counter-revolutionary putsch, the Communist Party roused the masses to a broad offensive: the working people's revolutionary organisations—factory councils and peasant committees—came out against reaction. A warning general strike, involving 2.5 million people, and a demonstration by contingents of the People's Militia showed who actually held power. Beneš was forced to reorganise the National Front government by including the progressive representatives of political parties and trade unions. Klement Gottwald later emphasised that even that complicated situation was settled by the CPCz and the National Front 'by democratic, constitutional and parliamentary methods'.⁹

The subsequent course of the revolutions in the individual countries and the various degrees of polarisation of the class forces, above all the line pursued by the individual bourgeois parties, determined their fortunes. Because of their small size, some of them disbanded, others were dissolved for engaging in counter-revolutionary and unconstitutional activity, while still others continued to exist, gradually modifying their policies and character, and continuing to play an independent political role in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Poland to this day, being represented on the governments and other organs of power in these countries.

The deep revolutionary changes of the 1940s, the laying of the foundations of socialism in the 1950s, and subsequent developments brought about a radical change in the economic basis and ideological superstructure of these eight countries, and in the social conditions and living standards of their peoples. Gone are exploitation, class greed, economic crises, curbs on the working people's social rights, privileges in education, and many other defects of the capitalist society. For a number of reasons,

there is a big difference in the overall level of development of the individual socialist countries, the extent to which the material and cultural requirements of the masses are satisfied, and the forms in which socialist democracy is practised. But everywhere the people's industriousness and spiritual wealth, and their unity round the Marxist-Leninist parties have yielded tremendous economic and social results. Never before in the lifetime of two generations have social conditions been so radically changed for the better.

A great many difficulties and obstacles had to be overcome on the way to socialism and in acute class struggles against the reactionary forces in all the eight countries. As in any revolution, 'many things have been done which it would have been better to leave undone, and many things have been undone which it would have been better to do'.¹⁰ In the late 1940s and early 1950s, 'serious mistakes and tragic errors were made. The difficulties have been overcome and the errors gradually corrected,' says, for instance, an Address issued by the CPCz CC.¹¹

The record of the revolutions in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe shows that it is impossible to create a totally new social system and overcome the difficulties at home and abroad at one go, within a few years, because it takes time to do so, especially in view of the peoples' differing historical and political experience; and the different levels of development and potentialities of these states.

Enriching the Revolutionary Theory

When making history, the revolutions enrich the peoples' experience, create new social realities and produce new social theories, confirming some truths and conclusions, and discarding others. The social revolutions of the 1940s in Europe, together with the people's revolutions in Vietnam, China and Korea did both: they not only changed these countries and the balance of forces in the world, but also made a major creative contribution to the further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, especially the doctrine of the socialist revolution and the strategy of building the new society.

The outstanding leaders of the revolutions of the 1940s were, of course, even then aware that the ongoing transformations paved the way to socialism and added to the already existing Soviet system yet another, new form of transition from capitalism to socialism. While the events were still in full swing, it was understandably hard to obtain an all-round theoretical comprehension of their substance and perspectives. With the passage of time, the opinions on this score which existed in the early years tended to change and gain in depth.

In 1946, for instance, General Secretary of the PWP CC Wladyslaw Gomułka and the leaders of the Hungarian CP believed that in the light of the international and concrete national conditions there was a possibility of developing towards socialism through people's democracy as a form of power used in place of the proletarian dictatorship. At the 15th Congress of the CP Germany in 1946, Wilhelm Pieck said: As a result of the special situation which has taken shape after the break-up of the reactionary state apparatus of coercion and the establishment of a democratic state 'there is a possibility for the working class to advance to political domination in a peaceful way, by democratic means. In order to guarantee this way, in order to spare our people great sacrifices in a bloody civil war, we now want to set up the SED.'¹²

Following Georgi Dimitrov's speech at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian CP (December 1948) and Boleslaw Bierut's at the PUWP Unity Congress (December 1948), the proposition that the states of people's democracy exercised the functions of proletarian dictatorship was generally accepted.

Later, as more experience was gained, the ruling parties of the eight countries, together with the CPSU, summed it up theoretically, the first such collective discussion being held in September 1947 during the Information Meeting of some communist and workers' parties in Poland, which was attended by representatives of

the leadership of the communist parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, USSR and Yugoslavia. The regimes created by the revolutions were assessed as a new type of state in which power belongs to the people and large-scale industry and the banks to the state, where the working class in alliance with other working people holds the leading positions, and where the foundations are being laid for transition to socialism.

Following an in-depth analysis of the radical changes in the international situation and a summing-up of the historical experience of the USSR and other socialist states, the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which was held in 1956, elaborated the Marxist-Leninist proposition on the diversity of forms of transition by various countries from capitalism to socialism and indicated the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. It emphasised the tremendous importance in the context of the present epoch of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and drew the conclusion that there was a realistic prospect of averting another world war.

The overcoming of the personality cult, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, and its consequences had a positive effect on the fraternal parties' mutual relations and on their ideological and theoretical cooperation.

During the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution there was a Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries, which adopted a Declaration formulating the general uniformities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, analysing the diverse potentialities of such a revolution, including peaceful transition to socialism, without civil war, and with the use of parliamentary methods, and setting forth the principles of relations and cooperation between socialist countries.

The new generalisations, conclusions and theoretical propositions made in the 25 years since then have enriched, specified or corrected the old ones. In this respect, the same thing happened after the revolutions of the 1940s, as after the October Revolution. As the problems and tasks of socialist construction were tackled, the theoretical concept of socialism became more precise and concrete. In 1923, Lenin said that, compared with the pre-revolutionary period, our whole notion of socialism had radically changed.¹³ Something similar also occurred after the mid-20th century revolutions, whose concrete course and everyday practice of socialist construction proved to be more diverse and vibrant, more contradictory and protracted than the Communists had imagined before the start of the transformations and the parties had formulated in their programmes.

The revolutions of the 1940s and the development of the socialist society since then have, on the one hand, provided convincing confirmation of many of the theoretical generalisations made by Lenin and the CPSU in the light of the USSR's experience. On the other hand, they have also brought much that is new—in practice and in theory—but then one cannot expect things to be otherwise in such creative and innovative processes as revolutions are.

The new elements relate above all to the following:

- the possibilities, conditions and forms of winning power;
- the state forms and political systems of socialism;
- the social motive forces and allies of the revolution;
- the ways, forms and methods of the socialist transformation of industry, the handicrafts, commerce and agriculture;
- the pace and duration of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism;
- the understanding of the dialectics of the general uniformities and the concrete historical and national conditions of the revolution and socialist transformations.

On all these questions, the Marxist-Leninist theory is now ampler, more comprehensive and more precise than it was 40 years ago. In addition, the Marxist-Leninist theory faced a great many new problems arising from the fact that the

revolutions of the 1940s had transformed socialism into a world system. That made it necessary for the communist and workers' parties to take the next step in the creative elaboration of theory, i.e., to sum up the experience of the socialist states' economic and political relations with each other.

The revolutions whose anniversaries we are marking once again prove the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that revolutions are not carried out according to recipe, and that they cannot be bent to a scheme worked out in advance, to some cut-and-dried model. On the contrary, life has demonstrated the unusual diversity of the goals and the political and social motive forces of the revolutions, forms of takeover to power, methods of exercising it, and ways of carrying out socialist transformations.

But for all that they undoubtedly have features, principles and goals which are proper to all revolutions, regardless of the geographical location of the countries in which they take place, the levels of their socio-economic development and national traditions.

In all the states of Central and Southeast Europe here being considered, the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist parties, wields political power and acts in alliance with other working classes and strata, social property in the means of production exists everywhere, and economic development is planned. Socialist democracy is developed on the basis of the working people's truly wide-ranging participation in every sphere of social life, and the socialist ideology and culture are being moulded.

There are both similarities and dissimilarities to the eight revolutions in the states of Central and Southeast Europe: in all of them, fundamentally the same socio-economic relations have been shaped in different ways as a result of the application of a variety of forms and methods.

The unity of substance, of the ideological and political principles, lines of development and ultimate goals makes these revolutions similar, and not only to each other, but also to the Great October Socialist Revolution, and to the revolutions in Vietnam, China, Korea and Cuba, while the choice of concrete paths for the society's advance and the ways and means used to transform it are different. In the latter sense, each of the revolutions is the only one of its kind, a unique phenomenon. In terms of the results of the radical changes, they all belong to the same type of revolution continuing the way of the October Revolution.

From this standpoint, the concepts of general uniformities and specific features which are usually used to compare relations in various countries express the dialectics of these relations only partially, especially when these two sides of the same coin are contrasted to each other. Lenin gave this highly precise formation: 'The universal exists only in the individual and through the individual.'¹⁴

The problem of the diversity of ways of social transformation can be understood through the dialectics of the common features of the revolutions and the concrete conditions in which they are expressed, the correlation of form and content, of the law-governed and the accidental, of the world-wide historical universality and the specific methods, duration and pace of each revolution.

If one considers the forms, ways and means in carrying out a revolution, there are, of course, very many in the advance to the new society, while there is only one socio-economic substance to the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The socialist system, in the form in which it now exists in all these eight countries, with all its historic achievements and with all that has yet to be achieved, with all its advantages and problems, is the outcome of the interaction of objective prerequisites and the subjective factor, an indicator of the capability of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties to apply the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism creatively to the concrete conditions of individual countries. The new society is the product of the innovation of the working class acting in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia, that is,

with the whole people. The new system which has taken shape as a result of the revolutions of the 1940s is deeply rooted in history, for it has inherited and carried on everything that was progressive, humanistic and democratic in the history of the peoples of these countries, embodying, for its part, the development of the ideals of progress, democracy and humanism.

The socialist states of Central and Southeast Europe have travelled a long and impressive way. They have accumulated a vast amount of experience which is of historical significance. The most important conclusions to be drawn from it, says CPSU CC General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko, is the need for the socialist countries to be united, for unity helps them to score fresh successes in their creative and constructive endeavour. It helps them to safeguard what has been gained by the labour effort of millions, to beat back the attacks of the class adversary, and confidently to advance along the way of peace and socialism.

¹ One group regards the 'people's democratic revolution' as a special type of general democratic revolution proceeding under the leadership of the working class and its party, and preceding the socialist revolution. In other words, 'people's democratic revolution' includes the process of the society's transformation until the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Others identify the 'people's democratic revolution' with the socialist revolution, arguing that the revolution begins with the establishment of a socialist state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The participants in the discussion held the view that 'people's democratic revolution' is a coherent and consistent revolutionary process passing through various phases of development, including the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, and democratic stages of approach to the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

² The third and fourth factors did not operate in the Soviet occupation zone in Germany.

³ *Tehran. Yalta. Potsdam*. Collection of Documents, Moscow, 1970, p. 189 (in Russian).

⁴ *Scinteia*, September 20, 1947.

⁵ K. Gottwald, *Spisy*, Vol. XIV, Prague, 1958, p. 219.

⁶ *Bericht vom 15. Parteitag der KPD*, Berlin, 1946, pp. 102-103.

⁷ K. Gottwald, *Spisy*, Vol. XII, Prague, 1955, p. 83.

⁸ G. Dimitrov, *Works*, Vol. II, Sofia, 1954, p. 290 (in Bulgarian).

⁹ K. Gottwald, *Spisy*, Vol. XV, Prague, 1961, p. 234.

¹⁰ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 385.

¹¹ *Rudé právo*, April 21, 1984.

¹² *Bericht vom 15. Parteitag der KPD*, p. 209.

¹³ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 474.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 38, p. 361.

Changes in the British Working Class Movement

Some Questions of Theoretical Research

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THE electoral shock of 1983, when only a minority of the organised working class voted Labour, has reinforced the influence, especially among left-wing intellectuals, of the long-standing bourgeois sociological thesis about a 'new profile of the working class'. The growing weight of white-collar workers and service industries supposedly led to a growing divergence within the working class, with the newer sections weakening the former levels of class and political consciousness. Amid this confusion, reactionaries in the labour movement use slogans of a 'new realism' to advocate class collaboration and non-political trade unionism.

A critique of these arguments is, therefore, urgent for practice. In making it, we shall show that the trend of capitalist development for Britain is one which weakens three kinds of privilege: those arising from occupation, from sector, and from the

position of British imperialism in the world. Diversity is thus diminished. We argue that changes in the occupational and industrial compositions of the working class, in conditions of the specific and technical revolution (STR) and of Britain's changing position in the world, are moving in the opposite direction to those assumed by the bourgeois sociologists.

Changes in the occupational and industrial composition of the working class are in no sense new: capitalism has always revolutionised the division of labour. But like the former, the latter are techno-economic categories, internal relations within the 'human' element of the productive forces which can create conditions for change in working class consciousness only indirectly, i.e., in so far as they generate changes in socio-economic relations.

The direction of change in socio-economic relations, as capitalists were compelled to revolutionise the productive forces, embodying technical progress and increasing their social character, was brilliantly summarised by Marx. The growing need for 'discipline, unity, organisation' of the working class stemmed from its revolt against the growing 'mass of misery, oppression, degradation, exploitation', but the objective conditions for the development of discipline, unity, organisation is 'the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself' which concentrates the workers in ever larger groups each under the control of one of a 'constantly diminishing number of magnates of capital'.¹

Workers of the same occupation, dispersed between enterprises in different industries, do not work in any common relations of production with each other. A part of their bargaining strength in the exchange with capital rests upon their collective power to limit entry into their craft. Technical progress has always been used by capital to erode the need for that craft. The faster technical progress is, the faster the erosion.

The particular character of the STR is not only its greater speed—not only the faster pace of technological change—but also its faster application to mental labour processes. The privileges enjoyed historically by white-collar occupations have rested upon economic and social barriers to the acquisition of mental skills. In industrially developed capitalism, however, elementary literacy and numeracy long ago became almost universal through state-provided education.

The same state provision has been responsible for raising the number of students in higher education in Britain five-fold since 1938, and more than double since 1960. While democratic pressures have played a part, the main cause is capitalism's need for more highly qualified labour-power. The income differential for routine clerical work over skilled manual labour long ago moved from positive to negative; more recently that for workers with higher education has fallen.

At the same time, not only has the concentration of labour in large enterprises continued to rise, but the growing introduction of the STR has itself had two effects. On the one hand, it has considerably increased the proportion of 'mental' workers in material production. The categories of administrative, clerical and technical have grown from 20 per cent to more than 40 per cent of all workers over the last 30 years in such branches as instrument and electrical engineering, and chemicals, and only slightly less rapidly in many other branches. On the other hand, it has united mental and physical labour not only to a larger extent within the individual worker, but also in a 'collective labourer',² combining mental and physical workers with large and expensive integrated systems of instruments of production which simultaneously process information and transform materials.

Thus, to see the quantitative increase in white-collar workers without understanding the qualitative changes in the socio-economic conditions under which they work has nothing in common with Marxism. Some researchers,³ however, have seen in the growth of white-collar supervisors, planners, and coordinators of production a 'new petty bourgeoisie' based not on petty property ownership but on a

privileged role as controllers of exploitation and, therefore, as agents of capital. The implication is that the working class is contracting and that problems of alliances with the 'new class' replace problems of working class unity.

It must be noted however, that a similar trend towards the collective labourer and a rise in the proportion of qualified workers of this type is universally recognised in socialist economies also, which suggests that they are the product of a new division of labour, and are a techno-economic phenomenon. Moreover, any past privileges received under capitalism by such workers for minor degrees of 'control on behalf of capital' are rapidly diminishing. Nor are their income differentials reinforced, as are those of top management, by a share in profits and in capital ownership. ⁴What kind of 'new class' is that?

The second argument concerns the supposed emergence of the 'service economy'. Now the uneven development of sectors is so normal to capitalism that the service sector can attract attention only because it has special features. One feature is that its share of employment has grown faster than its share of output, implying a lower labour productivity based on a lower capital intensiveness. Second, and consequently, escape to petty-commodity production is more possible, and, because the concentration of labour is low, workers are harder to organise. Third, a higher proportion of workers perform mental labour historically associated with privileged income and status. Fourth, a high proportion are employees of the state. If they believe that their employers 'represent the community' they will not see their bargaining as directed against capital, will not struggle as hard, and will learn much slower.

For these reasons, the working class here is held to be more backward. If its share in the labour force grows, it will drag down the average level of consciousness of the working class as a whole.

We reject this thesis. Its first argument is false on two counts. On the one hand, it exaggerates the existing size of the service economy, because it fails to notice that under the STR the concept of the collective labourer applies not only within enterprises, but between sectors. The sector of material production not only embraces an increasing proportion of 'trade' (as internal transfers within transnational corporations replace commodity sales) but—more fundamental—embrace many firms engaged in design, research, consultancy and information-processing, which official statistics include under 'services', as they wrongly include also the repair of the growing stock of consumer durables.⁵

On the other hand, it forgets that it is precisely in the sphere of mental labour—various levels of information-processing—that the STR will have the biggest impact. Clerical labour is most immediately ripe, but technical design, education and medicine (the last two easily the faster growing 'service sectors' in Britain in the last decades) are beginning to be affected. This reinforces our previous argument that formerly privileged occupations are particularly vulnerable.

As to the lower levels of labour concentration within services, the picture is changing. The share of the 108 largest firms in total employment in retail distribution in 1980 was 37 per cent, identical with that in manufacturing in 1976, though still with 200,000 firms employing an average of three workers.⁶

Finally, the state's behaviour as an employer, and in particular its deliberate use of state-sector wages to level downwards wages in the private sector, exactly reverses the historical privileges of workers in the state sector, and begins to destroy illusions about the state's class neutrality.

Workers have worked in privileged occupations, for privileged monopoly firms or sectors. The first is increasingly vulnerable. But might not the increasing concentration of capital reinforce the second and third? No, the opposite is true. First, because the internationalisation of economic life under transnational corporations and state-monopoly forms of integration increases the mobility of

capital, weakens local privileged groups of workers, and opens national markets to import penetration. For Britain, this—and not any internal investment embodying the STR (for there has so far been little)—has been overwhelmingly the cause of the 25-per-cent reduction in employment in manufacturing since June 1979.

Moreover, the uneven application of the STR between countries makes monopoly privilege for particular state-monopoly capitalisms more unstable. The relatively faster decay of British imperialism within imperialism as a whole has led the British ruling class to make a pre-emptive strike against the whole working class, for immediate economic reasons, to be sure, but much more in order to stifle in embryo the new socialist tendencies of the later 1970s, marked especially by the Alternative Strategy of the left. This trend reflected the new phenomenon of *imperialism in acute crisis, where long-established reforms can be defended only by entering on a path of revolutionary democratic offensive against state-monopoly capital*.

These economic developments strengthen the objective conditions for homogeneity of the working class, already 90 per cent of the economically active population.

But the power of the new productive forces of the STR threaten all workers' environment, while the new methods of information-processing strengthen anti-democratic weapons in the hands of reaction. Last, but far from least, the nuclear threat obliterates all distinctions. The convergence of the interests of all workers in peace is absolute.

Changes in the objective conditions of the working class do not automatically change its consciousness and level of organisation. But they form the opportunities and constraints within which it struggles and so transform its former ideas and organisations.

Not only was there a general attack on workers' real earnings since the late 1960s, but 'white-collar workers were particularly hard hit. As a result of a series of (state-imposed—*R.B.*) incomes-policies the white collar/manual earnings differential was severely squeezed. The tax system caused an even greater erosion . . . particularly for higher-paid white-collar workers. (This) encouraged large numbers of workers particularly in white-collar jobs to unionise in an attempt to defend or improve their standard of living.'⁷ The trends in trade-union density (the percentage of unionised workers) shows this very clearly both for this period and over a longer one since the Second World War.

Between 1948 and 1979, white-collar employment rose from 30 per cent to 50 per cent of all employment. Trade-union density rose by only a quarter among manual workers (to 63 per cent), among white-collar workers it rose by a third (to 44 per cent). Over this period, when women's employment also grew rapidly, trade-union density among women grew by nearly two-thirds, but among men by only 14.4 per cent. Over the shorter period of 1968-1979, there was a spectacular increase (from 15.4 to 43.7 per cent) in the trade-union density among white-collar workers in manufacturing industry.

If there is anything in the current assertion that 'the growing isolation of the trade unions from the people was the cause of Labour's 1979 defeat', it is hard to explain why, in the previous five years from 1974 trade unions should have gained 1.5 million new members, 600,000 of them women. By 1979, almost 13.5 million workers (55.4 per cent of all workers) were in trade unions, the overwhelming majority under a single trade union centre.

It has also become fashionable to suggest that this growth is nothing but the growth of sectionalism, and to repeat, without thought of the different national and historical contexts, some strictures from the Marxist classics on 'trade-union consciousness'. Of course, trade unions can never be a full substitute for political parties, but today they cannot fail to be engaged in politics, and not only in 'trade-union politics'. Trade unions now increasingly intervene in capital-labour relations, including those

involving the state as an employer of 25 per cent of the whole working class.

For a long time many trade unions have had on their banners demands for a socialist economy. This, however, should not be interpreted to mean that all trade unionists, or even the majority were committed socialists. It does mean, however, that many activists were. The Alternative Strategy of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) was the beginning of a real attempt to defend reforms in a context where they can be defended only by radical structural change. The adoption of the Alternative Strategy was the culmination of a fairly prolonged ideological and agitational campaign by Communist and Labour and non-party activists working together and cooperating in what has become known as the 'broad-left'. Today the working class lives not in a feather-bedded world of expanding imperialism, but in the decaying and desperate imperialism, which is prepared to take the most extreme and desperate action to save itself.

Finally, the working class fights over issues which are directly class issues, as well as many which by their nature involve many strata and even sections of the middle and capitalist class, because they degrade the environment, material and spiritual, of the whole people, above all over the issue which is immediately political, nuclear war.

There is no one-to-one correspondence between voting behaviour and political consciousness. Just as a high vote for Labour in 1951 did not imply a high level of political consciousness, so a low vote in 1979 and 1983 does not imply a fall to a low level, though it would be wrong to underestimate the problem that is presents.

First, political consciousness has an extra-parliamentary aspect whose development is the vital condition of development of all the other aspects. Not for the first time when disillusioned by the behaviour of reformist parliamentary leaders and governments, and not yet strong enough to win decisively the inner-labour movement struggles for democracy and progress, militant trade unions have taken on a syndicalist anti-parliamentary tinge. It is wrong to see only the reduced electoral vote, and not the class consciousness which, however confusedly, underlies it.

Second, the high vote of 1951 should not be seen as some golden age from which all subsequent development is a decline. The labour policies of 1951 were for the US alliance, the diplomacy of the atom-bomb monopoly, cold war hysteria in society and within the Labour movement, and wage restraint and cuts in the social services to pay for rearmament. In 1983, the US role in the world was regarded with deep suspicion and nuclear disarmament became official labour policy. Illusions about full employment capitalism are gone. The struggle against privatisation of nationalised industries is fought not defensively, but from a new perspective of democracy. The Alternative Strategy, for all its weaknesses and hesitations, marks a break with the past, not only because it is more integrated and realistic than the previous Labour programmes, but because it is posed in a context of much more advanced decay of imperialism, which leaves the ruling class much less room for manoeuvre. The historical roots of the split in the British Labour movement, and of its domination by reformism, are weakened. Shifts in consciousness are not automatic, but there are signs that they have begun.

In Britain, any mass movement for progress must consist overwhelmingly of workers. But only half are organised in trade unions, a fewer still have achieved higher levels of consciousness. Growing adherence to trade unions reflects growing convergence of interests. But the fastest growth of recruits is among those who till recently had a long history of struggle. Among them, too, some of the most articulate retain less-defined class positions. Which sections of the working class will be most responsive to scientific socialism concretely developed to meet their problems? Which sections will be most active in struggle for a democratic transformation of society?

The required capabilities mature most fully among workers in large-scale production. That is because these workers work where the social character of

production and the concentration of capital (including state capital) are greatest. From the struggle here, where the basic contradiction of capitalism is at its most profound, they acquire special traits.

First, they work—on the one hand—where capitalist planning at the level of giant individual enterprises constitute something like a step towards socialism. On the other, they are best placed to see that it is state-monopoly capitalist ownership and control that prevents this planning from being extended to the national plane and employ it for the whole of society. Second, within the broadly defined working class (all wage workers who perform surplus-labour for capital, including the capitalist state, and are therefore exploited) a special place has frequently been claimed for 'productive workers', in the sense used by Adam Smith and by Marx at the stage where he is defining productive labour in the abstract, namely workers in the sphere of material production.⁸

Yet, when developing the definition concretely for the capitalist society, Marx unambiguously included in productive labour all workers who produce surplus-value for capital, in any sphere whatsoever. The apparent contradiction (often supposed insoluble) can be resolved by reflecting in thought the essential new features of capitalism: maximum *accumulation* out of surplus-product, its material content being means of production embodying technical progress. Only *material* products can be *accumulated*.

The material products which occupy the decisive place in capitalism's function of developing the productive forces are those produced in Department I (above all the instruments of production). The workers there have therefore a special place as bearers of the future. Yet Department I is also the most volatile and unstable sector of capitalist production. Its workers feel the sharpest effects of the cyclical collapse, or the retardation of investments, produced by the basic contradiction of capitalism at its imperialist stage of development, and are most immediately affected by exploitation.

Large-scale enterprises concentrate, face to face with capital, a complex of different crafts, sexes and ages, which begins to reflect in miniature the diversity of the whole working class. To build here a concentration of working class forces capable of confronting the power of big capital has involved the longest and deepest experience of any section of workers in overcoming sectionalism and putting the long-term interests of the class as a whole before the immediate interests of its sections. And because in recent times these capitalist giants are also transnational corporations, their workers have the greatest experience of building international solidarity.

Finally, the capacity of these workers to withdraw decisive sections of labour-power from the production of capitalist profit has given the strongest confidence in their own organised power. And, because that power has constituted the biggest threat to the capitalist class as a whole, big capital has always brought to bear against these workers the concentrated force of its ideological and political weapons. On their side the workers have come to realise in such circumstances the need not only to achieve the unity of the working class an actively fighting for such unity, but are also more and more realising the necessity of winning the support of and forming alliance with other strata of the community, organised and unorganised, struggling against discrimination and injustices of the society they live in and on the basis of mutual solidarity forging broad democratic alliances.

With the growing concentration of capital in new fields and with the further decay of imperialism, new sections of workers begin to move into similar positions. The unity in action with the older sections is the best guarantee that they will acquire the long heritage of experience, and add their own new pages to it.

In stressing the growing objective homogeneity of interests within the working class against those who dispute it, we must not ignore the problems of unity that stem

from the existing diversity, and from the new—if secondary—differences that will result from the application of the STR in Britain. The most pressing seem to be the following.

First, how to find the demands and forms of struggle which will unite the employed and the jobless, especially those who have never had a job. Starting from long experience of job-sharing as a tactic to preserve trade union workplace organisation in short spells of unemployment, there have appeared morally high-sounding proposals to extend job-sharing to the long-term, combining 'increased leisure' with cuts in real wages. This is entirely different from the progressive demand for shorter working time, based on jobs for all and rising real wages.

Some modest successes have been achieved in breaking down the macro-policies of the Alternative Strategy into concrete, detailed proposals which can unite organised workers (in the first place) from different industries and localities, and give a perspective of hope and struggle to the unemployed. But finding the organisational forms of mobilising the latter has so far proved less successful.

The application of the STR in a framework dominated by transnational corporations and state-monopoly capital integration gives new intensity to old problems on an international scale as well. The first aspect of the working class response is to find ways of uniting the working class of different countries in different forms and levels of struggle against monopoly capital's attempts to divide them. The spheres and levels which need to be integrated are international trade union solidarity, national political struggles for curbing and nationalising the transnational corporations, and for a new international economic order in which the progressive forces begin to play the leading role. But the struggle for integration must take account not only of the uneven development among the capitalists but also of that between the working class movement of different countries. New forms of international cooperation between unionised labour and trade unions of capitalist and socialist countries need urgent exploration.

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The propositions and emphases in this article will not command universal agreement, and further theoretical discussion and exchanges of views on changes in the conditions of the working class and the state of the working class movement are required to test their validity and develop them.

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, pp. 714-715.

² See *ibid.*, p. 419.

³ See, for instance, N. Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, London, 1975.

⁴ See, R. Price, G. Bain, 'Union Growth in Britain: Retrospect and Prospect', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, March 1983, p. 56.

⁵ See J. I. Gershuny, I. D. Miles, *The New Service Economy*, London, 1983 (Written from a non-Marxist viewpoint, the authors examine very closely, and reject, the exaggerated picture of the disappearing material sector, so familiar from Daniel Bell and others.)

⁶ See *Census of Distribution, 1980*, HMSO, London; S. J. Prais, *The Evolution of Giant Firms in Britain*, London 1981, p. XVI.

⁷ R. Price, G. Bain. *Op.cit.*, p. 56.

⁸ See Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp. 155-157.

viewpoints

White House Versus Working America

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NOVEMBER 6, 1984 is election day in the United States. On that day the voters will either oust the Reagan Administration or continue it in office for another four years. The decision of the voters will profoundly affect the foreign and domestic policies of the nation for many years to come.

The Communist Party, USA, has characterised the Reagan Administration as one of the most warlike, anti-working class, and racist administrations in the country's entire history. Reagan's domestic policies have destroyed or gravely impaired every economic reform won in bitter struggle over the past 50 years. His Administration has callously reversed the forward movement to eliminate discrimination against Afro-Americans as well as other racially and specially oppressed peoples, and against women of all races. Reagan's trigger-happy foreign policies have spawned numerous military confrontations. His paranoid anti-communism and anti-Sovietism have brought the world to the very brink of a nuclear holocaust.

In a determined effort to bring about a 180-degree turn in both domestic and foreign policies, the 23rd Convention of the CPUSA called for an 'All-People's Front to Defeat Reagan, Reaganism and Reaganomics'. It is instructive to examine the electoral role of the US trade unions within that context.

The 1983 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) voted to endorse former Vice President Walter F. Mondale in the presidential primary elections of the Democratic Party. Primary elections are important preliminaries to the final selection of the party's candidate at its June Convention. Reagan is running unopposed in the Republican Party. The number of Democratic candidates has now dropped to three: Mondale, Senator Gary Hart of Colorado, and the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, prominent Afro-American civil rights leader.

Break with an Obsolete Tradition

The AFL-CIO decision to become directly involved in the selection of candidates is a positive development. It ushers in a break with the discredited policy of 'reward your friends and punish your enemies' in force since the closing years of the 19th century. This posture permitted the two bourgeois parties to select candidates, leaving the trade unions the option of choosing the 'lesser evil'. But now an AFL-CIO forum had opted for Mondale at an early stage of the primary elections. Mondale is a conservative bourgeois leader, yet the decision of the AFL-CIO to endorse him has been angrily denounced in the bourgeois press. The monopoly-owned and controlled mass media have been unable to conceal their outrage that an organisation of workers would dare enter the process of selecting presidential candidates. National leaders of the Democratic Party and party leaders in various cities and states are not happy either. They consider the AFL-CIO action to be interference. A number of Democratic party bosses have made it quite clear that it is their prerogative to select the candidate.

The national headquarters of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C., and central labour councils in the various states and cities are the centers of labor's political activity. The unions have set up their own election apparatus. The entire membership

has been put on computer tapes for quick access. Political material is mailed to the membership on union letterheads. The labor organisations have their own phone banks through which to mobilise their members. The unions are conducting their own campaigns to register workers so they will be eligible to vote in November. In a number of areas organised labor and the Afro-American communities have conducted joint voter registration drives.

The ruling class is concerned that even this minimal exhibition of political independence on the part of the trade unions could lead to a break with the two-party system of Big Business. The USA and apartheid South Africa are virtually alone among the developed capitalist countries in lacking a mass political party with a working class base.

The new level of AFL-CIO involvement in the electoral process is due to a number of factors: anti-labor policies of the Reagan Administration; the steep decline of living standards during the economic crisis; the long series of political repressions and anti-labor legislation; rank-and-file anger at the treachery of many elected officials who won office with the support of the trade unions.

Eight years ago the voters mobilised by the trade unions and the Afro-American communities were the decisive factor in the election of Jimmy Carter to the presidency. Carter, a self-proclaimed 'friend of labor', won handily over President Ford. A Democratic Congress led by more 'friends of labor' was swept into office. Organised labor was elated. But hope quickly turned to disappointment, as legislation calling for modest improvements in laws affecting labor went down to ignominious defeat. The 'friends of labor' proved to be better friends of the corporations, banks, and insurance companies. Tax increases, a rise in military spending, and cuts in social welfare programs began to take place. In disillusionment and disgust, workers turned away from the Carter Administration despite the latter's half-hearted endorsement by the AFL-CIO.

In the 1980 elections nearly half the eligible voters stayed home. Ronald Reagan slipped into office with only 27 per cent of the eligible vote. Carter drew 22.5 per cent, and John Anderson, an independent candidate, about 4 per cent.

Reagan garnered only half the votes cast but the bourgeois press exuberantly hailed his election as a 'mandate' for his reactionary policies. The new president immediately launched a massive attack on all social legislation. A pliant Congress went along with barely a murmur. An exception was the Congressional Black Caucus consisting of Afro-American members of the House of Representatives. Congress also ratified Reagan's demand for an enormous increase in the military budget. Tax laws were drastically altered to benefit the big corporations and the very wealthy at the expense of working people and the lower middle class.

The Republican Administration promptly joined the corporations in vicious attacks on the trade unions. One of Reagan's first acts was to force a strike on the Air Traffic Controllers Union. Next he ordered Air Force personnel to replace the strikers. Then he used anti-picketing court injunctions and mass arrests to crush the strike. Finally, he outlawed the union and sent a number of its leaders to prison.

Reagan ruthlessly resorted to administrative measures to abort long-established trade union rights. The US Department of Labor is now run by one of his big business cronies and fund raisers. The National Labor Relations Board was designed to give some protection to labor's right to organise and bargain collectively. Now packed with Reagan appointees, it has legitimised every possible form of anti-union activity by the corporations.

The Reaganized Supreme Court has joined the all-out drive to wreck the unions. Their most recent decision allows any company, no matter how profitable, the right to file for bankruptcy. Without even waiting to file papers, that company can immediately and arbitrarily abrogate trade union agreements, cut wages in half, and eliminate vacations, pensions rights, and other benefits. The highly profitable

Continental Airlines has done just that, and others are in line to follow.

Not to be outdone, the Pentagon has openly joined the union-busting offensive. A component part of the military-industrial complex, the generals are urging military contractors to cut wages. 'We are willing to take strikes,' says the Pentagon.

Several years ago top corporate executives created the Committee for a Union-Free Environment. Under its guidance, a billion dollars union-busting industry has been created. The rights of workers to freely form trade unions and bargain collectively are under savage attack. Violence against strikers is growing in intensity and is spreading. More companies are calling in the police to disperse pickets demanding the preservation of jobs.

The year-long strike of the Phelps-Dodge copper miners, the national strike of the Greyhound bus drivers, and many other militant strike struggles give proof of the willingness of workers to stand up for their rights and fight for their unions.

Unions have stiffened their opposition to further demands for concessions. The corporations have shifted tactics as a result. They have begun demanding that unions sign contracts providing permanently lower wages for newly-hired workers or those returning from long lay-offs. Without question, this will create a dangerous split in the working class if allowed to take hold.

Effects of the Crisis

The reactionary policies of the Reagan Administration have aggravated the impact of the economic crisis on the working class. The destruction of social programs designed to provide some protection for unemployed and low-paid workers has resulted in bitter suffering. Homeless people in the hundreds of thousands wander the streets seeking food and shelter. Millions of the unemployed roam the country in search of non-existent jobs. Mills and factories continue to close. Meanwhile, Reagan's policies have succeeded in fattening the profits of the big corporations. In auto, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler alone made \$6.5 billion in profits in 1983 and expect to make another \$10 billion in 1984.

Yet, the Administration would like us to believe that Reagan's regressive policies have brought an end to the crisis. Nothing could be farther from the truth. There has been a fragile upturn in the cyclical crisis. But Reagan's own economists speculate as to whether it will last into the November elections.

The USA remains ensnared in a three-pronged economic crisis. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, places it as follows: 'It is clear that the lot of our multi-racial, multinational, male and female, young-old working class is a victim of the triple-layered crisis: the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, the spotty nature of the cyclical crisis, and the continuation of the structural crisis.'

Mass unemployment remains a serious threat to US workers. Government statistics show that 9,300,000 workers—8.2 per cent of the workforce—were jobless in December 1983. Labor economists claim the correct count is nearer 14 million. Included in the figure are approximately three million long-term jobless, who have become too discouraged to look for jobs. The government no longer counts them as unemployed. When the six million workers forced to take part-time work are included, the number of unemployed reaches a total of 20 million.

In 1983, 30 million workers were jobless at some time during the year for an average of 20 weeks. Many workers who have permanently lost higher paying jobs in steel, auto, mining, and other basic industries had been forced to seek employment on jobs barely paying minimum wages.

Several industries have benefited from an upturn in sales. But instead of hiring laid off workers, they demand that the existing workforce work overtime—10 and 12 hours a day, six and seven days a week—under threat of discharge. Fewer workers and longer hours create greater profit. Strikes are challenging this corporate scheme.

Recent figures released by the AFL-CIO show the impact of the economic crisis

and Reagan's reactionary policies on workers: 11 million families have lost medical and hospital protection; 494,000 families have lost their homes through bank foreclosures; 73,000 small businesses have been forced into bankruptcy; tens of thousands of farm families have been driven from the land; abject poverty is the lot of 15 per cent of the population; there has been a 28 per cent cut in child nutrition programs; 900,000 children of poor families have been denied low-priced school breakfasts; funds to aid the unemployed and very low-paid have been cut by \$27 billion; funds for health care programs have been cut by \$18.5 billion; funds for education have been cut by \$13.7 billion; funds for job programs have been cut by \$25 billion; and social security and other retirement benefits have been cut by \$26 billion. The total cut by Reagan from programs to help needy people in the last three years has amounted to \$110.2 billion.

In May 1983 President William W. Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and Vice President of the AFL-CIO bitterly attacked the Reagan Administration in a speech to the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. In his speech he listed the results of a study comparing living standards in the USA with a number of other leading capitalist countries. He said that under Reagan the USA ranks last in annual economic growth per employed worker; in the proportion of unemployed people covered by unemployment insurance; in unemployment compensation benefits as a percentage of annual earnings; in welfare expenditures as a percentage of annual earnings; in welfare expenditures as a percentage of the gross national product; in average paid vacation; in life expectancy at birth; the USA has the highest mortality rate among 18 nations; the USA has the most unequal distribution of wealth.

The deplorable economic condition of Afro-Americans has been aggravated by the racist policies of the Reagan Administration. A slight upturn in the economy left the unemployment rate in the Afro-American community unchanged at 17 per cent. Among Afro-American youth it remains at an intolerable rate of 50 per cent and more. In the cities of New York, Baltimore, and Gary, for instance, it is as high as 80 per cent. Many never had a paying job. Afro-Americans have been very hard hit by permanent mass lay-offs. Afro-American families have been hardest hit by cuts in social programs because they make up a disproportionate percentage of the nation's needy families as a result of racist oppression.

The AFL-CIO has joined with the Afro-American community in protests against gutting civil rights legislation by the Administration. Federal programs designed to reverse long-standing racist and discriminatory hiring practices have been stalled. Legislation designed to protect the voting rights of Afro-Americans goes unenforced. Racial segregation is again on the increase in the public schools. The Federal Civil Rights Commission, established to oversee the enforcement of civil rights laws, has been packed with Reagan appointees who have sabotaged its purpose.

Top Officials' Policies

There is unity in the AFL-CIO Executive Council in opposition to the Administration's domestic policies. On foreign policy there are sharp differences.

Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO President, is fully as paranoid as Ronald Reagan in his anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Right in the midst of the campaign to defeat Reagan, Kirkland accepted his appointment to a commission on Central America headed by Henry Kissinger. The only role of this commission was to bolster Reagan's faltering policies in Central America.

The AFL-CIO top officials continue to support all policies of US imperialism around the world. They support the State Department's denial of entry visas to trade unionists from socialist countries. They do everything possible to discourage fraternal trade union relations with progressive-led unions in any country. Hard-core anti-communism right-wing Social Democrats have been placed in strategic posts,

including the leadership of the AFL-CIO's International Department. AFL-CIO officials often cooperate with the Federal Bureau of investigation in attacks on left and progressive trade unionists and on progressive, labor-orientated organisations in the USA.

Yet, the top leadership of the AFL-CIO dare not ignore the deep peace sentiment in the ranks and in the union's Executive Council itself. Trade unionists recognise the relationship between the bloated military budget and the sharp decline in their living standards. Most workers are deeply concerned about the danger of a nuclear war. They do not see war as a solution to the problem of jobs. National opinion polls show that support for the nuclear arms freeze is highest in the working class communities—over 70 per cent.

It is getting more difficult for top AFL-CIO officials to openly support the policies of US imperialism as workers learn that the real beneficiaries are the US transnational corporations. In the name of fighting 'foreign competition', these corporations demand that the US workers agree to wage cuts and other concessions, otherwise threatening to shut down and move overseas.

The deep desire for peace in the ranks of the workers finds a reflection at every level of the trade union movement. National unions representing over half the membership of the AFL-CIO have endorsed a verifiable nuclear freeze between the USA and the USSR. This is also the posture of unaffiliated unions and of a growing number of AFL-CIO Central Labor Councils. At the recent AFL-CIO Convention an anti-nuclear war resolution was strengthened to read in part, 'The majority of our members, as do the majority of the American people, support the nuclear freeze'.

In the face of top AFL-CIO opposition, important unions have sent fraternal delegations to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Wishing to reciprocate, they have been critical of the refusal of the State Department to grant visas that would make this possible. When trade unionists from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries do manage to break through the US iron curtain they invariably receive a warm reception in trade union circles.

Kirkland's statements reflect the conflict over foreign policy in his organisation. At a recent press conference he declared support for the 'continued strengthening of America's defense capacities', but went on to add, 'We, of course, favor negotiations looking toward a verifiable and effective reduction in nuclear arms—that's been our constant position.' Then he continued, 'We advocated ratification of SALT-II. This Administration has opposed that and has failed to offer any more constructive approach to genuine efforts to negotiate reductions in nuclear arms.' This is the same Kirkland who only a few years ago chaired the committee on the Present Danger composed of right-wing elements, including Reagan. Its express purpose was to prevent the ratification of SALT-II and wreck the process of detente then in progress between the USA and the USSR.

Along with economic issues, peace loomed as a big issue in the Democratic primary elections. Mondale, the Rev. Jackson, and Senator Hart vigorously supported the demand for a nuclear freeze. All favored negotiations between the USA and the USSR for an end to the arms race. All opposed building the MX missile and the B-1 bomber. All were critical of Reagan's policies in Lebanon and, to one degree or another, his policies in Central America.

In an attempt to cover up his foreign policy blunders Reagan has made a sharp attack on Democratic Party leaders in Congress. Reagan would like to shift the blame for his failures in this area on to Congress. In a sharp response, Thomas O'Neil, Democratic leader of the House of Representatives, charged that 'Mr. Reagan has no personal credibility'. In the same vein, O'Neil continued, 'I regard Ronald Reagan as the most dangerous president in the nuclear age,' in explaining his refusal to back Reagan's military buildup and other policies. Only a year or so ago Congressman O'Neil was helping put over Reagan's program.

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson has played an outstanding role in the Democratic primary elections. His forthright statements on peace, economic questions, and against racism electrified the nation. His straightforward attacks on the Reagan Administration won him overwhelming support in the Afro-American communities and among many white voters. His campaign stirred a large number of Afro-Americans and Hispanics to register to vote, who previously felt left out of the electoral process. Whilst never expecting to win the nomination, the Rev. Jackson has become an outstanding national personality. He took the anti-Reagan campaign to much higher levels than either of the other democratic candidates. As a result of his candidacy, the Afro-American vote may become a dramatic factor to defeat Reagan in November.

The present shift on electoral activity is related to the new mood of militancy beginning to develop in the ranks of the workers. Solidarity Day in September 1981 was the first big break with the old policies of 'wheeling and dealing' at the top. On the day the AFL-CIO took the lead in organising a massive march of over 500,000 in Washington, D.C., under the slogan 'Jobs and Justice'. In the line of march were members of the AFL-CIO and independent unions, a huge contingent from the Afro-American and Hispanic communities, organisations of Native American Indians, women's organisations, youth, environmentalists, and sections of the peace movement. All were united in opposition to the racist and reactionary policies of the Reagan Administration.

Solidarity Day was followed by hundreds of mass demonstrations in major cities and state capitals across the country. Election Day, 1982, was declared Solidarity Day No. 2. The trade unions entered their own candidates for the purpose of defeating Democratic members of Congress who had supported Reagan. As a result, a number of Reagan's Congressional supporters failed to win re-election.

There is a growing desire for political independence among workers. Some union leaders responding to this, particularly the centre forces, favor a political party fashioned after the social democratic party of Sweden or West Germany. Others advocate an anti-monopoly coalition led by organised labor that would include as full partners the Afro-American community and other components of a Solidarity Day type formation.

The Communist Party, USA, is vigorously involved in the election campaign. Gus Hall and Angela Davis are its presidential and vice presidential candidates. Its election program is receiving a warm reception among workers as it sharply raises issues around which there is the greatest concern. A signal contribution is being made by the party in these elections. It is exposing the anti-Soviet lies which Reagan has used round which to build a 'communist menace'. Anti-communism is the foundation he uses to justify both his domestic and foreign policies.

Many things can happen between now and election day. The ruling class is overwhelmingly in support of an Administration under which they have reaped vast profits. Millions of dollars are pouring in to finance the Reagan election campaign. Reagan has powerful support in high places. But he is not invincible. The mass movement against his domestic and foreign policies is mounting.

Nicaragua under the Sandinist Banner

Francisco Maura – Latin American analyst

THIS year the Nicaraguans are observing two closely interconnected anniversaries: the fifth anniversary of the victory of the revolution, a turning point in the destiny of their country, and the 50th anniversary of the death of their great son Augusto Cesar Sandino, a patriot and anti-imperialist affectionately called for Free Men's General and the Father of the Revolution. His name is also borne by the National Liberation Front, which in the sixties and seventies assumed the leadership of the people's fight against the Somoza dictatorship.

Looking back at the road travelled by Nicaragua since July 19, 1979, or the day when the tyranny was overthrown, we recall Marx's description of revolution as '*the locomotives of history*'. Striking changes occurred in the Nicaraguans' life in a brief period. We can now see how very far away the 'locomotive of history' has taken Nicaragua from the bloody tyranny which stayed in power for more than 40 years with the aid of US imperialism.¹

The Nicaraguan people are celebrating the fifth anniversary of freedom in a most difficult situation. The republic is the object of continuous subversion, blackmail and threats on the part of internal and external enemies. Washington is virtually waging an undeclared war against it through mercenaries trained and equipped by the USA. And now there is a real danger of direct armed intervention by the USA as a means of reversing the trend of development and doing away with the achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution. The aggressor's schemes come up against the unity and vigilance of the masses, of all patriots, who are prepared to defend the honour and independence of their country and the people's power and who enjoy the sympathy and support of progressive humanity.

People's Rule

The Nicaraguan revolution is a popular, democratic and anti-imperialist revolution accomplished by the overwhelming majority of the nation. The chief programme goal of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF)—establishing a system of true justice and social progress—meets the fundamental interests of the people. A key activity of the new leadership of the country consists, therefore, in shaping the foundations for a political structure that would make it possible to attain this goal.

Several decrees were made public at a huge rally in Managua on July 20, 1979. They abolished the Constitution in force under the dictator, dissolved the puppet Congress and Supreme Court, and liquidated the National Guard and other echelons of the repressive apparatus. The destruction of the state machinery of exploitation went hand in hand with the establishment of democratic central and local government bodies.

A revolution must be able to defend itself, which also implies the use of armed force. The SNLF leaders know this well. 'We consider,' wrote Humberto Ortega, member of the SNLF National Leadership, 'that the organised people must continue playing the chief role in our concept of defence, for no one can take the place of this great army, the masses, who have won power and have a government and a state.'²

This concept materialised in the Sandinist Defence Committees, which sprang up during the struggle against the dictatorship and are a vivid example of the working people's creativity. The Committees hold a place of their own in the new political structure. They are, in fact, primary components of people's power and at the same time the largest organisation of workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, office employees, students, clergymen and others, or practically the whole adult

population. Committee members take part in literacy campaigns and the struggle against saboteurs, terrorists and other criminals, guard industrial and agricultural enterprises and patrol residential neighbourhoods. They also do a great deal of political work by spelling out the aims and tasks of the SNLF.

Along with this there is an integrated system of armed defence of the gains of the revolution. Its core is the regular Sandinist People's Army, formed in a short time on the basis of insurgent units. The system includes the Sandinist People's Militia, the volunteer corps and other forces.

Nicaragua today is characterised by the participation of numerous believers and members of the lower clergy in the construction of a free life. The tradition of Catholic-Sandinist cooperation dating from the period of struggle against the tyranny is this being carried forward. Despite attempts by enemies of the revolution to drive a wedge between the SNLF and the church, the present government includes Miguel D'Escoto, Ernesto Cardenal and Edgardo Parrales, ordained priests, while Fernando Cardenal, a Jesuit priest, is one of the leaders of the July 19 Sandinist Youth organisation.

The new state is reliably supported by the Sandinist Workers' Centre and the Association of Rural Workers, which are actively implementing the strategy of the SNLF. Their effort is an embodiment of the ideas of worker-peasant alliance, seen by the Front leadership as guaranteeing the irreversibility of changes. While these trade union organisations do not encompass all working people, they are gradually becoming a school for management and education. 'The historical mission of the trade unions,' said Luis Carrión, member of the SNLF National Leadership, speaking to a May Day rally in 1981, 'is not merely to bring about this or that improvement but, above all, to train tens of thousands of workers for the construction of the new society.'³

In democratising public life, the government guarantees ideologically and politically different groups and associations freedom of operation provided they are not anti-popular and counter-revolutionary. Furthermore, it draws broad social forces into decision-making on the most diverse problems. This is particularly evident in the case of the State Council, an important power institution at the current stage of the revolution. The Council was set up in May 1980 as a provisional legislative body. It comprises members of diverse parties, trade unions, women's, youth and other associations and the armed forces, employers, intellectuals and Catholic priests. The SNLF and the mass organisations led by it account for 60 per cent of the Council membership—an indication of the Front's leading role in the people's victory. Of the seven parties represented on the State Council, four parties, with the SNLF in the lead, form the Patriotic Front of the Revolution. The rest—the Social Christian, Constitutional Liberal and Social Democratic parties—are in opposition.

The participation of opposition forces in the activity of the State Council and in other socio-political activities as well as their use of their own press, in particular *La Prensa*, a widely read rightist newspaper, and radio stations are proof that political pluralism is a reality in today's Nicaragua.

Almost immediately after the victory of the revolution, its enemies put the emphasis in the ideological struggle on the issue of elections, trying to reduce the entire problem of democracy to it. By contrast, the SNLF leaders formulated a comprehensive concept of democracy and have been actually implementing it. 'Democracy,' says a Front document published in 1980, 'is not merely elections . . . but participation of the people in political, economic, social and cultural affairs. . . . Democracy neither begins, nor ends with elections. . . . It begins in the economic system when social inequalities begin to diminish and when the living standards of the workers and peasants improve. . . . This is where democracy begins.'⁴ As for electing legislative and executive bodies, the Front leadership has repeatedly declared that they will be elected when the conditions are ripe for it.

The decree setting a general election for November 1984 definitively refuted the enemy propaganda allegation that the Sandinists are 'afraid' of free expression of the people's will.

In an effort to mislead public opinion in the 'free world', the imperialists claim that a 'dictatorship' has been reimposed in Nicaragua and that the Sandinists have 'usurped' state power. The question arises: how can a government which distributes all available arms among citizens willing to defend the cause of freedom, independence and democracy be regarded as a 'usurper'? This decision was adopted on July 19, 1983 and has been fully carried out by now, with 1.6 million rifles distributed among the people. Indeed, there were fewer arms than were needed by those who are resolved to defend the gains of the revolution. The arming of the people, said Daniel Ortega, member of the SNLF National Leadership, Coordinator of the Leading Council of the National Reconstruction Government, is 'one of the most admirable manifestations of democracy'.⁵

Reconstruction and Transformation

What is changing in Nicaragua is both the nature of state power and the way of life. The foundations for a new Nicaragua had to be laid in exceedingly difficult conditions. The legacy of the last member of the Somoza clan included deformed structures, economic backwardness and dislocation, poverty, illiteracy and disease.

By the time the Somoza regime was brought down, the external debt had topped 1,600 million dollars (which meant that every Nicaraguan owed 660 dollars) and the National Bank had a meagre 3.5 million dollars in cash left in its safes. During the civil war the dictator, trying to hold power at all costs, ordered the bombing and shelling of vitally important economic centres. As a result, nearly 80 per cent of enterprises were put out of action. Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans were killed and over 800,000 people, or about one-third of the population, found themselves homeless and lacking a livelihood.

All this predetermined the nature of the current stage of the revolution. The state is compelled to combine the implementation of radical social, economic and political changes with economic rehabilitation, a task which has also found an expression in the name of the National Reconstruction Government.

One of the early legislative acts of the new state was the decree nationalising the property of Somoza and his underlings (over 40 per cent of the nation's economic potential) as well as the banks, insurance companies, foreign trade and all natural resources. This destroyed the power of the oligarchy. The confiscated property became public property (called people's property in Nicaragua), which is the chief component of the economic system in the making. There also exists private and cooperative property. Thus the concept of a mixed economy is being put into practice.

The Sandinist leadership's economic strategy is aimed, first of all, at increasing the share of social production in GDP and government investments and at employing a larger workforce in the state sector. Furthermore, its purpose is to introduce effective regulation of the economy and follows a policy of accumulation in order to achieve economic self-reliance for the good of the overwhelming majority of the people. Lastly, it seeks direct participation by citizens in the distribution of material benefits.

A task considered particularly important today is to bring those active in the private sector—patriotic employers who were in opposition to the dictatorial regime—into the national reconstruction effort. Steps are being taken to ensure that reconstruction helps thoroughly reshape the whole social system.

The main line of change in the countryside is determined by the agrarian reform, one of the main achievements of the revolution. There, like in urban areas, the emphasis is on creating social, or people's property. This property is based on the more than one million hectares of cultivable land which were put under state control

after the dictator's flight and had produced over half of the country's sugar and tobacco, one-third of its cotton and nearly one-fourth of its coffee. Nationalisation also covered key factors processing farm produce. State farms were set up on the fertile lands taken away from Somoza and his favourites; they are to become the leading sector of the rural economy. The workers themselves participate directly in the management of these enterprises.

Another part of the confiscated lands plus uncultivated tracts were transferred to land-hungry and landless peasants. The cooperative movement assumed vast proportions; by the middle of 1983 it encompassed 60,000 families⁶. The authorities aid cooperative members with credits, seed, machinery, and so on.

An essential aspect of the agrarian reform law is that it allows private property in land without setting a limit to its size. The reform does not affect owners who are farming efficiently, regularly pay taxes and respect labour laws (they are under obligation to sign collective agreements with those who work on their fields).

The results of the changes carried out in rural Nicaragua to date warrant the conclusion that in the years of the revolution the agrarian structures inherited from the dictatorial regime have undergone irreversible changes.

Impressive results were achieved in the social and cultural spheres. Shortly after the overthrow of the dictatorship, preparations began for a nation-wide literacy campaign. This 'battle for a second liberation', as it is called in Nicaragua, was a milestone in the formation of the new system. On March 23, 1980 tens of thousands of young men and women went to every corner of the country. Their mission was not only to teach people to read and write but to enlist their most active participation in transformations and heighten their political awareness. Six months later the proportion of illiterates had dropped from 50 to 12 per cent. The campaigners did their best to make the action the beginning of a continuous education process. Study groups became a permanent network of general education classes for adults; last year their number stood at 17,000. The fight against ignorance is continuing. Nicaragua is like an immense lecture-hall for students of every age. Its successes in education have earned it a UNESCO prize.

The revolution also tackled the problem of public health. Some diseases were eliminated. In 1982 there was not a single case of polio. Child mortality decreased from 12 to 8.8 per cent. The number of medical aid posts doubled and that of out-patient hospitals increased three-fold.

The new state did much to improve the standard of living in town and countryside, end unemployment and solve the housing problem.

However, the Sandinist leadership makes no secret of the difficulties facing the country. It stresses that reconstruction and transformation are a complicated and protracted process and that success will depend on the extent to which the working people participate in it.

Friends and Foes of the Revolution

The Nicaraguan revolution has numerous friends in Latin America and the world. But it also has bitter enemies. US imperialism is first among them.

Washington, refusing to reconcile itself to the rise of a new Nicaragua, would like to prevent the Nicaraguans from living as they see fit. In a bid to strangle a revolution whose example has its effect on the liberation movement in the region, it has been trying to blockade it economically from the first. This trend is particularly marked under the present US Administration, whose hostile steps include a ban on the delivery of 10,000 tons of wheat purchased by Nicaragua. Taking advantage of its influence in international financial institutions, the United States has vetoed the granting of loans to Nicaragua. It was under US pressure that the Inter-American Development Bank reduced credits for Nicaragua to a minimum, or nearly one-tenth of their former amount since the people came to power. The Reagan government's

decision to cut sugar purchases from Nicaragua by nearly 90 per cent,⁷ which entails an annual loss of 300 million dollars, was one of the biggest acts of economic sabotage.

Nor do Nicaragua's foes confine themselves to financial sanctions but use a wide array of political and military pressures. Originally they calculated on isolating Nicaragua in the region and on the continent but when this failed they pinned their hopes on Somozist scum and traitors, who are fully provided for by the CIA and the Pentagon.

The USA wants its mercenaries to seize if only a patch of Nicaraguan soil, entrench themselves on it and form a 'provisional government' there. After this the 'government' would ask the USA and pro-US regimes of Central America to recognise and help it, which would serve as a pretext for a direct invasion. These plans are miscarrying thanks to the Nicaraguans' vigilance and their ability to beat off recurrent enemy raids.

This is why the counter-revolution led by the USA, without renouncing its main objective, is trying to destabilise and weaken the country's economy by organising acts of terrorism and subversion. Saboteurs destroy factories, cooperative farm buildings and bridges, causing great damage to the Nicaraguan's public and personal property. From March 1982 to February 1984 Washington put up 73 million dollars for the financing of operations which resulted in the death of more than 2,500 Nicaraguans. As for the material damage done by the undeclared war in the same period, it exceeded 200 million dollars.

The United States is cynically pursuing a policy of state terrorism against Nicaragua. The recent period has seen criminal actions involving US secret services, such as the mining of the approaches to Nicaraguan ports, which imperilled freedom of navigation in the area.

US imperialism tried to justify its shameless actions with lies about the 'export of revolution' by Managua. Actually it is the USA that is exporting counter-revolution and has drawn Nicaragua's neighbours, primarily Honduras, into its plans. Aided by the reactionary regime of the Honduran oligarchy, Washington turned that country into a military camp, the chief strongpoint of the Somozists, in a short time. War games code-named Big Pine 2 were held in Honduras together with the Pentagon: they lasted over six months and involved over 20,000 US troops, including Marines.⁸ In April 1984 there began a further large-scale exercise, Grenadero 1, involving troops of several Central American republics. A notable role is now assigned to Costa Rica as well: despite opposition from influential political and social circles in that country, imperialism is gradually turning it into another rallying point for counter-revolutionaries who mount raid after raid on Nicaragua.

While counting on mercenaries and the military of certain countries of the region, Washington does not rule out the possibility of using its own armed forces for an invasion of Nicaragua. Washington has openly declared its aim to be the destruction of the revolutionary gains of Nicaragua because it regards the Sandinist leadership's policy as unacceptable. Never since Hitler's Reich has any government set out so frankly to liquidate the legitimate regime of a sovereign state, nor resorted so barefacedly to blockade, subversive operations, military force and aggression.

The White House is daily building up tensions over Nicaragua. A further illustration of this was Reagan's anti-communist speech on Central America on May 9, 1984. It abounded in vicious and false insinuations and misrepresented the situation in the subregion, virtually signalling a further drastic escalation of imperialist acts of aggression against the national and social liberation forces of the continent.

The peace policy which Nicaragua is pursuing within the non-aligned movement contrasts with that aggressive policy. It is aimed at providing favourable international conditions for changes in the country and meets the national interest, being explicitly

anti-imperialist. The republic advocates lasting world peace, an end to the arms race and the transformation of Latin America into a nuclear-free zone. It is fighting against colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and every form of foreign occupation or interference in the affairs of sovereign states. One indication of this is the comprehensive plan for a political settlement in Central America put forward by the Sandinists on July 19, 1983 and reflecting the aspirations of the peoples of the region.

Nicaragua's constructive approach is winning ever wider recognition in the world. The election of the republic to the UN Security Council as a non-permanent member in 1982 was an unmistakable sign of its increased prestige.

The present foreign policy of the Nicaraguan government may be described as the defensive frontline of the revolution. The principled character and consistency of the SNLF line, which are coupled with flexibility and dynamism, help the country extend the range of its political allies and economic partners and enable it to strengthen its positions. The support which the Sandinists receive from socialist countries and national liberation movements, from all forces of peace and progress, is very important in this context.

The Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist community countries are true and reliable friends of Nicaragua. They render its people great assistance to enable them to free themselves from the grim legacy of the past; their principled line and authoritative voice on the world scene mobilise public opinion in defence of the revolution.

The republic has established business ties with a number of West European countries, especially countries ruled by social democratic parties. Some of these countries aid Nicaragua in the economic and humanitarian spheres in defiance of US pressure. Mutually beneficial cooperation with many Latin American countries on a bilateral or multilateral basis is developing fruitfully.

Special mention should be made of the fact that the Socialist International aided the Sandinists in the struggle against the dictatorship for a number of years. In November 1980 a Committee for the Defence of the Nicaraguan Revolution was set up under its aegis.

The international solidarity movement, including that in the United States itself, makes a substantial contribution by supporting the republic. Rallies, meetings and protest marches take place all over the planet under the slogan ' "No" to imperialist aggression against Nicaragua'. The participants are people of the most diverse political and religious convictions, including Socialists, Liberals, Catholics and Communists. The international conference in Lisbon last May, which was attended by representatives of 72 countries of the globe and over 30 non-governmental organisations grouping hundreds of millions, was a powerful demonstration of sympathy with the struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua and other Central American countries.

Continuity

The 1979 revolution is rightly called Sandinist, for it has been inspired by Sandino's ideas from the outset. Half a century after reaction's heinous assassination of the Free Men's General (February 21, 1934), many of his precepts are a reality in today's Nicaragua. What is the substance of Sandinism, the spiritual legacy left to the Nicaraguan people by their outstanding compatriot?

'I am a patriot allowing no outrage to our sovereignty,' Sandino used to say.⁹ Ardent love of his country, humiliated and dominated for years by the domestic oligarchy and US imperialism, became Sandino's chief trait and a powerful motive power that roused the people to struggle in his lifetime and does so now that the revolution is resisting enemy attacks.

Sandino coupled selfless devotion to his country with irrepressible hatred for its enemies, primarily its US oppressors. Patriotism and anti-imperialism were two

inseparable parts of Sandino's credo understood and cherished by millions of his fellow-citizens and other Central Americans. He constantly exposed the US policy of aggression, which found its 'theoretical' justification in the notorious Monroe Doctrine. "'America for the Americans'—well spoken," Sandino said. "All of us who were born in America are Americans. The mistake made by the imperialists is that they interpret the Monroe Doctrine as meaning 'America for the Yankees'. . . . I reword the phrase as follows: 'The United States of America for the Yankees. Latin America for the Indo-Latins'." ¹⁰

Equally clear and understandable to Sandino's associates was the idea that national dignity must be defended against the greedy 'northern neighbour' by force of arms. Having advanced the slogan 'The people's sovereignty is not discussed but defended arms in hand', Sandino started a guerilla war against the invaders (1927-1933). Years later the same ideals inspired the founders of the SNLF, who placed themselves at the head of a mighty insurrectional movement that swept away the Somoza dictatorship, a US puppet.

An ardent patriot fighting for the liberation of his country, Sandino showed himself to be a staunch internationalist. He was drawn in particular to Simon Bolivar's idea of the need for Latin American unity in the face of the threat from the north. Not accidentally, Sandino's army comprised men from 20 countries of the continent. One of his companions-in-arms was Fababundo Marti, a prominent revolutionary, founder of the Communist Party of El Salvador. 'The frontiers of my country,' Sandino liked to say, 'are Spanish America.' ¹¹ This explains why he saw his greatest duty in helping fraternal republics in their struggle against a common enemy, imperialism, and in relying in turn on their support. Today the achievements of new Nicaragua and the solidarity of all men of goodwill enjoyed by it are a materialisation of his dream.

Sandino was no Communist although imperialist propaganda says he was. But being a consistent democrat who had boundless confidence in the people, he came close to a scientific materialist conception of the main motive forces of the national liberation struggle. '. . . Only the workers and peasants will go all the way,' he said, 'and only their organised strength will triumph.' ¹² These words proved prophetic and served as a guide to his successors.

Ample life experience and a keen class intuition enabled the Free Men's General to draw another, equally important conclusion. '. . . Nicaragua's conservative and liberal political leaders,' he wrote describing the attitude of the ruling quarters of his country, 'are a pack of scoundrels, cowards and traitors incapable of leading a people as patriotic and as courageous as ours. . . . We were forsaken by our political leaders, who allied themselves with the invaders. But we, workers and peasants, put forward leaders from our own midst. . . .' ¹³

Sandino longed for the day when the destiny of his country would come to be shaped by free working people who had taken power into their hands. He considered that the natural resources of the country, its mineral wealth and its factories should become national property and that the land should be transferred to its tillers. He regarded cooperatives as the best form of peasant association. The commune set up by Sandino after the expulsion of the invaders was, in the opinion of the continuators of his cause, a social and political community in which there was no division into 'mine' and 'someone else's', a community in which brotherhood and mutual respect became developed in their most noble manifestations. It was an embryonic form of the new society.

Sandino's name is sacred in present-day Nicaragua. Personifying the continuity of generations, his followers raised the banner of liberation in a different historical context. Carlose Fonseca, outstanding member of a new galaxy of revolutionaries, ideologist, leader and co-founder of the SNLF, who gave his life for the people's freedom while fighting against the Somoza dictatorship, wrote that Sandino had

become 'a symbol of the age-long struggle of the peoples of Latin America against US imperialism'.¹⁴

Speaking to his associates, Fonseca insisted that one cannot become a real revolutionary without fostering respect for Sandino's personality and work, without loyalty to his legacy and readiness to continue and complete the cause to which he had devoted himself. Defining Fonseca's role in the development of Sandinist ideas and practice, Luis Carrión, member of the SNLF National Leadership, pointed out that Fonseca 'took up Sandino's experience and example and combined them with a revolutionary theory, with a scientific doctrine, and showed the Nicaraguan people the road leading to victory'.¹⁵ Fonseca was a great expert in the international revolutionary movement and always kept abreast of its development. Flexibility combining national with international experience, he contributed his share to the fusion of the Nicaraguan revolution with the world liberation process.

The seed sown by Sandino and tended by Fonseca and his associates has borne fruit in the shape of the accomplishments of today's patriots. The best memorial to them is the revolution itself which has inscribed the names of the two national heroes on its banners.

The new life in Nicaragua is developing in difficult conditions. The revolution, which is only five years old, is compelled to fight. The Nicaraguan people are defending their achievements against encroachments from enemies. They are looking ahead with optimism as they repulse the furious attacks of US imperialism and its lackeys, deriving strength from the aid and support of numerous friends. They are resolved to persevere in building a society free from oppression and exploitation.

¹ For a description of the Somoza regime, see Jaimie Barrios, 'Road to End the Dictatorship', *WMR*, No. 3, 1979.—Ed.

² *Habla la Dirección de la Vanguardia*, Managua, 1981, p. 81.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁴ See, *Barricada*, December 5, 1983.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Barricada*, July 20, 1983.

⁷ *International Herald Tribune*, March 14, 1984.

⁸ For details, see Randolph Banegas, Luis Orlando Corrales, 'From Gunboat Diplomacy Before to Outright Aggression Now', in *WMR*, No. 1, 1984.—Ed.

⁹ *El pensamiento vivo de Sandino*, San Jose, 1979, p. 89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹² Quoted in J. B. Escobar, *Ideario Sandinista*, Managua, 1980, p. 7.

¹³ *El pensamiento vivo de Sandino*, p. 261.

¹⁴ Carlos Fonseca, *Bajo la bandera del Sandinismo*, Textos políticos, Managua, 1981, p. 263.

¹⁵ *Habla la Dirección de la Vanguardia*, p. 176.

Marxism is Gaining Ground in Africa

Sémou Pathé Gueye – Political Bureau member, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour (SPIL)

MARXISTS–LENINISTS in Africa come up against many hostile ideological and political trends. These are, first of all, the so-called neotraditionalist ideologies, which take diverse secular or religious forms and are antiquated world views corresponding to tribal and feudal relations that show great tenacity in most African countries. There are also adapted varieties of petty-bourgeois and liberal bourgeois ideology and social reformism, to say nothing of right radical and neoconservative trends. These trends try on the plea of adaptation to smuggle into African social thought views typical of the 'annex structures' of state monopoly capitalism and, in effect, necessary to neocolonialism.

The growth of these trends makes greater demands on the work and theoretical schooling of our party cadres. I would therefore like to touch on some problems typical of the ideological struggle in Senegal.

Who Is Publicising Marxism and How

After two decades of clandestinity and semi-clandestinity, the SPIL is successfully establishing links with the masses in conditions of legality, operating as a recognised trend of the national democratic movement. This is a fact which even the most intransigent opponents of our party cannot deny. The influence enjoyed by Marxism in Senegal is largely a result of the invariably anti-colonialist, revolutionary attitude of the SPIL, which rejects foreign domination and capitalism, and of staunchness in the face of brutal repression.

The neocolonial bourgeois government's official authorisation to teach Marxism in the senior grades of secondary schools is a fact confirming this influence. This obviously offers welcome opportunities. However, there is a hitch. Marxism as officially presented by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois interpreters gives a distorted idea of it even to progressives. What enhances the negative effect of this kind of teaching is that the ruling Socialist Party (SP)¹ makes a point of spreading misinterpretations of our doctrine through its own Marxologists who have studied the writings of Marxist classics with the express aim of discrediting them. It periodically holds theoretical and political seminars on the basis of its own school (with subsidiaries throughout the country) which devote considerable time to discussing revisionist interpretations and criticising Marxism.

Within the framework of the Socialist International's bilateral relations, the SP often invites French and West German Marxologists for the same purpose. Every year, between July and September, members of 'socialist' youth and students' organisations are offered a 'holiday programme' which includes lectures delivered all over the country. The lectures often deal with and invariably attack this or that Marxist thesis. As they are organised by the regime, they are widely publicised on radio and television and reported in official news releases. Occasionally a lecture is translated from the French, which is the official language, into the country's vernaculars. Besides, the Nation and Development Club² periodically invites its members to 'discussion lunches' which concern themselves with various aspects of Marxist theory and the actual policies of the socialist countries and our party, presenting both in the most repellent light, as will be readily guessed.

Also, associations known as 'Islamic' are becoming more and more active, not without support from the regime; most of them are made up of real opportunists. In a bid for a political career, they put on a religious guise and go to the countryside and to

popular neighbourhoods to propagate, often in the local vernacular, their fantasies about 'Marxism and religion'. Besides, there are numerous critics going it alone who declare that they are 'above the political melee'. It is revealing, however, that the bourgeois press of Senegal, published in large editions, carries their theoretical ineptitudes about Marxism or calumnies about communist policy almost daily. They even try to lecture our party on Marxist orthodoxy.

Besides, foreign ideological centres, in particular the West German Goethe Institute, Ebert Foundation and Naumann Foundation, which organise lectures and send 'experts' from the FRG, are expanding their activities.

Thus there are groups of ideological mercenaries in Senegal who are used against Marxism in order to mislead people and hamper the dissemination of progressive ideas.

Up to a time, these varieties of our ideological adversaries could be disregarded. But the past decade has seen the general educational standards of fairly large categories of African working people rise by a considerable margin. Marxism is no longer a sealed book to them but a real means of political orientation. The study of Marxism, once merely an intellectual pursuit, is becoming a factor of great political significance.

At present not one of our party propagandists delivering a public lecture or writing an article on this or that aspect of Marxism can afford to have no more than a rough knowledge of his subject. Otherwise he is bound to be assailed by detractors quoting this or that chapter of a Marxist work in an effort to convince public opinion of the other's ignorance or to ridicule him and, in the same breath, his party. Our public lectures therefore take place in the atmosphere of a veritable intellectual corrida.

It is becoming a matter of great concern to the party that in a number of cases anti-Marxist ideologists, many of whom call themselves 'Marxists', are faced on our side with activists who, being unquestionably reliable from the political point of view, often turn out to have only an elementary knowledge of Marxist theses. This is why, in the context of contemporary Africa, including Senegal, theoretical propaganda and the training of propagandists are more important than before. This necessitates, among other things, analysis of the evolution of social consciousness and the sentiments of social classes and strata, as well as ascertainment of their stereotypes of assimilating political information, first at the level of the masses, who are illiterate and speak no French, and then at the level of population groups that have received some education and speak French (virtually the only language in which there is Marxist literature in our country).

We must also take account of the still relatively narrow professional and sectoral composition of the working class, the distinctive character of its formation and the fact that its class consciousness is influenced by contemporary bourgeois culture. The party does much to analyse the ideological level of the fast-growing middle strata (small traders, handicraftsmen, clerks, intellectuals), who in Senegal have substantial political leverage. We try to take account of the social character of the domestic bourgeoisie, its historical genesis, mode of reproduction, internal differentiation, relations with other social classes and strata, and the nature of power and the state apparatus in a developing country.

Lastly, our party considers that the ongoing manifold social and institutional processes make for the formation of a broad ideological and political current of revolutionary democrats. Of course, the philosophy and religious convictions of the adherents of this current 'cannot be an obstacle to their cooperation with the Communists in the joint struggle against the imperialist and racist enemies'.³ The point is, however, that the long colonial period when a Malthusian and assimilatory cultural policy held sway also brought into being an artificial stratum of intellectuals who were isolated from their own national culture and had assimilated bourgeois ideological values. These intellectuals, as well as continuing to interpret the concepts

of democracy, freedom, progress and nationalism in a bourgeois spirit, tend in a certain respect to do it more persistently under neocolonialism. Their ideological duplicity and political narrow-mindedness, coupled, however, with the ability to influence youth, in particular through the educational sphere, require close attention on our part. Indeed, it is these intellectuals that largely shape the ideological attitudes of anti-communists.

All this necessitates complex political and ideological work requiring inventiveness, dynamism, and the ability to use vehicles of oral information, lectures and the mass media in the few cases in which we gain access to them.

We conduct our propaganda on diverse levels from public lectures and classes at the level of party branches, local and national seminars and theoretical publications in the party's monthlies, *Daan Doole* and *Gëstu*, to the annual ideological and political national conference. We do our best to circulate publications of fraternal parties and *World Marxist Review*, which has for some time past held a more prominent place in political information and the training of our cadres, as is indicated by a steadily growing demand for the full text of the journal in French, English and Arabic.

Despite certain difficulties and shortcomings in our propaganda, there is good reason to say that big changes occur in the country and the party in regard to the gradual formation of a revolutionary political consciousness based on Marxism and Senegalese realities. For instance, the SPIL brings about these changes in clashes with our opponents over the ideological and political role of religion and the social character of modernisation.

'Traditional Ideologies' and the Revolutionary Doctrine

African anti-Marxism derives inspiration from ideas advanced chiefly by Western bourgeois Marxology. At the same time it does its utmost to exploit the peculiarities of African reality in terms of ideology, politics, culture and history. The theses of Senegalese 'interpreters' of Marx include the assertion that Marxism is out of keeping with the so-called 'African mentality'. Léopold Senghor, ex-president of Senegal, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International, puts the matter as follows: 'Traditionally and culturally, the Black African is a "religious" man. And it is not for Marx to convert us to atheism.'⁴

However, the thesis about the 'natural spiritualism' of Africans will not hold water. Every religion is admittedly a limited ideological misinterpretation of social and cultural reality. Marxism has revealed the essence of this world view, which develops in every society with a low level of productive forces making it impossible for man to exert decisive influence on his natural and social environment and grasp the objective laws of its development and produces religious magical forms of consciousness. Religious ideas continue to influence consciousness even when primitive social forms that had served religious worship as a natural basis have disappeared. It is typical of even the economically developed bourgeois social system of today that people crushed by exploitation are inclined to turn to a metaphysical beyond in an effort to regain their moral equilibrium. This need is occasioned by a number of circumstances conducive to the preservation of religious sentiments, such as obscurantism, illiteracy, the deep anxiety felt by the peoples of the world at the arms race and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, the negative consequences of the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism, and so on. All these factors, which directly affect the everyday existence of many people, induce them to seek refuge in religion.

There are even stronger social, economic and psychological reasons (nor are they hard to notice) for preserving religious world views in Africa. Various forms of exploitation of labour, neocolonial plunder of national resources and disregard of elementary human rights on the continent add to the mystification of the masses, who are downtrodden by want and searching for a livelihood, to the mystification of the

very system of oppression and corresponding social relations. In 1979, about 30 per cent of the 460 million inhabitants of Africa, the overwhelming majority of whom were officially considered believers, professed local traditional religions, 41 per cent were Moslems and 26 per cent Christians. In Senega; the respective percentages were 4, 80 and 16. In these circumstances religion in our country, as in many other countries of Africa and Asia, is a big socio-political force. And this is what conservatives speculate on in trying to provoke a conflict between Marxism and the masses over *religion*, to raise an impassable wall between the revolutionary doctrine and believers.

But political reality, which conservatives are at pains to conceal, is such that the actual dividing line is not between atheists and believers; it is between champions of national independence, peace and social progress and those who want to perpetuate oppression and exploitation. What divides Marxists and religious working people matters much less than what unites them in the common struggle for a better future. Marx said that to free people from religious illusions, it is necessary to begin by reshaping the reality which breeds these illusions; thus he called on Communists always to put the emphasis on analysing the objective causes of oppression and exploitation and not on their effects, which are secondary.

The end purpose of this approach is to neutralise attempts at splitting the popular forces on religious grounds and awaken the oppressed masses, whatever their beliefs and convictions, to the objective need for unity against their common enemy. The Communist attitude to religion in the context of the ideological struggle under way in Senegal is conditioned by the fact that sometimes religious consciousness in our country is a reflection of the oppressed masses' protest against the reality in which they live and expresses in embryonic form, latently, their desire for life in a better world. On the other hand, religious sentiments are often used by conservative forces against social progress. It is this contradictory nature of religious consciousness that we try to take into account so as to help the working people understand social realities and to channel their protest against imperialism and capitalism, or the real source of their problems.

We remember, of course, that the top religious leadership as a whole has a stake in the preservation of social relations based on feudal and bourgeois exploitation. It resists the aspirations of the masses ideologically and politically, and its position is therefore far from being acceptable to the masses in all circumstances.

The 1983 elections in Senegal were instructive in that some top religious leaders made common cause with reaction. During the election campaign they openly backed a candidate of the neocolonialists, with the result that he won the vote. However, their line, which came out in the elections, shocked public opinion, so much so that our party successfully upheld its right—for the first time ever—to state its Marxist views on radio and television. We also spoke at large rallies held throughout the country, calling for discussion on whether the attitude of zealots of Islam met the desire of the masses for change.

As the party has members well versed in theology, they had no difficulty in interpreting the postulates of the Koran, making clear that religious leaders who side with reaction are infringing these postulates. There were many who saw through the untenable position of the top clergy. Some Moslem leaders tried to justify themselves, claiming that journalists had distorted their ideas. The rest preferred to keep silent. As for us, we benefited from this by dealing a strong blow to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which were using religion as a cloak.

For several months since the elections, religious quarters have been most wary in their approach to political matters, avoiding overhasty anti-democratic decisions, such as they used to adopt in the past. However, we are certain that this is no more than a passing tactic.

Even so, this fact shows that the influence of conservative religious quarters on the

masses is not irreversible. To a degree, the course and results of the ideological and political struggle depend on the attitude and activity of Marxists and progressives generally in respect of religion, on their approach to the working people's problems, and on their ability to defeat reactionary attempts to direct the consciousness of believers against Marxism and foment antagonisms between them over what is, in effect, a secondary issue.

Things Are Getting Harder for Anti-Marxists

The deliberate counterposing of 'African religions' to Marxism also implies a bid to strike a blow at our concept of revolutionary modernisation of Africa. This subversion is spearheaded against the philosophy of Marxism, or against its materialism to be precise. The arguments used in this case proceed from entirely arbitrary logical premises. It is maintained, for instance, that the 'African mentality' is *by nature* spiritualist, that is, *idealist*. Inasmuch as the philosophical foundation of Marxism is *materialist*, our opponents infer that philosophically Marxism and the African mentality are incompatible. This is what Professor Alassane Ndao (former dean of the faculty of philosophy at Dakar University, a pillar of rightist African thought), tried to prove several years ago. '... African tradition,' he wrote, edifying lecturers in philosophy, 'has deliberately chosen to turn away from matter in order to follow a different road, one making it possible to enter into contact with creation.' This led Ndao to the conclusion that genuinely African philosophy should confine itself to describing the structure of African metaphysics in an effort to discern its metaphysical content proper in the diversity of its manifestations.

Arguments of this sort are an attempt to counteract a trend which is expanding among domestic philosophers, greatly disturbing the standard-bearers of idealist and conservative philosophy in Africa. More and more thinkers, especially members of the younger generation,⁵ are coming to realise the correctness of Marx's thesis about the need not only to interpret the world but to change it by revolutionary means.⁶ To prevent a revolutionary ferment, conservative thinkers had to invent a contradiction between Marxist philosophy and what they pompously call the 'African mentality'. Their intention to strip the world view of its orientation to ideological and political struggle for social progress has a precise political purpose, which is to justify the existing order and make the oppressed masses resign themselves to their fate.

The anti-Marxists' fraud consists in establishing a metaphysical, undialectical connection between traditional values and those needed for modernising African society. It is clear that this modernisation must necessarily be based on all that is living and progressive in the forms of traditional values. But it is equally clear that idealising the past, making a fetish of uncritically perceived traditional values, is perfectly useless.

African Marxology, which in this case frankly imitates conservative and bourgeois reformist ideological and political trends, betrays an inclination to uncritically admire the history and culture of the Africa of past centuries while accusing Marxism of 'Eurocentrism'. Marx and Engels are said to have 'excluded' Africa from the history of civilisation and forcibly squeezed African culture into the prehistoric period of humanity because they allegedly based their theory of social development on facts of recorded history.

The falsity of this approach to Marxism is very easy to reveal by looking up the writings of Frederick Engels, for instance. He never affirmed either directly, or indirectly (and his opinion was also Marx's) that peoples lacking a written language were outside history. To accuse Engels of regarding written language as a criterion of distinguishing between the historical and the unhistorical is to distort his thought.⁷

African Marxologists resort to another fraud by alleging that Marx and Engels, being followers of Hegel's dialectical method, automatically borrowed his views on Africa, described by Hegel as a 'childhood country lost in the blackness of night

beyond conscious history.⁸ Accordingly, Hegel's African is a 'natural man in all his savagery and lack of restraint'.⁹ All this is attributed to Marxism to represent it as 'racist' and 'Eurocentrist'. This fraud fully ignores the fact that Marx and Engels emphatically rejected Hegel's idealistic concept of history and only used his dialectical method, which they, moreover, revised so thoroughly as to make it fundamentally different from the original.¹⁰

Furthermore, one has only to recall the high opinion about the Zulu expressed by Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* to fully satisfy oneself that the founders of Marxism never showed anything like scorn for the history or culture of Africa. Nor do present-day Marxists show anything of the kind. What is the problem, then? I believe the answer can be found in the intricate ideological and political game which contemporary apologists of the bourgeois West are playing in African countries around 'traditional culture'. It is dawning on these people that the policy of modernising the continent is elitist if seen in its capitalist perspective, pays tribute to neocolonialism and is grossly destroying traditional structures and cultures by imposing capitalist commodity-money relations. To the overwhelming majority of the African population, to its real wealth—man and living labour—it offers no alternative of ideological, cultural or national progress.¹¹ Capitalist-type modernisation brings the working people none of the benefits of the scientific and technological revolution but constitutes a still greater 'dehumanisation' of social relations and culture and aggravates social antagonisms.

Lately African neoliberal theorists and, needless to say, Marxologists have begun to take these contradictions into account. Both groups are casting about for a more prudent adaptation of capitalist production relations, political structures and way of life to the patriarchal, semi-feudal social relations prevailing on a massive level between diverse ethnic groups. But now as in the past, the main purpose of all these refurbished theoretical approaches is to introduce 'Western values'. The only thing that is new is that they are to be introduced not only through the 'elite' but through the middle strata of the new African society, or on a broader social and cultural basis.

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, to end backwardness, it is necessary to stop uncritical conservation of the myths and totems of African folk culture, all the customs of the past that support tribalism, regionalism and ethnic conflicts. Our task is to reappraise the people's past history, ascertain the progressive aspects of their traditional cultures and use them for fostering a national democratic and ultimately a socialist consciousness among the masses.

The policy of social modernisation advanced by Senegal's Communists provides (unlike its bourgeois counterpart) for the ultimate elimination of private ownership of the basic means of production, deliverance from neocolonial dependence, the inclusion of the country in international division of labour on more favourable terms, and so on. It must create real prerequisites for shaping genuinely national cultures and traditions of a socialist type.

Closely connected with the presentation of the problem of modernising social structures and preserving relicts of Africa's pre-colonial past is a further thesis of African Marxology. Senghor formulates it in the following terms: 'We, too, will reject the theory of classes evolved by Marx. . . . In any case, colonisation and the annex economy in Black Africa have proletarianised all socio-professional groups.'¹²

Two questions arise at this point. Are we to infer from what Senghor writes that colonisation and the role of the annex economy have reduced all social classes and strata of African society to a situation in which they can only live by selling their labour? Of course not. This has nothing to do with reality. In most African countries class and other social distinctions are as palpable as in any other part of the capitalist world.

What is meant may be the fact that all classes (including some categories of the national bourgeoisie) have been involved by colonialism (and are still involved by

neocolonialism) in the inexorable process of pauperisation. This is partly true as a trend but not enough to warrant the conclusion that the socio-economic condition of diverse social classes and strata has been completely levelled. On the contrary, reality shows that colonialism and neocolonialism have increased social differentiation and are gradually leading to the formation of the classical social structures of capitalist society.

Hence reducing all classes and strata to the one group of 'proletarians' is not merely anti-scientific. The obvious reactionary aim of this approach is to disguise or dissolve objective class contradictions and the class struggle by means of abstract sociological arguments. This means denying the leading role and historical mission of the proletariat and distorting the meaning of Marxist ideology and the Communists' struggle.

Senghor and others deliberately ignore existing socio-historical trends, which entitle us to affirm that the political and social leverage of the working class will grow.

First of all, important changes are taking place in the composition of the working class of our continent. It is steadily growing; between 1960 and 1975, the proportion of workers and other employees went up from 20 to 32 million, or to nearly seven per cent of the African population. The role of the proletariat on the national political scene has been growing in step with its numerical growth. This is a reflection of the gradual awakening of the workers' proletarian class consciousness, of an ever stronger desire on the part of the working class to exert its increased influence in the course of national and social struggles.

Second, capitalist industrialisation, by extending pauperisation to ever larger social classes and strata, makes for the radicalisation of their struggle and leads to closer links between them and the working class, to their gradual acceptance of its revolutionary ideology (if to a varying degree of consistency) and their logical adoption of the position of scientific socialism. This trend is developing all the more vigorously as these classes and strata are coming to realise that they have no prospect of winning their particular interests under capitalism. The process will probably take long, nor will it follow a straight line. But its inevitability is confirmed by the evolution of 'revolutionary democracy'.

These are the reasons why Marxism-Leninism in our country is worrying the exploiters, robbing them of sleep. And they stop at nothing to 'safeguard' the working people against the scientific ideology of the proletariat. But they are wasting their time. The far-reaching changes in Mozambique, Angola, the Congo, Benin, Ethiopia and other countries, where the masses are illuminating their road to the future with the torch of Marxism-Leninism, are shaking the whole continent; they are incontrovertible proof of the great vitality of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. With the crisis of bourgeois ideology deepening, anti-Marxists find it harder and harder to mislead the masses.

There is every reason to believe that the advance of Marxism on the African continent in general and in Senegal in particular is irreversible whatever the difficulties and the price which it may have to pay for overcoming them.

¹ The name should in no way mislead anyone, for the party is Leopold Senghor's and was earlier called the Senegalese Progressive Union but had to change its name in order to join the Socialist International.

² Association of technocratic-minded intellectuals operating within the bounds of the ideological and political objectives of the ruling SP and led by the Minister of Information and Communications.

³ *Communist Call to Africa*, New York, p. 21.

⁴ L. S. Senghor, *Pour une relecture africaine de Marx et d'Engels*, Dakar/Abidjan, 1976, p. 48.

⁵ Some of them, such as Paulin Hountondji, a philosopher of Benin, Elessi Boulanga and Marcien Towa of Cameroon or Ahmed Djait of Algeria (this is only a partial list), even enjoy a measure of popularity among African theorists of a more or less nationalist shading. This suggests that such an ideological orientation, whatever the reservations prompted by it on this or that aspect, fully coincides with the growing interest of progressive African intellectuals in philosophy, which no longer serves as a means of whitewashing neocolonialism. In the light of this opposition to the prevailing conservative ideas, some may even be regarded as fellow-travellers of Marxists, whose thesis of the partisanship of philosophy they occasionally accept.

⁶ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 13-15.

⁷ See *ibid.*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 204-334.

⁸ *Leçons sur la philosophie de l'histoire*, Paris, p. 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁰ The assertions of Marxologists are also refuted by Marx's and Engels' neutral references to Hegel in *The German Ideology* in illustrating Max Stirner's position, by the high opinion which Engels expressed in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* about the organisation of the tribal system and the Africans' personal courage, by Marx's emphatic condemnation of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's racist theories, and by the fact that Marxism is inspired by humanism and respect for man.

¹¹ The attempts of conservatives to strengthen the foundations of 'traditional' ideologies by encouraging various forms of pre-colonial culture are often politically reactionary; an indication of this is the theory of 'negritude' exalting the specific 'spiritualism' of the black race and its 'exclusiveness'.

¹² Senghor, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

Lessons of the Guatemalan Tragedy

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'IT seems all right.'¹ These were the final words of a telegram sent by the US Ambassador to Guatemala, John Peurifoy, to the Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on June 18, 1954. The message went to Washington a few minutes after Peurifoy had seen P-47 planes crewed by CIA mercenaries drop bombs and leaflets on Guatemala City.

'Operation Success', planned by the CIA, had entered its closing phase. Its purpose was to overthrow the constitutional President, Col. Jacobo Arbenz, made head of state on March 15, 1951, after he had won 65 per cent of the vote.

The aggression launched by US mercenaries shocked world opinion and outraged the peoples of Latin America.

Revolutionary Decade

The Guatemalan revolutionary process began nearly 40 years ago,² in the different days of 'banana republics' under venal dictators reared by US monopolies.

The 1944 events were anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. They constituted a national democratic process with an explicitly popular revolutionary content. Mass organisations gained considerably in political leverage, above all during Arbenz's term in office. They were affiliated to the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala and the National Peasant Confederation. The two confederations were linked together by a strategic and tactical alliance and were strongly influenced by the ideology of the working class. The Guatemalan Party of Labour (GPL)³ sprang up on the basis of the revolutionary world view of the proletariat. It was very active both in conditions of legality (1949-1954) and throughout the next thirty years of clandestinity and brutal persecution.

Our revolution made notable headway in a short period of time.

First among its achievements was an agrarian reform aimed at abolishing semi-feudal relations and doing away with the unproductive latifundium system of the United Fruit Company.

The government reorganised the financial system. With the establishment of the Central Bank, the private sector was excluded from control of the country's

budgetary and monetary policy. An important part was played by the organisation of the Institute for the Advancement of Production, measures lending greater stability to the National Hypothecary Credit Bank as a pool of funds for the agrarian reform. An infrastructure was created and roads, transmission lines and ports were built to end foreign monopoly domination. The government devoted serious attention to the protection of natural resources, especially oil, in the national interest. Working class and peasant organisations were allowed to operate unhampered. The republic embarked on an independent economic and foreign economic policy geared to using its own potentialities to the utmost, which enabled it to avoid debts and risky deals with capitalist powers. Social insurance and a Labour Code were introduced, with special institutions guaranteeing the rights of labour. The Indians were relieved of forced labour. Economic structures were modernised in a way ensuring that this did not become a burden for the working people.

Regrettably, the process of fundamental change was not free of bad mistakes. Their analysis still serves us as a source of experience whose study should help us steer clear of similar mistakes in the future.

A revolution must be prepared to defend itself or it will be doomed. The progressive forces of our country did not realise at the time the imperative need to demolish the repressive machinery set up previously and to form armed force that would safeguard the people's gains.

Today we know that to bring about far-reaching changes, it is necessary not only to advance the economy but to steadily raise the social consciousness of the masses, for the ideology of the ruling class plays the role of Trojan horse in the revolution. And there has to be a leading party that can politically mould the new man who will carry on the process of change, having firm ideological convictions.

We must add at this point that the landed oligarchy was not stripped of power and that the agrarian reform was implemented slowly and with great difficulty. The reform enjoyed wide support among the people but changes in the countryside were carried out from higher up, without the peasants playing an active part.

Our revolution, though isolated, inexperienced and unaided in any way from without, had a tremendous echo throughout Latin America and a visible impact on the entire national liberation movement on the continent. On July 26, 1953 Cubans led by Fidel Castro mounted a historic assault on the Moncada barracks. And it is most significant that the main tasks of the future government formulated by the Cuban leader in his famous speech 'History Will Absolve Me' were already the order of the day in the ongoing Guatemalan revolutionary process.

At present we know that the people of Freedom Island not only accomplished those tasks but thoroughly restructured the economy of the republic by adopting forms of social organisation which made Cuba the first socialist state in the western hemisphere. The impact which the example of Guatemala had on Cuba's revolutionary vanguard has been acknowledged by Fidel Castro and his associates. It is also evident in the mixed economy which the people's Sandinist revolution is setting up in Nicaragua. The Arbenz Government worked on an economic model providing for coordinated action by the working class, the peasantry, private capital and the public sector. This sector became a decisive economic factor with the transfer of some property owned by foreigners to the state.

According to Jungle Law

Anyone who examines the circumstances in which US imperialism organised the invasion of Guatemala should remember that this happened when the USA and Britain were pursuing a policy of atomic blackmail and cold war. An inquisitorial *McCarthyist* campaign was unfolding in the world over the so-called 'communist threat', in the atmosphere of a witch hunt. This was the sinister international background of the Guatemalan tragedy.

The pretext used for the armed intervention was the allegedly illegal exportation of 3,523 caballerias⁴ of land seized by the United Fruit Company in the past and what Washington described as part of a plan to 'Sovietise' Guatemala and make it a 'bridgehead of international communism'. This shameless lie was intended to conceal the fear that our country might set other peoples of America an example of how very fruitful an independent policy based on the principle of self-determination can be.

The scenario of overthrowing the Guatemalan government was worked out on the initiative of CIA chief Allen Dulles, a lawyer and major shareholder of United Fruit. The conspiracy assigned a role to domestic counter-revolutionaries, including dignitaries of the Catholic church, and provided for the bribing of high-ranking army officers and an armed invasion. The execution of these aggressive schemes was preceded by a reckless international slander campaign intended to discredit the revolutionary regime by representing it as a 'satellite' of the Soviet Union, an instrument of 'plans for Soviet domination in Latin America'. In other words, Guatemala was faced with the same standard charges as are now brought against Nicaragua in an attempt to isolate and blockade it and then to bring down its popular government.

At the 10th Inter-American Conference (Caracas, March 1954) the USA imposed an anti-communist resolution virtually authorising armed intervention against Guatemala. "Our only 'crime'," President Arbenz said in a message to the nation on June 20, 1954, after the invasion had begun, "is that we have passed laws of our own and applied them to everyone without exception. Our 'crime' is that we have begun an agrarian reform affecting the interests of the United Fruit Company. Our 'crime' is that we want to have our own outlet to the Atlantic, our own electric power and our own piers and ports. Our 'crime' is our patriotic desire to advance, to make progress and win economic independence in accordance with our political independence. We have been condemned for giving the peasants land and rights."⁵

The effort to defeat the invasion was thwarted by treason on the part of high-ranking army officers, who disobeyed Arbenz's order to distribute arms among the people so that they could resist the invaders. In these circumstances, the mobilisation of the people inderstandably produced no results. Arbenz was brought down and the Presidency went to the sadly famous Carlos Castillo Armas, a US puppet.

Guatemala was plunged into a long night which lasts to this day but in which the light of the revolution that made out country the 'honour of America' in those days can still be seen.

The Bitter Fruits of the Invasion

Nearly thirty years of counter-revolution have caused the people untold suffering. All the presidents of this period—from Carlos Castillo Armas to Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores⁶—protected the interests of imperialism and the domestic oligarchy, doing their utmost to abolish the people's democratic achievements. They surrendered to transnationals the oil, nickel, chromium, cobalt, copper, tin, timber, marine and other resources of the country. They ejected the indigenous Indian population⁷ from its lands and forced it to move elsewhere, mainly to the north, and to clear jungles there.

The number of the missing, kidnapped, tortured and atrociously murdered is appalling. It has topped 100,000 to date. The government under Efraín Ríos Montt and then under Mejía Victores escalated massive repression, which affects more and more often the Indian population, resulting in the death of even pregnant women, children and old people. The scorched earth tactic, which leads to the total extermination of the inhabitants of whole villages and the destruction of crops, dwellings and livestock, has been extended to new areas.

Following the coup on March 23, 1982, when abolished the 'constitutional norms' established by the army itself, martial law was declared all over Guatemala. Ríos

Montt proceeded to carry out the 'anti-insurgency plans' laid by the Pentagon. They provide for a further escalation of genocide, the liquidation of Indian communes and the resettlement of Indians in camps called 'model settlements', with customs and habits alien to them. These camps are, in effect, a replica of the 'strategic villages' set up by the US invaders during the Vietnam war.

Needless to say, the paramilitary bands of assassins are still there. Indeed, they were reinforced and legalised as 'civilian patrols', said to have been formed by peasant 'volunteers'. Terrorism in urban centres showed a new upturn contrary to the commitments made by Guatemala after the ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to pacts on political, economic, civil, social and cultural rights approved by the UN and OAS. The government legalised the killing of detainees on political grounds and set up secret courts to this end that have already sentenced many young patriots to death. There are just the kind of agencies which should be abolished in view of their inquisitorial role.

The Guatemalan top military calculates that terror will enable it to crush mass resistance and then to establish a repressive regime or a 'controlled democracy'. This is why it is waging a dirty war against its own people.

Reaction's military political aid is to isolate the revolutionaries from the people. And so the military is stepping up persecution and fomenting universal fear in an attempt to hinder contacts between the people and patriotic organisations. Trade unions as well as peasant leagues, community centres and women's and youth associations have virtually been outlawed. The result is a polarisation of forces in the social conflict shaking society. The ban on all opposition and the policy of curtailing the rights of the working people and middle strata have led to the formation of two camps. One of them is the army, now an instrument of genocide, and the other the people, whose mood of resistance and struggle expresses itself in activity of left-wing organisations belonging to Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (GNRU).⁸

Even the ruling classes have stopped giving their unqualified support to the armed forces, which are only backed by extreme reactionaries. The result is discord among the anti-communist groupings within the top military leadership. The two latest coups by no means ruled out the possibility of a new plot among the military.

Contradictions are more intricate and less obvious within the bourgeois and landowner oligarchy. However, its members generally demand that the army allow a liberalisation of the economy and create a climate favourable to the employers' interests.

The traditional pattern of political parties has been completely broken up. The regime has only authorised parties whose activity does not affect 'national security'. This has given rise to 36 alignments which hope to become eventually new organisations operating legally. To be sure, their activity will never range beyond a 'centre-ultra' combination. What their members have in common is a desire to pressure the army into 'returning to the barracks'. None of them really supports official policy but they all protest allegiance to the system and a desire to defend it. In other words, these forces are likewise dissatisfied with the army and this is a further sign of division among anti-communists.

The church and the state university, which enjoyed considerable influence among the population, are opposed to terror and persecution. They continuously denounce the innumerable arrests, disappearances and assassinations occurring among clergymen and believers, students and teachers.

Isolated and disliked by all, the army receives substantial aid from extreme reactionary sections of the Reagan Administration and the Israeli government, which supply it with arms and ammunition and send instructors to Guatemala. We must say that the Guatemalan dictatorship's policies are entirely determined by the 'need to fight insurgents'. This also finds a reflection in the current budget (which has not increased by one centavo over the last year), which has allocated the Ministry of

National Defence 23.4 per cent more than in 1983 by cutting other appropriations. This is only possible in a thoroughly militarised state officially committed to a terroristic policy.

Guatemala's puppet governments and military fascist dictatorships have been following a frankly counter-revolutionary course ever since 1954. But they have failed to achieve political stability. On the contrary, the country is going through a deepening crisis.

Intensifying Struggle

The armed invasion of Guatemala was but one of the numerous crimes committed by US imperialism against sovereign and independent republics of the continent.

Subsequent moves by the United States made a hardening of its policy towards the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean only too evident. The aggression against Cuba in 1961, the landing in the Dominican Republic in 1965, the overthrow of the Allende Government in Chile in 1973, the invasion of Grenada in 1983, operations against Nicaragua and intervention in the Salvadoran civil war are milestones of Washington's policy in our region.

There is much in common between the barefaced aggression against the Guatemalan people and the crimes which the CIA now plans and carries out against Sandino's country. Both are, in effect, symptoms of the same imperialist fever as gave rise to McCarthyism, now personified so strikingly by President Reagan. All indications are that the US government does not want to allow anyone in Latin America to live by the laws of democracy and independence. Behind the threadbare myth of a 'Soviet threat' is a neocolonialist policy based on the greedy Monroe Doctrine.

In 1954 the CIA used Honduran, Nicaraguan and Salvadoran territory against Guatemala. Today it is mainly Honduras and Costa Rica that serve it as bases of anti-Nicaraguan aggression. The pattern is similar but the times have changed in the past thirty years.

The victory at Playa Giron, where the Cuban people led by Fidel Castro defended their revolution, called a halt to acts of imperialist armed intervention committed with impunity, and ushered in a new epoch for the peoples of Latin America, the epoch of victorious national liberation movements for sovereignty, democracy and independence.

Guatemala's patriots staunchly resist repression and terror in spite of enormous sacrifices and hardships. The lack of intermediate alternatives confronts the top reactionary leadership of the army with the solid unity of military political forces that are gaining in strength and scope as the people's war gathers momentum. All who see no other way of defending their interests join in this war. Our people look with increasing sympathy on the revolutionary process led by GNRU. The very composition and political platform of this coalition make it possible to mobilise religious communities, Indian communes, the working class movement, the intellectuals and fairly numerous members of the middle strata to win power and bring about a democratic government of national independence capable of realising a comprehensive programme for the good of the people.

This situation is well known in the army, which realises that it would lose control as soon as it 'took its finger off the trigger'. This explains the frequent use of force and anti-communist terrorism as an instrument of domination and of keeping reaction in power.

Our revolutionary movement is faced with two key tasks. One of them is to apply tactics aimed at defeating enemy attempts to isolate the masses and practise terror with impunity. The other is to consolidate the movement for unity in order that the objective coincidence of the participants' views may help intensify and extend the struggle while reducing organisational disunity to a minimum.

The current difficult process, which is going on in a complicated international situation aggravated by events in the subregion, has shown that the Guatemalan regime is nearing its end. This is due to the revolutionary militancy of our movement as well as to the inability of the regime to lift the country out of its economic, social and political crisis, a fact seen by Washington with growing concern. By flirting with the Guatemalan government the Reagan Administration is trying to involve the regime's armed forces in its aggressive designs, primarily against free Nicaragua, as well as against the patriotic movement in El Salvador. In exchange it promises to resume military and economic aid to the dictatorship. As regards violations of human rights in Guatemala, they have been set aside, for the United States does not consider them decisive for its vital interests, as Jeane Kirkpatrick, its delegate to the UN, has admitted.

Concluding, we would like to stress that in the light of sustained threats from the Reagan Administration against the people's Sandinist revolution and its government and the liberation movements in El Salvador and Guatemala, active solidarity in our joint struggle in defence of sovereignty, against interventionism and in support of the right of every people to win freedom is more important than ever before. Above all, it is important to expose in the eyes of world opinion the dangerous plans of the US administration cynically disclosed by Reagan in his speech on May 9, 1984, and Washington's attempts to start a fratricidal war in the region as a means of furthering its hegemonic ambitions.

In these troubled days, all patriots of our subregions are prompted by a common desire to foil the imperialist conspiracy in Central America. A priority task now is to defend the Sandinist revolution in fraternal Nicaragua and insist on stopping acts of aggression against the country. It is also essential to defeat Washington's criminal designs on El Salvador, whose sons are courageously defending the right of their country to be free and independent.

In common with the people of Honduras, we Guatemalans emphatically condemn the utilisation of their territory as a bridgehead for armed intervention against Nicaragua and El Salvador and demand the dismantling of US military bases.

The Guatemalan revolution is rising from the ashes. It is growing stronger and is determined to carry the process begun 40 years ago through to the end. We are confident that it will succeed.

* Alfonso Bauer Paiz is a noted Guatemalan author and public figure. He was Minister of the Economy and Minister of Labour in the democratic governments of Juan José Arévalo (1945-1951) and Jacobo Arbenz (1951-1954). After the armed intervention engineered by the USA (1954) Bauer Paiz was persecuted. Wounded during an attempt on his life, he had to emigrate. He belongs to no political party.

¹ Stephen Schlesinger, Stephen Kinzer, *Fruta Amarga. La CIA en Guatemala*, Mexico City, Siglo XXI editores S.A., 1982, p. 29.

² An armed uprising against the Jorge Ubico regime took place in Guatemala on October 20, 1944. It marked the beginning of a revolutionary process that was broken off in 1954.—*Ed.*

³ At a congress held on September 28, 1949, communist groups founded the Communist Party of Guatemala, which has been called the Guatemalan Party of Labour ever since 1952.—*Ed.*

⁴ One caballeria equals 42.8 hectares in Guatemala.—*Ed.*

⁵ Quoted in S. Schlesinger, S. Kinzer, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

⁶ Eighteen governments have succeeded one another since the 1954 invasion, as a result of electoral frauds or coups.—*Ed.*

⁷ Over 50 per cent of the inhabitants of Guatemala.—*Ed.*

⁸ GNRU groups several revolutionary organisations waging an armed struggle against the regime.—*Ed.*

Partnership Instead of Confrontation

Egon Bahr – Presidium member, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)

We continue reporting on the dialogue between Communists and Social Democrats on ways to relax international tensions, avert a nuclear war and strengthen peace and the security of nations with the following interview given to us by Egon Bahr, a prominent SPD leader and Chairman of the FRG Bundestag Subcommittee on Disarmament and Arms Control.¹

—We all know that NATO's 'twin-track decision' was supported by the SPD, but in November 1983, the party's extraordinary congress in Cologne reviewed its earlier stand and came out against the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of the FRG. How do you explain the change in the SPD's views on this key international problem?

At the SPD Congress in 1979, I personally approved the NATO decision for two reasons. At that time, I regarded the acceptance of NATO's approach as the only possibility of getting the United States to the conference table. Besides, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Defence Minister Hans Apel had committed themselves to such an extent that any other approach by the party congress would have been tantamount to disowning them. That is why we approved the decision, making it contingent on a rejection of any automatic deployment of the missiles and the need for Soviet-American negotiations.

In supporting the Chancellor's policy, the SPD believed that the four years before the deadline set by NATO for the start of the missile deployment would be enough to reach some result, provided negotiations were conducted in good faith. It was assumed that at the end of the four-year period, the party would take a final decision on the missile issue. By taking such a stand—allowing for a 'yes' or 'no' to deployment—the SPD wanted to increase the chances of constructive negotiations.

But after 1979, developments in the world took an unexpected course. I think that some of them could not even have been anticipated. Let me list some of these.

First, we could not have known that in 1980 Ronald Reagan would become US President, and there is no doubt that under his Administration US policy has changed.

Second, the SPD assumed that there were four full years for negotiation, but two of them turned out to be lost. That is a highly important reason why at the Cologne Congress in 1983 we said 'no' to the missiles.

Third, in coming out for the NATO decision, the party believed that it was thereby promoting ratification of SALT-2 by the United States. But that did not follow.

Fourth, it could not have been anticipated that Margaret Thatcher would take office in Great Britain and François Mitterrand in France. In 1981, both these states took steps to effect a considerable arms buildup, and this naturally had an effect on the whole international situation.

Fifth, speaking for myself, I proceeded from another assumption which subsequently also proved to be incorrect. Like Federal Chancellor Schmidt, in the course of 1979, I discussed with US representatives the possibility of rebasing cruise missiles from land to sea. Along with other arguments, the US side also put forward one which it was difficult to refute: it was technically impossible, we were told, to base cruise missiles at sea. Imagine my surprise when I read in the papers on October 5, 1981, that the United States had decided to make several thousand sea-based and air-based cruise missiles.

Consequently, a whole package of factors logically led the SPD to its injection of the missile deployment in the autumn of 1983. In so doing, I repeat, we reckoned with the fact that the time for negotiations had been lost; fresh steps had been taken to build up armaments, SALT-2 had not been ratified. Besides—and this is highly important—Yuri Andropov's well-known proposal had not been seriously considered.²

I should like to make yet another point. The missile deployment obviously tends to aggravate the situation and creates an additional danger to the future of Europe. In my view, if the Soviet proposal had been made earlier, it could possibly have prevented NATO's 'twin-track' decision, which was motivated by apprehensions concerning the buildup of SS-20 missiles. But there is no point now in discoursing and examining who failed to do anything or did something wrong. We must concentrate our attention on seeking a way out of the situation.

—What influence did the deep anxiety on the part of broad strata of the FRG population over the arrival of the US first-strike nuclear missiles in the country have on the evolution of the SPD's views?

Above I set forth the main criteria by which the SDP had been guided in adopting the different decisions at the party congresses in 1979 and 1983. I am convinced that we would have arrived at the present position even if the population had felt less fear of the missiles. On the issue of security or survival there must be no place for short-term inner-political considerations.

—The SPD has formulated its 'mutual-security partnership' doctrine. What is its meaning? How do you think it should be realised?

The present international military-strategic situation is characterised by the fact that both world powers have the capability of mutual assured destruction, i.e., neither of them has the potential for a disarming nuclear missile strike. This means that in the nuclear age it is impossible to achieve a military victory, just as it is impossible to attain greater security for oneself in the face of a potential adversary. It can be ensured only together with him. For instance, a nuclear conflict would mean the end of the FRG's existence, but the GDR would also be wiped off the face of the Earth. To unite in death has never been our notion of German unity. So, we shall either live together, or perish together. It goes without saying that living is better. Consequently, there is a need to recognise that the security of the FRG, a NATO member, depends on the security of the GDR, a member of the Warsaw Treaty, and vice versa. The same applies to the Soviet Union and the United States.

Recognition of this doctrine of mutual security is an exceptionally difficult process for both sides, because it requires a change in thinking. It is hard to do so for the United States because the Americans are convinced that they are the best, the most beautiful, the fastest and the greatest. The American mentality is based on some kind of idea that their system and way of life are superior. For its part, the Soviet Union adheres to the conception of just wars. In my view, there can be no ground for waging war in the nuclear age, unless one is attacked.

So, the uppermost credo should be the recognition that, regardless of the differences in our social systems and ideologies, and regardless of our membership of opposed alliances, we can, I should even say, are 'doomed' to become partners in mutual security. The SPD believes that such a partnership implies negotiations for the purpose of reaching agreements on disarmament and repudiation of the striving for military superiority.

The conclusion of an agreement prohibiting the development of qualitatively new weapons systems should be the first step. We have no use for laser weapons, and we

must avoid the militarisation of outer space. A possible second step could be the establishment of control stations in the United States and the Soviet Union manned by representatives of both countries, equipped with similar means of surveillance and receiving identical information, for instance, about the goings on in space. Such a measure would help to avoid many mistakes and create the climate of confidence we so badly need. Let us note that both these proposed measures do not eliminate a single weapons unit. Nevertheless, the world would become a different world: it would be given hope.

A further elaboration of the idea of mutual security logically suggests steps to limit the arms race. I believe that disarmament is possible only on the basis of the mutual security doctrine. The world is now living under the sign of the deterrence conception, which does not promote the reduction but the buildup of armaments.

We have no illusions about our idea of partnership in security being accepted in the near future. But it is not right to be idle until this takes place. That is why the SDP favours the conclusion between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty of an agreement on the non-resort to armed force prohibiting the first-use both of nuclear and conventional weapons. We also support the proposal of the Palme Commission on the establishment of corridors in Europe free from tactical nuclear weapons. Measures like the removal of nuclear weapons from the territory of states which have no such weapons, and a complete prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons stockpiles, and in the event of that being impossible, the declaration of Europe a zone free from chemical weapons could be important steps towards mutual security. Their realisation would markedly enhance universal security.

—Realisation of the proposals you have mentioned, and many of them coincide with or echo the initiatives of the socialist countries, would undoubtedly have a beneficial effect on the whole international climate and promote the revival of the policy of detente.

Indeed, one could say that mutual security is a continuation of detente in the military sphere. We continue to believe that there is no alternative to the policy of detente that would open up a prospect for the future. The detente has slowed down but it has not failed. Consequently, it needs to be revived. It is true, I think, that the situation is now such that hardly anything essential can occur before the presidential elections in the United States. Still, if this year is not to be lost for the prevention of nuclear war, there is a need not only to work out proposals in the various spheres, but also to try to advance, if only by a single step, along the way of transforming Europe into a pole of peace exerting an attractive influence on the other regions.

—On a recent visit to Washington, Hans-Jochen Vogel, the leader of the SDP group in the Bundestag, declared that the West should take a 'new approach' so as to make the resumption of the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva possible. Could you explain what he meant by the 'new approach'?

Here is what he meant. The USSR's stand is well known: back to the status quo of late 1983, i.e., both sides should withdraw the missiles deployed since then. Washington's stand is also well known: the United States is prepared to continue the suspended negotiations at Geneva any day. It is obviously very unlikely that the views of the two parties can now be reduced to a common denominator. That is why we have thought about a proposal which is acceptable to both powers. It is logical to reach an agreement first about halting any further missile deployment both in the West and in the East. That would create a prerequisite for the two following steps: first, a withdrawal of all the missiles deployed on both sides since the end of last year, and second, a resumption of the talks at Geneva, at which the USSR's proposal on reducing SS-20 missiles should be seriously discussed.

—How does your party assess the Reagan Administration's latest schemes for starting the militarisation of space?

We oppose the spread of the arms race to space for several reasons. It should not enhance security, it is unilateral, it costs a fantastic amount of money, and no one knows whether the system will function at all. In any case, more new and major technical discoveries will be required. I do not think this will take place before the end of the current decade, for scientific discoveries cannot be decreed.

There is another important reason. In future it will probably be truly realistic to detect in due time and destroy intercontinental missiles from space. If that happens, it may suit both world powers, but not the countries which lie between them.

There is a third reason. Assuming that a state could close the 'window of vulnerability', i.e., that it could hit an adversary without itself being hit, it would then achieve clear superiority. So the US programme for militarising space reveals the urge for superiority more clearly than ever before.

—In the recent period, the socialist countries have made a number of major proposals aimed to improve the international situation, build up confidence between states, and limit the arms race, the nuclear arms race in the first place. A full-scale programme of such proposals was contained, for instance, in Konstantin Chernenko's speech to the electorate. What is your attitude to these initiatives?

CPSU CC General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko's proposal on the introduction of a definite code for mutual relations between states possessing nuclear weapons testifies to the great importance which the USSR attaches to this problem. Here, I think, there are two possible approaches. The first is the Vladivostok Agreement,³ which I continue to regard as a historic one. It needs to be revived and extended. It is highly important for the two world powers, and even better for all the nuclear states, to reach agreement on definite rules governing their mutual relations and undertake to abide by them. The second approach: he who advocates the mutual security doctrine must say 'yes' to mutual commitments. In other words, there can be no universal security at all without a common code of mutual relations. That is why I regard Konstantin Chernenko's proposals as an initiative aimed to achieve precisely such mutual security.

—What kind of role, do you think, could be played by contacts and cooperation between the various public forces, including Social Democrats and Communists, for the preservation of peace and for disarmament?

Priority must be given to efforts to consolidate peace: there can now be nothing without it. In the nuclear age, the Communists are partners without whom one cannot do, because only mutual security exists. The prime objective is to organise it.

For all that, it would, of course, be an illusion to assume that that would eliminate the contradictions between the Social Democrats and the Communists. But neither the fundamental differences of view, nor the different ideologies should bring to naught the cooperation on this paramount issue of our day. No differences can be so great as to prevent us from working to preserve peace.

¹ See: Olof Palme, 'Step by Step Towards Disarmament', *WMR*, No. 5, 1981; Carlos Andres Perez, 'One World, Common Responsibility', *WMR*, No. 3, 1982; Kalevi Sorsa, 'Do Everything Possible for Disarmament and Peaceful Development', *WMR*, No. 12, 1983; and Luis Prieto Figueroa, 'Our Common Cause', *WMR*, No. 5, 1984.

² On the USSR's proposal see the article 'Nuclear Missiles in Europe. Two Opposite Lines' in this issue.—*Ed.*

³ At a working meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Gerald Ford in Vladivostok on November 23 and 24, 1974, an understanding was reached to conclude an agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The Vladivostok understanding provided the basis for SALT-2.—*Ed.*

Nuclear Missiles in Europe: Two Opposite Lines

Zdeněk Procházka, Dr.Sc.
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THE situation in Europe and throughout the world has been sharpened to the extreme by the foreign policy of the Reagan Administration and a number of other NATO governments supporting it. Their stake on confrontation with the socialist countries in the political, economic and above all military spheres has increased the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. CPSU CC General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko says: 'The arms race, including nuclear arms, is gathering momentum, becoming increasingly formidable. At the same time, the process of negotiations on nuclear arms limitation and reduction has been disorganised, and, as the facts indicate, deliberately disorganised. All this is the result of the well-known policy aimed to break the existing balance of forces and gain military strategic superiority over the Soviet Union.'¹

It is not only the socialist states that have issued warnings about the threat posed by Washington and its NATO allies. Hundreds of millions of men and women on all the continents are in a state of alarm. The numerous statements by public spokesmen, primarily in Western Europe, show that, for all the differences in political, philosophic and ideological views, and also in the social status of the various public forces, concern for the destiny of the world has become universal. But not so rare either are statements indicating that not all the participants in anti-war movements are clearly aware of the kind of weapons the United States is deploying in Western Europe and for what purpose, and why the Warsaw Treaty countries have been forced to take counter-measures.

First-Strike Weapons

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, an approximate military equilibrium took shape between the Soviet Union and the United States, and also between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Its existence was recorded in SALT-1 and SALT-2 and has been repeatedly confirmed by realistically-minded military and political leaders in the capitalist countries, among them one-time US Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara, a man with a thorough knowledge of the balance-of-forces problems. In an interview with West German *Der Spiegel* he declared without any reservations: 'The Soviet Union has no advantages . . . in nuclear weapons. That is why I see no military need for the Pershings and cruise missiles.'²

The attained parity is based on a balance of nuclear weapons, both strategic and tactical, and also of conventional armed forces. It is not, of course, a matter of there being a complete identity or precise equality of all the types and services. Indeed, that is altogether impossible to achieve because the Soviet and US military potentials have developed in different ways. In the present conditions, equilibrium means the capability of the parties to defend themselves effectively, i.e., it implies an equality of their forces and equal security.

Had the Warsaw Treaty countries not taken their counter-measures, the deployment of new US medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe would have sharply upset the parity in favour of NATO, and that not only on a regional but also on a global level. The deployment on the territory of five West European countries of 108 Pershing-2 and 464 cruise missiles would have given the NATO bloc a roughly 50

per cent advantage in nuclear weapons vehicles, and a *100 per cent* advantage in nuclear warheads.

But these are not just attempts to upset the military equilibrium in numerical terms. The combat characteristics of these missiles, notably Pershing-2, are an especial menace. Their main designation is the delivery of a first, or 'disarming' strike, so called, against the socialist community countries in Europe.

Washington and its allies intend to start, wage and win a nuclear war with the aid of Pershing-2 missiles. They have pinned their hopes mainly on the speed of these missiles which carry them to their targets within 6-8 minutes,³ thereby reducing to a minimum the time for defensive measures and retaliation against the aggressor. Besides, these US missiles have a range of 2,600 kilometres which, in view of their siting, poses a threat to the key strategic installations on the territory of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other WTO countries. The accuracy of these systems should, the Pentagon assumes, ensure the 'rout' of the adversary (these missiles have a circular error probability (CEP) of no more than 35-40 metres).

The Reagan Administration is trying to create the impression that the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are weapons for the 'defence of Europe', for a second-strike, that is, for retaliation. But the new missile systems are absolutely unsuitable for that purpose. Considering that they are not based in underground silos but on unprotected mobile platforms, the conclusion is perfectly obvious: the Pentagon rules out in advance the possibility of their survival in the event of a nuclear strike or even of a conventional weapons attack. That is precisely what signifies that they are not designed for retaliation but for attack or, at any rate, for nuclear blackmail.

Many bourgeois experts also accept this conclusion. Consider, for instance, a report prepared by Professor Hans-Peter Dürr and Dr. Albrecht von Müller of the Max Planck Institute of Physics and Astrophysics in Munich, who say in no uncertain terms that NATO's current buildup of nuclear and conventional weapons can serve only a 'policy of strength' and a strategy of 'horizontal escalation' according to which the response to a crisis breaking out in any geographical area should be countered by measures in other, strategically more advantageous regions, and a readiness to accept a crisis and exert political pressure on the Soviet Union by military means.⁴

Consequently, there is every indication that imperialism has put its stake on the development of a qualitatively new nuclear potential. NATO's objective is to attain a military superiority that rules out any retaliation on the part of the socialist states and ensures their military rout. That being so, is it possible to deny that the new US medium-range missiles gravely undermine the security of the WTO countries and noticeably increase the danger of a nuclear war?

For the sake of the truth, it has to be recognised, at the same time, that Reagan has no priority in elaborating the first-strike doctrine. It was proclaimed as the official US line in Directive No. 59, which was approved by President Carter in the summer of 1980. Even at the time, the strategy assumed concrete form in the strategic and operational plans of preparation for war against the socialist states. Its material basis consists of the long-term programmes for building up the armed forces, including the creation of first-strike systems: Pershing-2, long-range cruise missiles, MX missiles, and so on.

The incumbent US President hopes to solve the problem which is crucial for the aggressive militaristic policy he is conducting: a change in the global military strategic parity in favour of the United States and NATO. He expects the US superiority acquired as a result of that effort to make it possible to destroy the potential enemy with impunity, to deprive it of the possibility of delivering a retaliatory nuclear strike, and so to assure the United States of survival and victory. And it is 'Euromissiles' that are to be the key element in these plans.

The US plans assign to Western Europe the role of a nuclear battlefield, and the requisite weapons under complete US control are already being deployed in the area.

They are serviced by US military specialists, and Washington alone has the right to decide on the launching of these weapons. This suggests most obviously the following conclusion: the underlying sinister motivation of the US strategy is to convert the Western part of our continent into a magnet to attract retaliation-strike missiles and so keep the territory of the United States itself intact. One is simply amazed at the irresponsibility of the West European governments which have so flippantly allowed themselves to be drawn into a gamble that is fatal to their nations' future.

The US efforts to acquire a first nuclear-strike capability are not confined to 'Euromissiles', although these do have a special role to play. The same purpose is served by the sharp step-up of the race in strategic nuclear weapons, and equally by the NATO countries' 'additional armament' in conventional weapons whose destructive force approximates to that of tactical nuclear weapons.

According to the US defence directive for 1984-1988, the US army is to receive roughly 5,000 new aircraft, and more than 7,000 tanks, apart from other types of weapons. The number of warships is to be increased by 600 units. Deployment of the MX missiles is to be started. The United States has begun to implement a wide programme for the military use of space.

The Atlanticists are unable to make a realistic assessment of the situation because of the illusory hope, stemming from their ultra-militaristic plans, for gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union and the WTO as a whole, of acquiring a 'disarming strike' potential, and of being able to fight a 'victorious nuclear war' against the socialist community countries. That is the real reason for Washington's refusal to engage in anything like serious negotiations on measures to avert a nuclear war, reduce armaments and go on to disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security.

'New' US and NATO Policy

The firm, principled stand of the Soviet Union and the other WTO states, together with the mounting public resistance and the forthcoming presidential elections, have forced Reagan and his supporters to alter their tactics. In the past few months, they have not made as many wild attacks on the Soviet Union, and have refrained from making their oft-repeated naked threats of 'crusade', and 'limited' or 'global' war against socialism.

Trampling on the facts, imperialist propaganda is now trying, by hook or by crook, to convince the Europeans and peoples on other continents that nothing untoward is happening and that there is no danger of war. In a speech early this year, President Reagan deliberately falsified the substance of the present international situation and hypocritically claimed that the world has now become 'a safer place' and that the United States does 'not threaten the Soviet Union'. He invited Moscow to a 'dialogue' on the basis of 'mutual compromise' and said that the United States was ready to 'return to the negotiating table' at any time.⁵ In his wake, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President François Mitterrand tried to convince the Soviet Union 'to resume negotiations as soon as possible and to make a contribution to concrete disarmament, attainment of an equilibrium of forces, and stable relations between East and West'.⁶

Such calls coming from the NATO camp are clearly directed to the wrong address. The socialist community states are prepared to settle all the problems at the conference table. But this question arises: has the US and NATO policy really changed? Or, to put it more concretely, have they halted their feverish arms race and preparations for war? Have they displayed enough political will for negotiations on the basis of equality, instead of a position of strength, pressure and coercion, and have they abandoned their line of confrontation? Finally, has the world become 'a safer place'?

Unfortunately, the answer to all these questions has to be 'no'. The substance of

the US and NATO policy remains the same. The speeches delivered by Reagan and his ilk do not contain a single constructive proposal for limiting the arms race. Their only purpose is to dupe the public by means of peaceful rhetoric and so to weaken its resistance to the imperialist policy.

The Soviet Union perseveringly strove to preserve the military equilibrium in Europe and the global strategic parity and to secure a halt to the arms race, and then to go on to a reduction of the nuclear potentials on the continent. The US missile deployment propels developments in the very opposite direction. The quantity of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe is increasing and the number of countries on whose territory such systems are installed is growing.

Reagan asserts that the United States has not even toyed with the idea of threatening the Soviet Union. In actual fact, Washington's political line is predetermined by the presidential defence directive for 1984-1988, which is nothing but a programme for preparing war against the USSR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states. The military strategic doctrine of 'direct confrontation' is designed for 'limited' and 'global' nuclear wars, which are to start with 'pre-emptive strikes' against the socialist countries. Plans for wide-ranging military operations in Europe are being drawn up. In the course of large-scale exercises, various scenarios for conventional and nuclear war against our community are being run through.

Reagan keeps holding forth on peace, while putting before Congress the draft of a new military budget which is the highest in the history of the United States. Its character and structure are a reflection of the aggressive substance of US foreign policy and the military strategic doctrines it determines, and testify to intensive preparations for war. This means appropriating for the arms race the fantastic amount of \$305 billion, or 13 per cent more than this year.

Reagan declares that his Administration's supreme purpose is to avert war and to limit the arsenals built up throughout the world. Meanwhile, the new military budget is aimed to build up a mammoth potential well in excess of the needs of defence and designed to back up the global aggressive policy. That is evident from the stockpiling of new strategic first-strike systems: the MX and Midgetman ICBMs, Trident submarine-launched missile systems, B-1B and Stealth bombers, cruise missiles, and neutron, chemical, and space weapons. Fundamentally new types of conventional weapons are being developed.

Reagan keeps inviting the Soviet Union to a 'practical dialogue', claiming that the United States is ready to start negotiations, but in the next breath he says that 'strength is essential to negotiate successfully and protect our interests'.⁷ Washington-style negotiations, we find, turn out to be an attempt at diktat, and that is what inevitably dooms them to failure.

Reagan has fudged the fact that the United States has done most harm to the arms-limitation process precisely during his term in office. Washington has refused to ratify SALT-2, it unilaterally broke off negotiations on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, on anti-satellite systems, etc.⁸

Reagan keeps saying hypocritically that his objective is to eliminate all medium-range nuclear weapons. In actual fact, no sooner had the United States developed new types of such weapons, it instantly got down to deploying them in Europe, without waiting for the outcome of the Geneva talks. These were torpedoed by Washington, which rejected all the proposals capable of preventing the appearance of Pershing-2 and Tomahawks on European soil, and started their deployment, which drew counter-measures from the WTO states.

Reagan has proposed that steps should be taken to create an atmosphere of confidence, while saying nothing about the fact that the United States has repeatedly rejected many of the Soviet Union's far-reaching initiatives. Confidence-building measures are truly very important, but they do not guarantee security in themselves. The US approach does not imply any limitation of military activity by the parties, but

merely an exchange of information about it. How is it possible then to enhance mutual confidence in an atmosphere in which Washington keeps building up its armaments and striving for military superiority, with the deployment of US first-strike weapons gathering momentum in Western Europe, and the threat of nuclear war growing?

US and NATO spokesmen have loudly declared their readiness to come forward with new proposals, but they keep clinging to their old and unrealistic positions. They hope that by juggling the facts they could blame the Soviet Union for frustrating the talks on limiting the arms race so as to reduce public resistance to their militaristic policy.

The Way to Peace and Security in Europe

The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the other WTO members have done a great deal in their efforts to preserve peace and strengthen security in Europe. Their proposals have created a real possibility of breaking the vicious arms-race circle, getting down to a limitation of the military armouries, and establishing control over them. They have indicated the way to reducing international tensions and preventing a universal disaster.

From the very beginning of the negotiations, the socialist states have proposed that Europe should be completely freed from missiles weapons, both medium-range and tactical. Faced with the US and NATO refusal to accept such a radical solution, they put forward another alternative: a graduation by both sides in the numbers of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe by two-thirds. When the imperialist powers rejected that idea as well, the Soviet Union announced its readiness to leave in Europe only as many missiles as were in the possession of Great Britain and France, with a simultaneous understanding on reducing down to an equal level the number of aircraft carrying medium-range nuclear weapons deployed by the USSE and the NATO countries in our region. In other words, the WTO states do not want to have in Europe a single plane or a single medium-range missile more than the NATO bloc has.

These efforts aimed to solve the problem of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe are not motivated by any short-term considerations. The WTO has worked long and hard to remove the nuclear threat. It has now been possible for a long time to conclude reasonable agreements on the basis of equality and equal security.

The Soviet Union first called on the United States to begin negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons back in 1970. Later, in 1979 alone, the USSR invited the United States to sit down to the negotiation table on three occasions: in March, in June, during the Soviet-US summit, and on October 6.⁹ However, the US Administration has brushed off all these initiatives. It obviously did not want to have any understandings on any constraints to the buildup of its weapons in this sphere. It subsequently became clear that Washington had decided to bulldoze its way through and is prepared to deploy its new medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, regardless of the consequences.

Faced with the sharply increased danger, the socialist states were forced to take measures to strengthen their defences. By agreement with the government of the USSR, the Czechoslovak government has decided to site on its territory Soviet longer-range operational-tactical missile complexes. Similar steps have also been taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic.

Were these measures actually necessary? Would it not have been better to wait and look for another way out? In answering such questions, let us note from the outset that the step was thoroughly considered in every respect. We were left with no alternative by the exceptional threat posed to European and universal security. Without the socialist states' counter-measures, the destabilisation of the political and military situation in Europe was bound sharply to increase. Any delay over their

adoption could lead to tragic consequences.

The deployment of operational-tactical missile complexes on the territory of Czechoslovakia and the GDR has only one objective: to preserve the nuclear equilibrium in Europe, thereby helping to strengthen European and universal security. It serves as a serious warning to the imperialist forces seeking military superiority and pinning their hopes on confrontation.

Now and again, even sincere advocates of peace in the West still voice doubts about the need to deploy nuclear weapons in Czechoslovakia and the GDR, considering that the Soviet Union has enough of these weapons on its own territory. Why they ask, will the WTO states not repudiate medium-range nuclear missiles unilaterally, so setting an example for the United States and its allies to follow?

The USSR does, indeed, have an adequate strategic potential to administer a fitting rebuff to the aggressor. But, as I have demonstrated, the 'Euromissiles', notably Pershing-2, create a totally new regional and global threat, and the weapons being deployed in Czechoslovakia and the GDR are designed precisely to parry it in concrete form.

As for the suggestion that the socialist states should forego their counter-measures or even disarm unilaterally, the threat now posed is not some kind of theoretical one whose reality may be confirmed or refuted by practice. Here one has to rely on past experience, and it clearly carries a negative message. Thus, far from following the USSR's example, when it announced its unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons on the European part of its territory, the United States in effect began to step up the deployment of its own missiles in a number of West European countries. When the USSR undertook the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the United States and its allies declared that they would not follow suit. In sum, there is every reason to believe that the socialist countries' unilateral disarmament would have merely stimulated the militarists' urge for military superiority.

The United States and its allies have been repeatedly warned that we and our friends would not remain indifferent to the growing war danger on the Western borders of the socialist community. As Konstantin Chernenko put it, "June 1941 will not be repeated. Retribution will immediately overtake any aggressor."¹⁰ The forced counter-measures are fully adequate to the scale of the missile action of the United States and the NATO countries and are aimed to maintain the equilibrium of forces in the light of the principle of ensuring equal security of the sides.

Nor does this involve any kind of ultimatum: the door to a possible agreement has not been closed in any sense. In late November 1983, i.e., just after the appearance of Pershing-2 and Tomahawk missiles in Western Europe, the Soviet leadership declared: 'Should the United States and other NATO countries display readiness to return to the situation which existed before the commencement of the deployment of US medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will also be prepared to do so. In that event our earlier proposals on nuclear arms limitation and reduction in Europe would also be revalidated. In that case, that is, on condition that the former situation is restored, the USSR's unilateral obligations in this field would also become effective again.'¹¹

Such is our common stand. It was reaffirmed in April 1984 by the WTO Foreign Ministers' Committee, which issued a communique saying, in particular, that the WTO countries 'insist on a halt to the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and declare that if such measures leading to a withdrawal of the already deployed missiles are taken, steps will simultaneously be taken to call off the counter-measures. That would create the basis for a resumption of the negotiations for the purpose of achieving relevant agreements to free Europe from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.'¹²

The USSR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states have tried very hard to

prevent the new round in the arms race. They have put forward a number of constructive programmes whose realisation would help to halt the further stockpiling of weapons. These proposals provide, in particular, for an end to the buildup of strategic nuclear potentials and their gradual curtailment, a ban on the production of new types and new systems of weapons, prevention of the spread of the nuclear arms race to space, and measures to avert accidental or unpremeditated use of nuclear weapons. The idea of the WTO and NATO concluding a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Military Force and Maintenance of Relations of Peace is highly important. It was set forth in the 1983 Prague Declaration of the WTO Political Consultative Committee, but up to now has not met with any kind of favourable response from Washington and its closest allies. In their efforts to get things going, the socialist community countries addressed a call to the NATO powers last May urging them to enter into multilateral consultations to discuss both the conception of such a treaty and its components. They said that, alongside the WTO and NATO countries, all the other European countries concerned could take part in such consultations.

Many governments and the whole of peace-loving public opinion gave a high appreciation to the USSR's March 1984 proposal to codify relations between the nuclear powers. Its realisation could re-establish the climate of international confidence and return inter-state relations to the lines of relaxing the military confrontation, to the course of detente.

The socialist community countries are firmly resolved not to allow the military equilibrium to be upset, be it in medium-range nuclear missiles or in strategic armaments. They believe the military parity to be the cornerstone of international security.

We are deeply convinced that socialism's consistent peace policy, which meets the aspirations of the peoples of the whole globe, will help to remove the dangers produced by the militaristic urges of imperialism. In his New Year message, Gustáv Husák, CPCz CC General Secretary and President of Czechoslovakia declared: 'The present balance of forces, and the might and strength of the Soviet Union and of the whole socialist community all go to confirm our conviction that common sense will ultimately triumph and that peace for the whole world and for our people will be preserved.'¹³

¹ *Information Bulletin*, No. 11, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 5.

² *Der Spiegel*, October 17, 1983.

³ For the sake of comparison, let us recall that the flight time of inter-continental missiles is 30 minutes.—*Ed.*

⁴ See *Frankfurter Rundschau*, July 1, 1983.

⁵ *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2,083, February 1984.

⁶ *Europa-Archiv*, No. 2, 1984.

⁷ *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2,083, February 1984.

⁸ For details on Washington's breaches of its international treaty obligations see 'Rejecting the Language of Agreements', *WMR*, No. 6, 1984.—*Ed.*

⁹ The White House agreed to negotiate on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons in Europe only because of the USSR's perseverance, and that the talks opened in Geneva in 1980.

¹⁰ *Information Bulletin*, No. 13, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 2, 1984, pp. 5-6.

¹² *Pravda*, April 21, 1984.

¹³ *Rude pravo*, January 2, 1984.

the book scene

LOOKING BACK AT STAGES PASSED

Gildo Gasperoni, *Itinerario politico: a San Marino e in Europa in difesa della democrazia* (Political Itinerary: In San Marino and Europe in Defence of Democracy). A.I.E.P. Editrice—San Marino, 1983, 165 pp.

This book by Gildo Gasperoni, a veteran of the international communist movement, Chairman of the San Marino Communist Party, can be called a journalistic study. It is imbued with the author's fervour for the events recounted; the narration is lively, graphic and vivid. This is what makes it a journalistic piece.

At the same time, the book deals with a number of complicated political and theoretical questions, has an analytical approach to them, and contains profound generalisations. And this is what makes it a study.

It seems that the reasons for such a blend are the originality in style of the work, which is based on personal recollections, and its content, a key to which is provided by the book's very name—*Political Itinerary: In San Marino and Europe in Defence of Democracy*. The author's development as a Communist and the formation of the communist movement in his homeland are the chief and closely connected themes. They are explored against the broad background of the development of the anti-fascist and democratic movement in Western Europe from the beginning of the twenties to the end of the Second World War.

San Marino, where Gasperoni was born in 1906, is one of the smallest European countries. It is located in the north of the Apennine Peninsula and is surrounded by the territory of Italy. The history of this, the most ancient of the independent states in Europe goes back almost 17 centuries. San Marino is also the oldest republic of the modern world, having risen in the 10th century, a fact which largely accounts for the strong democratic traditions in the country. The freedom-loving spirit and striving for justice that are features of these traditions were clearly manifested in the character and conduct of the author from a young age. The revolutionary events in Russia and the already legendary name of Lenin made a tremendous impression on him, a name which the 12-year-old boy painted on the walls of houses at nights. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Leninist ideas came into the life of Gasperoni forever, and predetermined the maturation of his convictions and views, his political activity.

One of many children of a poor artisan, he, like many of his compatriots, had to go abroad in his youth in search of work. This happened in 1923 when the Republic of San Marino followed Italy in falling under the power of the fascists. Under the pretext of 'rooting out Bolshevism', the democratic rights and freedoms were revoked and the progressive organisations, primarily the San Marino section of the Italian Communist Party formed in 1921 were banned. It took many years of struggle for the San Marino Communists, through severe trials, to become an influential political force.

Gasperoni had been prepared for this struggle by active participation in the communist movement of a number of European countries, and by a profound study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Gramsci and other revolutionary thinkers, and of the Communists' international experience. In France he joined the Communist Party, involved himself in the youth and trade union movement, and did political

work among the immigrant workers. Gasperoni was persecuted by the police and sent to Luxembourg, where he continued his revolutionary activity.

Recalling the 1930s, the author focusses on the Popular Front policy pursued by the Communists of the capitalist countries and pointed against fascism. History has confirmed the correctness and effectiveness of this policy, which ensured the conditions for the democratic forces to unite in the struggle against the fascist danger. The decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, which, as the book states, 'laid the basis for all the future work of the Communists of the different European Countries', were instrumental in the realisation of this policy (p. 66).

Of great interest are Gasperoni's recollections of the dramatic events of the civil war in Spain, where he fought in international brigades. 'We can say proudly,' he writes, 'that we did everything possible to save Spanish democracy at a time when the so-called "democratic" states of the West preferred to leave it to the whims of fate, opening the road to the increasingly brazen expansionist pretensions of European fascism' (p. 67). The author writes that the only source of assistance to the Spanish republicans was 'international solidarity and the Soviet Union' (pp. 72-73).

After the civil war in Spain, passing through internment camps for the international brigades fighters in France and through arrest and imprisonment, Gasperoni returned to San Marino, where he began active political and organisational work deep underground to form a communist party. If one takes into consideration that at that time his country had for almost two decades been under the power of fascists, who brutally suppressed any opposition to the regime, and that a sizable part of the democratic public was demoralised by the Hitlerites' military successes, it is not difficult to imagine how hard it was to carry out this task. Nevertheless, the goal was reached, thanks to the courage and tireless propaganda and organisational work of Gasperoni and his comrades: in July 1941 the San Marino Communist Party was formed by the groups of Communists which had been in existence.

In summarising today the experience of the party's formation and development, the author uses concrete examples to show the theoretical correctness and practical effectiveness of the Leninist concept of the party of a new type—the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and all other working people leading a consistent struggle for democracy and social progress. It was just such a party, created by the San Marino revolutionaries, which became the main organising and directing force of the anti-fascist movement in the country. It united the anti-fascists and drew them into the struggle which developed as the Soviet Army won ever newer victories over Hitler's troops. The Communists' selfless activity in the years of the Resistance earned them great prestige among the masses, enabling them to hold leading positions in the political life of the country after it was liberated. In the 1945 elections, the Communist Party and the Socialists allied with it won a majority of the votes and formed a left front government. 'The electoral victory,' the book says, 'was the first stage of a battle which was to begin the development of the democratic process and draw all the political and social forces into the transformation of the society' (p. 163).

A new period, one 'less troubled and dangerous but equally difficult' (p. 164), has opened in the author's life and work. This period is not covered in the book. We hope that Gasperoni will continue his recollections, which are a contribution to the education of new generations of revolutionaries. His book shows convincingly that the source of the Communists' strength and fortitude, of the growth of their influence among the masses lies primarily in loyalty to the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Ivo Urban

THORNY ROAD TO FREEDOM

R. A. Ulyanovsky, A. Y. Yuryev, V. V. Vavilov, V. G. Khoros, Y. N. Vinokurov, *Politicheskiye portrety bortsov za natsionalnuyu nepravimost* (Political Portraits of Champions of National Independence), Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 319 pp.

After the Great October Revolution triumphed in Russia Lenin perspicaciously said that the time would come when the peoples of the East would awaken, shake off the shameful yoke of colonialism, and enter international life. These words have come true. The Asian and African countries that have won liberation are now an influential factor of world politics. The national liberation movement has produced personalities that have played a big role in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. This book by a group of Soviet scholars gives political portraits of eleven leading champions of national liberation.¹

The life of these personalities is a chronicle of the development of the national liberation movement from its beginning to our time. Each followed his own road with its milestones of bitter setbacks and joyful triumphs. But, as the introduction notes, all were motivated by their 'irreconcilable attitude to colonialism, their desire to see the social progress, liberation, and security of peoples, and the attainment by them of genuine independence' (p. 3). On account of objective and subjective factors (the socio-economic development level of their countries, acquaintanceship with Marxism-Leninism, the extent of knowledge and, lastly, personal characteristics) some remained national-reformists after victory over colonialism, while others took a step in the direction of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The book opens with R. A. Ulyanovsky's sketches of two of India's outstanding sons—Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. He evaluates the work of Gandhi, noting that 'fidelity to national, cultural, historical, and religious traditions, the ability to draw from them mottos, slogans, reminiscences, and images that the peasant and the artisan could understand, the ability to show convincingly the direct link of their spiritual life to the requirements of the country's independent development and society's transformation are a hallmark and strong side of Gandhism as ideology and political practice' (p. 14).

Gandhi denounced exploitation, preaching social harmony in its stead. His consistent stand on the question of untouchables helped to ease the plight of this most downtrodden section of India's population. Sincere concern for the welfare of the masses, the striving to improve the conditions of the working people, and to build a society of social justice are expressed by Gandhism in the form of the utopian archaic ideal of sarvodaya (or welfare society).

Gandhism is a complex and contradictory phenomenon in the Indian national liberation movement. In this book it is said that Gandhi's teaching should be treated with solicitude, that the approach to his views about social evolution must be painstaking and scientific. 'Disagreement,' writes R. A. Ulyanovsky, 'does not preclude respect. Gandhi himself set the example. He could not accept all the ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution, he censured the Communists for their atheism and devotion to the class struggle, but he acknowledged that the end goals of the Bolsheviks were just and grandiose and he recognised the greatness of Lenin, the leader of the revolution' (p. 62).

Gandhi's pupil Jawaharlal Nehru became his political and ideological heir. A sagacious statesman, philosopher, and poet, he assimilated the strong and some weak aspects of Gandhism. But, unlike his predecessor, Nehru came under the influence of a number of Marxist postulates. In particular, he 'recognised the basic Marxist economic interpretations of history with its focus on the modes of production, the role of the masses, the social structure, class contradictions, and the class struggle' (p. 70). At the same time, Nehru persisted in his efforts to reconcile the theory of the

class struggle with the Gandhian theory of class harmony, absolutising non-violence as a way of settling social conflicts (see pp. 90-91).

The duality of Nehru's world view was also seen in his attitude to socialism. He saw society's socialist transformation as vital to humankind's historical development but visualised the road to the new system as a consecutive series of class compromises. He refused to recognise that the 'struggle for socialism necessitates a class orientation radically different' (p. 89) from that of the general democratic stage of the revolution.

'It is easy to reproach Nehru of inconsistency, of retrogression,' the book says. 'In principle he possibly merits this criticism but it will not be compelling and justified if no account is taken of his role in India's modern history, of a role that was predicated on and limited by objective factors, whose potency Nehru well realised' (p. 74).

Not all leaders of the national liberation movements had the courage, perseverance, and ability to uphold to the end the revolutionary-democratic and socialist slogans advanced in the course of the struggle. Departures from proclaimed platforms had serious consequences to countries and ended in personal drama for their leaders. This is what happened in Indonesia in 1965 and then in Ghana a year later.

Many facts are used in this book to show how under the influence of the experience of socialist countries the political practice of leaders of developing countries matured and their ideological and political outlook evolved increasingly in the direction of recognising the fundamental provisions of scientific socialism. These leaders included Gamal Abdel Nasser, outstanding son of the Egyptian people. 'Nasser,' writes V. V. Vavilov, 'was not a Marxist but he came more and more tangibly under the influence of scientific socialism with the enforcement of progressive socio-economic changes and the growth of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples' (p. 170).

The authors substantively analyse the views of revolutionary-democratic leaders and write highly of their contribution to the formation of states that have chosen to follow the road of society's progressive restructuring. For them devotion to scientific socialism meant not bombast talk but real day-to-day affairs and deeds. For example, Amilcar Cabral, national hero of Guinea-Bissau, never called himself a proponent of Marxism-Leninism, but in his theoretical and practical work he was guided by its principles.

The struggle to eradicate the bitter colonial heritage, the aspiration of the people for social justice, and the anti-imperialist thrust of the national liberation movement create the conditions for the transition of its vanguard to the world view of the working class.

With the names of Agostinho Neto and Marien Ngouabi the authors link the rise of a new generation of revolutionary democrats. They and other of the finest members of this generation were able to rid themselves of many of the delusions of their predecessors, surmount the idealisation of the role of the peasants and the negative attitude towards the proletariat, and see the working class as the advanced contingent of fighters for national liberation and social progress. They realised the need for a vanguard-type party and the importance of the people's ideological and political education, and in their actions they were guided by the concrete situation in their respective countries.

Neto, for example, did not hasten 'to proclaim scientific socialism as the ideology of the MPLA, for he did not want to frighten away those strata that by virtue of their social status or level of political maturity could not and were not ready to accept it' (p. 211). He made the final decision only in the face of the aggravation of the internal struggle and the foreign intervention.

Attention is drawn to the fact that Ngouabi, who was the leader of the first ruling party in Africa to proclaim scientific socialism as its ideological foundation, clearly saw the discrepancy in his country between theory and revolutionary practice. He wrote with concern about the danger of the bureaucratisation and bourgeoisification

of the party and state apparatus and of their isolation from the people.

Many difficulties had to be overcome by those African countries that opted for the socialist orientation. Many problems still await their solution. However, already today, the experience of the peoples of these countries tells them that their leaders had chosen correctly.

Eleven personalities. Four—Gandhi, Lumumba, Cabral, and Ngouabi—fell at the hands of hired killers. Neto, Nasser, and Boumediène died early: the human organism did not take the strain, proving to be weaker than the spirit.

The many factors that determine a country's development, Marx wrote, include 'the "accident" of the character of the people who first head the movement'.² This is shown in these vivid portraits of distinguished leaders of the national liberation movements. More, the scientific and political significance of this book is unquestionably enhanced by its generalisation of the experience of the peoples of Asia and Africa in their struggle for society's progressive restructuring.

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¹ These are portraits of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sukarno, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Houari Boumediène, Agostinho Neto, Marien Ngouabi, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Amílcar Cabral, and Frantz Fanon.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 421.

THE WRONG RECIPES

Communism in Central America and the Caribbean, Edited by Robert Wesson, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 1982, 177 pp.

The escalation of Washington's interventionist policy is turning Central America and the Caribbean into one of the most volatile regions of the world. Following its piratical, cynical invasion of Grenada, the USA has conducted massive military exercises in Honduras, mined Nicaraguan ports in defiance of elementary norms of international law, and organised a large-scale attack on Nicaragua by Somoza gangs. The Pentagon continues to send huge amounts of weapons to the genocidal Salvadoran army and is extending the militarisation of the Caribbean.

The immediate objective of the US military presence now being built up in this region is to carry out the sinister plan to nullify the revolutionary achievements of the peoples of Nicaragua and Cuba. It is central to the Reagan strategy of suppressing progressive, national liberation movements in this zone and, ultimately, the whole of Latin America.

Of course, not everybody in the USA is going along with this policy. Even in Congress there are quarters that regard it as bordering on madness. The group of analysts who contributed articles to this volume belong to those who to one extent or another do not approve the Reagan policy of intervention. This book is an attempt to analyse the socio-economic situation in the countries of the region and explain the causes of the severe crisis now engulfing them.

From the assessments made by the contributors (most of them are politologists at universities in the USA) the conclusion can be drawn that the countries of the region are facing acute socio-economic problems. Let us name some of them.

In a chapter on El Salvador Thomas P. Anderson writes: 'A major reason for the bitter struggle in El Salvador is the great disparity of wealth. The small oligarchy,

which prior to the land reform of March 1980 owned 60 per cent of the land, was often called "the fourteen families", and although the exact number was uncertain, the expression indicated the extent of the concentration of wealth. Per capita income in the late 1970s was around \$600, but many peasant families subsisted on no more than \$150 a year' (p. 66). Anderson notes that the partial agrarian reform conducted by the junta did not win it the support of the peasants (see p. 71).

The situation is analogous in Honduras and Costa Rica. Neal J. Pearson uses the returns of the rural census of 1973 in Costa Rica to show that 2.1 per cent of the households had 42.2 per cent of the arable land (see p. 96).

In Guatemala, Daniel L. Premo writes, 'infant mortality is high 82.9 per 1,000 live births officially, and perhaps double that unofficially. An estimated 81 per cent of rural children suffer from malnutrition' (p. 74).

Nor is the political situation less dramatic in these countries, which are dominated by oligarchies and ruled by corrupt regimes. In the concluding chapter, which sums up the contributions to this volume, Robert Wesson offers the eloquent conclusion: 'In these conditions, one would not expect to find honest, legalistic governments exercising power under constitutional restraints and with full responsibility to the people' (p. 160).

And yet, in asking why, despite having considerable natural and manpower resources, the Central American and Caribbean countries are in such dire economic straits and their populations are denied the elementary material means for a more or less dignified life, the authors evade a comprehensive reply. They close their eyes to the fact that the causes of the dismal situation lie both in the colonial past of the countries of the region and in their present economic and political dependence on imperialist powers. While extending economic, technological, and military 'aid', imperialism does not bother about the interests of the recipient countries and shirks its historical responsibility for their economic and social backwardness.

Spokesman of US liberal thought are reluctant to admit that US foreign policy is determined by mercenary imperialist interests. These interests can in no way be reconciled with the passionate desire of the Third World nations for social progress and liberation. Thus the appeal to extend to Central American and Caribbean nations not military but economic assistance—the authors claim this would be a panacea against the 'communist threat'—is only another side of the same coin, in other words, a signboard to hide monopoly capital's expansionist character.

The history of Central America, the Caribbean, and the entire Latin American continent provides compelling evidence of imperialism's robber essence. It acts either without disguise (the endless chain of conquests from the annexation of Puerto Rico in 1898 to the occupation of Grenada in 1983, interspersed with criminal actions by intelligence agencies to destabilise governments and mastermind coups, for example, in Brazil in 1964 and in Chile in 1973) or uses the camouflage of 'assistance and aid' (such as the Monroe doctrine, the 'good neighbour' policy, and the Alliance for Progress).

Instead of acknowledging and correctly diagnosing these facts, the authors cast aspersions on the Soviet Union and Cuba, attributing to them the provoking of disturbances and the scripting of subversion in the region. As though setting the tone for the entire volume, W. Raymond Duncan categorically asserts in the very first chapter that 'Moscow, in its quest for power in the Third World, finds the Caribbean and Central America a promising field for action' (p. 1). Of course, he does not offer facts to support this connection, for none exist.

It would be superfluous to expect US bourgeois politologists to admit that in fact in its foreign policy the Soviet Union is guided by the lofty principles of peace and cooperation. But it might have been expected that the authors of this volume would ask some questions. For instance, does Washington not use the 'Soviet threat' invention as a pretext for supporting the bloodthirsty regime in El Salvador and

turning Honduras into a spring-board for aggression against Nicaragua? Does this myth not serve the Reagan Administration as the pretext for interventions and for violating laws governing international relations? Is the Pentagon not using the 'crusade' against communism as justification for the unbridled and unprecedented arms race that is threatening all humanity with disaster?

In the book an attempt is made to put over the idea that there have been some 'positive changes' in Washington's policy in recent years. In the introduction it is alleged that the Reagan Administration has realised that there is a need to take the economic mess in the region into account and inspire the hope that the situation can be stabilised without bloodshed (See p. XIV). A purely liberal utopia! The actions that the USA is in fact taking do not cease to refute the illusions of the authors, who, incidentally, say nothing at all about the Santa Fe document¹ that underlies the Reagan policy in the region. By no means based on common sense, its sole imperative is more soldiers, more weapons, more dollars to bolster the puppet military-oligarchal regimes and counter-revolutionary gangs.

This is why there is a growing awareness among the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean that US imperialism is their sworn enemy, and that Cuba, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries are their true allies in their struggle for freedom and independence. This realisation is being brought home to the masses by the inexorable logic of the developments in the region.

Noé Gertel
Brazilian journalist

¹ This document is considered in detail in: Rodney Arismendi, 'Global Madness Once More'. *WMR*, No. 7, 1981.—Ed.

A GUERRILLA ANTHOLOGY

La letteratura partigiana in Italia 1943-1945 (Guerrilla Literature in Italy, 1943-1945), Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1984, 293 pp.

The main purpose of this collection, edited by Giovanni Falaschi and supplied with a Preface by Natalia Ginzburg, a prominent Italian writer, is evidently to give primarily young readers an idea of the Italian Resistance, of the sacrifices which the hard struggle against fascism and nazism exacted from the people. The fact that those events took place long ago is no obstacle to recalling experience that is relevant to this day. The book comprises recollections, diaries and letters, poems and pieces of prose by well-known authors who took part in the guerrilla movement, and the lyrics of songs that GAP¹ members used to sing. Guerrilla literature exists in two forms. One of them is a record of oral accounts by ordinary people, some of them lacking proper education. They are authentic and engagingly frank. The reader is struck by the contrast between the matter-of-factness of the narrative and the heroic quality of the deeds it depicts. This is precisely the effect of, among others, Ennio Giunchi's story of two guerrillas, Corbari and Casadei, who were sentenced to death, Franco Calamandrei's story of the Rasella Street action carried out by the GAP of Rome², and Alcide Cervi's recollections of his sons.³ The other form of guerrilla literature is works by professional poets and prose writers who fought in the Resistance. Their authors include Italo Calvino, Elio Vittorini, Beppe Fenoglio, Pier Paolo Pasolini and others who have earned Italian letters world renown. The idea of putting 'folklore' and literature in one volume is most fortunate indeed.

There is a poignant letter from Eusebio Giambone, a communist guerrilla of Piedmont who was sentenced to be shot. He was under 20 years of age when he became an associate of Antonio Gramsci. Betrayed by a traitor early in April 1944, he was tried by a fascist court for the 'defence of the state' and executed by a firing squad on the Turin training ground a few days after. He was posthumously awarded a gold medal and a silver medal for valour. On the eve of the execution, thinking of the future of Italy as it were, he wrote a letter to his daughter Gisella.

'... Your daddy has been sentenced to death for the ideas of justice and equality. You are too small now to understand these things but when you grow up you will be proud of your father and will love him still more. . . . Don't cry, dear Gisella, dry your tears, my treasure, and comfort mamma as the little woman that you are. My life is over but yours is only just beginning. Life is worth living when a person has an ideal and lives it honestly, trying to be useful not only to himself but to the whole of humanity. . . . You are young and must grow up, and it is well that you often think of your father, but you must not give in to sorrow. . . . Your daddy, who has loved you immensely, embraces you and will think of you and your mamma to the last' (pp. 231-232).

The prose writings of Beppe Fenoglio, who concerned himself with the subject of guerrilla war more than others, are real masterpieces. The collection includes his short story 'Twenty-Three Days of the Town of Alba'.

Among the recollections, 'The Loreto Square Massacre' is worthy of special note. It comes from Giovanni Pesce, heroic commander of the Milan GAP.⁴ On August 10, 1944 the nazi invaders shot a group of 15 patriots held hostage, doing it on Milan's Loreto Square to intimidate the guerrillas and the population. The massacre, approved by the German chief commander in Italy, Kesselring, angered the whole country. Retaliation was not long in coming. Next day bombs planted by guerrillas exploded in several parts of the city where German army officers were billeted. The executed were avenged. Shortly afterwards the guerrillas hanged the corpses of Mussolini and other fascist dignitaries on the same square.

Peace stresses the guerrilla's deep love of freedom. It helped them overcome the incredible difficulties of guerrilla fighting in occupied cities.

The collection has come out as a school reading book. We call special attention to this circumstance because neofascists trying to exploit national sentiments are busy creating a myth about the one-time 'grandeur of Italy', said to be achieved by fascism, and searching for ways of winning the younger generation. This makes it particularly important to tell young people the truth about fascism, the worst enemy of the working people, a regime that caused enormous damage to the national interests of Italy and led it to an unprecedented disaster. The collection accomplishes this task. Without the least rhetoric it tells youth how the Italy where they live today came into being, and helps appreciate the moral and ethical values which served anti-fascist fighters as a guide and should continue to serve all real patriots as their mainstay.

Antonio Boffi

¹ Short for *gruppo di azione patriottica* (patriotic action group).—Ed.

² On March 23, 1944 guerrillas killed and wounded over 30 SS-men in Via Rasella, a street in central Rome, with a bomb and small arms fire.

³ The seven Cervi brothers, peasants of Emilia, were active anti-fascists who became national heroes. When Italy found itself under nazi occupation they joined in the guerrilla movement, hid prisoners of war who had escaped from concentration camps, and helped them make their way into the mountains. The fascists seized the brothers and shot them on December 28, 1943.

⁴ Pesce fought in the Spanish civil war as a member of the Garibaldi brigade. After the war he was exiled to the island of Ventotene and in September 1943 he joined the guerrillas. His bravery won him a gold medal.

A MINER'S LIFE

David Douglass, Joel Krieger, *A Miner's Life*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983, 118 pp.

The two authors—a miner and an academic—succeed within the limits they set themselves in the Prefaces 'to provide a doubly personal yet reliable commentary on the general conditions and life situations of miners in Britain today' (p. VIII). The book exudes the social atmosphere, the environmental reality, of the pit. Joel Krieger observes social phenomena while Dave Douglass, a man born and bred to the pit, confirms, in spite of educational absences and a demanding union position, the old adage 'Once a miner, always a miner'.

The book goes a long way towards explaining the indelible imprint of the underground world of the coal mine on the social psychology of the individual. Coal mining is essentially a very physical experience. *A Miner's Life* confirms my own conclusion¹ that the individual and social adaptations necessary to work in a pit are of a permanent nature which sets a miner apart from fellow-workers in other industries.

The facts given by Douglass do a good job in dispelling the mythology of 'modern mining' in white overalls, pressing buttons and monitoring automatic systems. The working environment is still extreme in British pits and poses a day-to-day threat to life and limb.

But though the book touches on the vitally important area of class consciousness and its sectional variations, as well as on their relation to changing working conditions and the accumulation of class experience, there is really no analysis of the dynamics of the process, and the modern miner is left with an identity crisis which I feel is unfounded in reality. Possibly, the problem is more that, as union activists, some of us are so captivated by their past history and the magnificent saga of the miners' struggles against oppression and economic slavery that we fail to respond to the new aspirations and attitudes of many of our workmates. I sometimes feel that, on the left, we suffer from a peculiar form of puritanism which has yet to recognise that the house mortgage, the car on the hire purchase and the other attributes of the present status of a section of the working class are now threatened by the recession and that this too, can spur militant trade union action.

The chapters on the miner in relation to the union and the industrial action of 1972, 1974 and 1981 reduce the development of industrial militancy and political consciousness to an endless confrontation between the 'rank-and-file' and the 'bureaucracy'. Political differences are to all intents and purposes ignored and no attempt is made to respond to the present period of struggle.

The book's strength is the authentic view of the peculiar world of the coal miner, but the underlying political analysis and perspective fail to measure to the tasks facing British miners, who are compelled to fight for the right to work and hence to live, as recent events showed.

Malcolm Pitt
President, Kent Area
National Union of Miners

¹ Malcolm Pitt, *The World on Our Backs*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1979.—Ed.

surveys, information and mail

The Reader Wants to Know

Southern Africa: Backstage of the Racists' Manoeuvres

Readers are asking for information about the situation in Southern Africa on the eve of the introduction of the so-called new Constitution in South Africa and following the 'peace' manoeuvres launched by Pretoria. We reply with the following interview given in Dar es Salaam by spokesmen of the African National Congress **Stanley Mabizela** and **James Stuart**.

WMR. The racist regime in Pretoria has lately been trying to give the impression that it is undergoing some liberalisation. It all began in November 1983 when the regime conducted what it termed as a referendum on the new Constitution among the white population of South Africa. What, in your opinion, was the purpose of that exercise?

Stanley Mabizela. In the first place it was motivated by the fear which the racist regime is experiencing. Since 1975, after Angola and Mozambique became independent, the African National Congress has done much to mobilise the people of our country for a struggle against the regime. This work has been conducted chiefly among the black population—Indians, Coloureds, and Africans. The ANC has become more active also in the trade unions. Underground cells were formed and these helped to set up many legal organisations. The trade union movement is now on the upgrade and the conditions are being created for uniting it. As a result, the regime has to reckon with the trade unions, a situation that was inconceivable in South Africa before.¹

All this has helped the downtrodden national groups to become increasingly aware that they have a common destiny and common interests, and fostered their striving for unity in the struggle against racist practices. Of course, the racists are trying to inhibit this tendency. They have a very good idea of the potential of a united black population comprising the vast majority of the nation.² So the pillars to racism are now saying they are willing to govern South Africa jointly with representatives of the Indians and the Coloureds.

But it is not hard to see through this 'willingness'. What they are out to do is to divide the black population, to isolate the Indians and the Coloureds from the Africans not only territorially but also politically, without surrendering an inch of racist practices and the power of the white minority. On the whole, the situation is that the whites are offering the Coloureds and the Indians the semblance of participation in political administration in order to trick them into helping to oppress the disenfranchised African majority.³

James Stuart. In concrete terms this policy of the racists spells out the creation for representatives of the Coloured and Indian population of two new chambers of parliament to consist of 85 and 45 members respectively (the chamber for the whites has 178 members). This raises two questions. The first is: Does this signify that the Pretoria regime is abandoning racial discrimination against these two groups of the

population. And second: Will the new chambers, when set up, in some measure put a curb on the unlimited power of the racists?

The answer to both these questions can only be negative. The apartheid system remains intact and, of course, the legislation, prescribing separate domiciles for the different national groups will not be abolished, and there will be no softening of segregation. Even members of the future Coloured and Indian chambers of parliament will not be able to reside in, for instance, 'white' Capetown; they will have to continue to be domiciled in the townships formed for their national groups. As regards the second question, it is quite obvious that in parliament wide powers will be vested solely in the chamber for whites, which, in terms of voting strength, will have precedence over the two other chambers.

Such is the simple mechanism of this fraud with the new Constitution. It will deceive nobody. The Coloureds and the Indians are increasingly coming round to the realisation that they have to join actively in the revolutionary struggle on the side of the Africans, in the struggle waged by the ANC. Interaction and unity of the anti-racist social forces are growing, as is evidenced by the formation in August 1983 of the broad-based United Democratic Front, an umbrella organisation of all groups of the black population and of progressive whites.

The Front openly proclaims the Freedom Charter⁴ and its principles of justice and equality as the alternative to the present manhating practices. The many autonomous organisations affiliated to the UDF give the latter a link to approximately two million people. It is thus a highly representative and—this is also important—very active coalition. In defiance of police harassment and all sorts of obstacles erected by the authorities the UDF has conducted dozens of rallies, not only in towns but also in rural areas and launched a protest drive to collect a million signatures against the constitutional 'reform'. The UDF is winning growing support and this is further stiffening resistance to the racist regime. It is this that compelled the Pretoria regime to abandon its intention to conduct a referendum on the new Constitution among the Indians.

As a matter of record, in the November referendum only half of the whites voted for the new Constitution. This means that there is no unanimity among those who enjoy the 'blessings' of racism. In other words, in the core of the apartheid regime there are contradictions, and there are grounds for believing that these contradictions will deepen.

Stanley Mabizela. Let me note one more aspect of this issue. The whole point of this constitutional 'reform' farce in South Africa is to mislead international opinion into believing that the regime is changing in accordance with the wishes expressed long ago by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, and other international bodies. We hope that world progressive opinion will not let itself be deluded.

WMR. The response of governmental circles in the imperialist states, the USA in the first place, to the constitutional 'reform' and the referendum has been very positive indeed. Would you comment?

James Stuart. In terms of its ideology and practices the regimes in South Africa differs little from a nazi regime. This is well known throughout the world. Hence the international movement of solidarity with our struggle, and hence the pressure that the ruling circles of the imperialist powers are coming under from their own peoples, from democratic opinion, demanding a political and economic boycott of racist South Africa. Having welcomed, with a serious mien, the 'reforms' and 'liberalisation' of the regime in South Africa, the imperialists of the USA and other countries tried to give the impression that these were real, not fraudulent, changes. They thereby sought to shake and undercut international solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the ANC. But we are confident that this solidarity will grow steadily wider.

To a large extent the imperialists are motivated by their striving to preserve and

protect the huge profits being made here by transnational corporations. South Africa is a gold-mine for imperialism. There is hardly any country with a higher capital profit rate. Quite naturally, therefore, foreign capital is eagerly invested. During the past decade alone the investments of US corporations in South Africa have doubled and are now estimated at 12 billion dollars. Four-fifths of the foreign investments in this racist state are from the USA, the FRG, and Britain. Western monopolies have big interests in the gold-mining industry running into billions of dollars.

And here are statistics of a different kind. The African population of South Africa is subjected to the most callous exploitation. Africans have a life expectancy that is 20 years shorter than that of whites. Annually more than half a million persons, those who refuse to reconcile themselves to inequality and arbitrary rule, are familiarised with racist dungeons. Over the past few years more than 60 political prisoners have died under torture.

Does this worry, say, the Washington 'champions of human rights'? By supporting the apartheid regime they are showing the world that where their super-profits and global strategic interests are at stake they are prepared to trample any human rights.

In spite of the bans called for by the US, the imperialists are cooperating with the South African racists in military matters as well. This cooperation has given South Africa, among other things, the potential for manufacturing nuclear weapons. Pretoria is making no secret of the fact that if it feels there is a need for such action it will use nuclear weapons against neighbouring progressive nations.

By and large, it is unquestionable that had the USA and some other NATO countries not wanted to preserve the apartheid state as a bastion of imperialism in Africa, this barbaric regime would have been on the ash heap of history long ago. Despite all the support it gets from world reaction it will eventually find itself on that ash heap.

Stanley Mabizela. Of course, this support is prompted not only and even not so much by economic and ideological factors. What is more important is that the regime in South Africa serves the interests of imperialism as such. This is precisely why South Africa is engaged in subversion and aggression against neighbouring independent African states with the full backing of the imperialists, notably of the Reagan Administration. The racist regime is bringing constant and almost unbearable pressure to bear on the independent African state of Lesotho, refuses to pull out of Namibia, and is in occupation of part of southern Angola. Pretoria is organising, training, housing, and logistically supporting gangs of terrorists and mercenaries, whom it uses to destabilise progressive governments in our region. And all this is being done, I repeat, with the knowledge and support of the imperialist powers, the USA in the first place.

WMR. In the past few months the racists have introduced some changes into their policy towards neighbouring countries and made claims about their 'peaceful intentions'. What is your view of these steps? What motivated them?

Stanley Mabizela. The main factor now determining the political situation in South Africa is the inability of the racist regime, despite all its efforts, to suppress the liberation struggle of the African National Congress and its military wing—Umkhonto We Sizwe. Pretoria remains in deep moral and political isolation on the international scene. Economic and strategic partnership with imperialism is not taking it out of that isolation.

The racists have undertaken some diplomatic steps in the hope of creating favourable political and strategic conditions for them in the region. The aims pursued by racist diplomacy are perfectly clear. They are: first, to completely undermine the operational capacity of the ANC and, second, to improve the regime's 'image' in the eyes of African and world opinion. It must be said at once that both these objectives are unrealistic.

James Stuart. The racists and their Western backers claim that in our military

operations we use the territory of the front-line states. That is a lie. As our President Oliver Tambo declared authoritatively, the ANC's operations are planned and carried out in South Africa itself. The calculations to knock the ground from under the ANC's feet are ludicrous, to say the least, due to the broad popular support that our organisation enjoys as the vanguard of the liberation struggle. The 'peace' actions of the racists have not shaken this support or demoralised the people in any way.

The hopes of the racists to breach their own moral and political isolation likewise have no leg to stand on. Needless to say, imperialism, notably US imperialism, will go on supporting Pretoria. It is clear that the 'peace' actions were themselves prompted by Washington: they dovetail with the USA's strategy in Africa designed to safeguard imperialist and colonialist interests. That is why there have been sustained attempts over a number of years to split the Organisation of African Unity and undermine African solidarity in the face of the intrigues of the South African racists.

All the indications are that attempts of this kind have yielded nothing. There has been no change in the OAU's stand that the racist regime must be kept in maximum isolation. An analogous position is firmly maintained by the most dependable allies of Africa's revolutionary forces, namely, the USSR and other socialist countries. Apartheid is categorically condemned by the non-aligned movement, the working class and progressive opinion in capitalist countries and, lastly, by the international community as represented by the United Nations. Pretoria's sham 'peace' cannot mute this condemnation.

Stanley Mabizela. The terrorist racist regime is the principal source of tension in our region. There simply cannot be lasting peace without the abolition of this regime. And the highest vigilance has to be maintained when the racists themselves raise the 'peace-making' flag.

WMR. In what way, would you say, can Pretoria's 'liberalisation' and 'peace' actions affect the course of the liberation struggle and the ANC's strategy and tactics?

James Stuart. The racist regime's manoeuvres do not, and this is the main thing, change the condition of our people, of the oppressed and exploited masses. They do not need cosmetic reforms. They want a complete, radical change, a transition from lawlessness to a genuinely democratic state.

South Africa is no such state. Nor do we recognise it as a sovereign state, for the concept 'sovereignty' cannot be applied to a country in which the views of the overwhelming majority of the population were ignored when British imperialism handed over political power to the white minority in 1910. For that reason our struggle is part of the anti-colonial struggle, of the struggle for national liberation.

The African National Congress sees no reason for reconsidering its strategic plans, which are: to lead the people, take over political power, and establish a genuinely democratic system in the country. It has always been the ANC's objective to unite all anti-racist and democratic forces against the racist regime. This policy has not been and will not be altered. The objectives remain unchanged, and the liberation struggle is steadily gaining ground.

Stanley Mabizela. In terms of tactics, the ANC is oriented towards extending the armed struggle, which should, of course, be combined with mass political actions. US imperialism and the racist regime are out to compel us to turn away from military methods. This accounts for all their 'liberal' and 'peace' manoeuvres. For our part, we say that the armed struggle must be stepped up. And for good reason, because in the conditions prevailing in South Africa this is the only way to bring about real changes. Another reason for this is that we are fighting for national liberation and not merely for civil rights. Lastly, an intensification of the revolutionary armed struggle is the best response to the racist regime's policy of savage repressions.

With the ANC at their head the oppressed people are determined to fight to the victorious end. The forces that will make the changes in our country are inexorably growing. The future belongs to them.

¹ See Moses Mabhida, 'At the Centre of Liberation Struggles', *WMR*, No. 1, 1984.

² The population of South Africa consists of 4,600,000 whites, 24,600,000 Africans, 2,600,000 Coloureds, and 850,000 Indians.—*Ed.*

³ To camouflage the denial of rights to Africans, the racist regime regards them as 'citizens' of ten tribal bantustans (or homelands) and not of South Africa.—*Ed.*

⁴ A common programme of progressive organisations calling for the total extirpation of racial discrimination and the enforcement of broad democratic and socio-economic reforms. It was adopted by the 1955 South African Congress of the People.—*Ed.*

Communist Youth Leagues* Brief Information

THE YSL is country-wide voluntary social organisation which has in its ranks 1,656,561¹ young workers and peasants (28 per cent of the membership), students (51 per cent) and intellectuals—nearly one-half of the young men and women of Czechoslovakia between the ages of 14 and 30 years. The YSL operates under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz).

The first young communist organisation in Czechoslovakia—the Young Communist League (YCL)—was founded in 1921, and was actively involved from the outset in the struggle for the socio-political rights of the young generation, for the emancipation of the working people from oppression by capital, and for socialism. The YCL attached primary importance to the establishment of a united youth front which was especially necessary in view of the mounting threat posed by Hitler fascism. A nation-wide Czechoslovak Youth Committee was set up in 1938 on the YCL's initiative. In 1938, it was banned by Czechoslovakia's bourgeois government, but continued its struggle in the underground. Under the fascist occupation, YCL members were in the front ranks of resistance fighters and took part in the Slovak National Uprising in 1944 and in the people's uprising in the Czech lands in May 1945.

Following Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, two national youth bodies were set up: the Czech Youth League and the Slovak Youth League. They played an important role in establishing the people's democratic system. In that period, the young people's unity was strengthened as it came increasingly under the political influence of the CPCz. The process of the youth movement's consolidation culminated after the victory of the working class over reaction in February 1984 in the establishment of a nation-wide mass organisation, the Czechoslovak Youth League, based on Leninist programme and organisational principles. The CYL held its constituent congress in April 1949.

The new organisation was actively involved in tackling the key tasks of socialist construction in the country. Tens of thousands of young enthusiasts went to work in the crucial sectors of the national economy. Major projects, among the hydro-installations, factories and plants were erected in a very short time with active participation by young men and women.

But the League's development was not without its difficulties. Inconsistency with respect to the fundamental principles of socialism led to the activation of right-opportunist and anti-socialist forces, especially in 1968 and 1969, when the unity of the organisation was disrupted. But on the strength of its long-standing progressive

* For beginning see *WMR*, Nos. 4 and 6, 1984.

traditions and with the party's help, the youth movement managed to surmount the crisis, and in 1970 set up the Young Socialist League (YSL), which became the CPCz's aide in educating young men and women in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and in involving them in active participation in the country's social life.

The YSL has won a high authority. It guides the Young Pioneer Organisation (over 1.5 million members) and the Czechoslovak Student Centre, working for the satisfaction of the young people's interests and playing an important part in the moulding of their socialist consciousness. The YSL is a part of Czechoslovakia's National Front. Young people make up one-third of the country's body of deputies and a quarter of all the elected people's judges. They are represented both on the local national committees and in the Federal Assembly. YSL members take part in drawing up and realising electoral programmes, in managing the affairs of production and the neighbourhoods, and in the work of the state apparatus.

The YSL mobilises young people for the attainment of the economic goals set by the CPCz's 16th Congress and organises a movement for economies in energy, and raw materials, for a rational expenditure of financial funds, and for higher labour productivity. Rural young people have initiated a campaign for a return of unused lands to agriculture and for the preservation of the country's forests. YSL members are engaged in urban and village development and work to organise cultural and athletic activities. The country now has 10,000 youth groups in amateur art activities.

The YSL fully endorses the CPCz's foreign policy which is aimed at the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, security, cooperation and disarmament. The League actively campaigns for peace, in support of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and against the imperialist policy of diktat.

The YSL has extensive international ties and has a considerable role to play in the activity of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Czechoslovak Student Centre has the functions of chairman within the International Union of Students. The YSL cooperates with 450 organisations in socialist, industrialised capitalist and developing countries.

The YSL is organised on the territorial-production principle, consisting of 2 republican, 12 regional, 127 district and several tens of thousands of primary organisations. Its supreme body is a congress which is convened once in five years. In between the congresses, its activity is directed by the Central Committee, its Presidium and its Secretariat.

The periodical organ of the YSL CC is the newspaper *Mlada Fronta*, and that of the Slovak YSL CC, the newspaper *Smena*. In Czechoslovakia there are 24 children's and youth periodicals with a printing of over 2.1 million copies.

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF GREAT BRITAIN (YCL)

The YCL, founded in 1921, brings together workers, school students and unemployed youth between the ages of 13 and 26 years.

The sovereign body of the League is a bi-annual congress, and the latest, 34th, congress was held in 1983. In between congresses, its sovereign body is the General Council. Its official organ is the journal *Challenge*.

In accordance with its Constitution, the aims of the YCL are to win young people for the ideas of socialism and communism and to unite them in the struggle for a democratic and socialist Britain. The YCL campaigns for equality for all, regardless of race, sex and religious creed, and for peace and friendship among young people of all countries.

The guidance of the CP Great Britain takes the form of a shared commitment to the

party programme 'The British Road to Socialism' and frequent consultations between the respective leadership and contact between the branches on the guidelines of their activity.

YCL branches are set up by young people living in the various localities, employed at the various work places, or studying at schools and colleges. Their members arrange lectures, talks, discussions and meetings, and organise the distribution of Marxist literature, issue leaflets, booklets, etc.

The YCL cooperates with other organisations in the country, like the Young Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the youth organisation of the Cooperative Party, the National League of Young Liberals and various student and religious associations. At its latest congress, the YCL set the goal of building up the branches through which to promote the unity of all the left-wing forces in the youth movement. The Congress also emphasised the need to intensify the struggle for improving the young people's economic conditions and against the growing unemployment, which has hit young people hardest of all. The YCL opposes any cut for social needs, and backs the right of young people to receive an education and higher training standards, and for better opportunities for cultural and athletic pursuits. It has condemned the policy of British imperialism in Northern Ireland, and the Tory government's racist laws against the black population, and has supported the right of the peoples of Scotland and Wales to self-determination.

The YCL takes a firm anti-war stand, and campaigns against the basing of US nuclear weapons on the territory of Great Britain, for the country's withdrawal from NATO and a reduction in military spending, shares the idea of turning Europe into a nuclear-free zone, and supports the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The YCL organises rallies and demonstrations within the framework of the mass campaigns in defence of peace and against unemployment. The Young Communists of Great Britain are involved in protest actions against the racist regime in South Africa and the interventionist policies of the United States.

The YCL also takes an active part in the international measures sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

CONNOLLY² YOUTH MOVEMENT OF IRELAND (CYM)

The CYM is a Marxist-Leninist organisation of young people working under the leadership of the Communist Party of Ireland and pursuing the objective of building a socialist society.

Its membership consists of workers (80 per cent), agricultural workers (4 per cent), and intellectuals and students (16 per cent) between the ages of 14 and 28. It is the only national youth organisation that recruits members from both the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland.

Its organisational structure is that of democratic centralism. Its primary organisations are set up territorially and function at large industrial centres and rural communities throughout Ireland. Its highest organ is its congress, which is convened once every three years. The latest, 6th, congress was held in January 1984. In the interim between congresses its work is directed by the National Executive Committee, elected by the congress. Its printed organ is the monthly magazine *Forward*.

In the present shape the Connolly Youth Movement has been in existence since 1970, when a merger took place between the Communist Youth League of Northern Ireland (founded in 1948) and the Connolly Youth Movement of the Irish Republic (founded in 1966). The CYM's forms of activity embrace all the major issues which affect the young people in both parts of Ireland. It campaigns against youth unemployment and has been actively involved in opposing the denial of civil rights in Northern Ireland. For example, the CYM has an ongoing campaign against the

continued harassment of young people by the British army.

In the present tense international situation the CYM attaches crucial significance to vigorous actions in defence of peace. It sees the struggle to preserve the nation's neutrality and create nuclear-free zones in Europe as components of its campaign for nuclear disarmament. Its members organise demonstrations of solidarity with the peoples of Latin America and actions of protest against the racist policy of apartheid in South Africa.

CYM candidates stand for election. A CYM member is an elected representative on the city and county council of Sligo, on the West coast of Ireland.

The CYM is represented in the National Youth Council of Ireland, an umbrella organisation of youth groups throughout the country.

The CYM has broad international links and is active in the work of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

SENEGAL'S ALBOURY NDIAYE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH (SANUDY)

The SANUDY is an independent organisation of Young Communists in Senegal, which was founded in 1979, and which is named after a hero of the Senegalese liberation movement. It is affiliated with the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour (SPIL) and works under its guidance.

The Union brings together young working people from town and country and unemployed youth between the ages of 15 and 35 years. It has a Young Pioneer section carrying on active work among boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 15 years. Democratic centralism is the governing principle of its organisational structure, with the primary organisations, known as circles, being set up in the neighbourhoods, at the enterprises and offices, and in the villages, and operating throughout the territory of the country. The congress is its supreme organ. In between the congresses the work of the Union is directed by a National Council, a National Bureau, and a Standing Executive Secretariat. The central periodical is the newspaper *Voix de la jeunesse* (Voice of Youth).

The Union's aim is to involve young Senegalese in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, and for the people's democratic freedoms, and social, political and cultural rights. It works to educate Senegalese young men and women in a spirit of international solidarity, campaigns for peace and friendship among nations, and explains the achievements of the socialist countries and the progressive states of Africa and other continents. It campaigns against unemployment and in support of the fighting African peoples. It has declared 1984 a year of struggle by young people for peace and against unemployment.

The SANUDY is not the only youth union in Senegal, but it is certainly its most influential and militant union. One of the aims of its work is to unite the young people of Senegal. It has proposed the convocation of the General States of Youth, a nationwide meeting of various bodies on ensuring the rights of the country's rising generation. A draft Charter, the meeting's working document, written by the SANUDY, has already been approved by a number of student and youth organisations.

The Union works hard to strengthen and extend relations of friendship and cooperation between Senegalese young men and women and the progressive youth of the world, maintains close contacts with young communist leagues in the socialist countries and makes arrangements for study trips to these countries. The SANUDY is actively involved in the activity of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

¹ On January 1, 1984.

² James Connolly (1868-1916), revolutionary, proponent of Marxism, fighter for Ireland's independence, and one of the founders of the Irish Socialist Republican Party. He was one of the top leaders of the 1916 Irish uprising against British imperialism. He was executed by the British on May 12, 1916.—Ed.

UNITA: With Whom, Against Whom

The mass media keeps mentioning UNITA, the so-called National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. What does that name mean, if it is well known that, ever since Angola's rise to independence, UNITA has been an instrument of subversive activity by the United States and South Africa against the young state? Those are the questions we received from William Chase, a *WMR* reader in Canada.

YOUR questions, Reader Chase, are very much to the point. In late 1983 and early 1984, the world witnessed the South African racists' imperialist intervention against Angola. Indeed, it was a continuation of the war which Pretoria has been waging with the encouragement of the present US Administration. Since 1981, South Africa has occupied some of Angola's southern regions, from time to time staging large-scale acts of aggression, such as the very recent one. South African mechanised units intruded deep into the country, bombs and missiles have been showered on Angolan towns and villages.

In its military operations against people's Angola, Pretoria has made constant use of UNITA bands, which have effectively become units of South Africa's regular army.

UNITA is led by Jonas Savimbi, who has no firm ideology, according to Stockwell, former CIA specialist on Angola who knew Savimbi well.¹

Savimbi, who comes from a rich family, set up UNITA in 1966, when the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was engaged in heavy fighting against the colonialists, and a question of national unity was of especial importance. He chose for his base the sparsely populated areas of eastern Angola inhabited by the Ovimbundu tribe, to which he himself belongs.

The new outfit had no influence at all on the course of the liberation struggle. Savimbi's true purpose was to seize power in Angola and eliminate the MPLA with the support of the Portuguese fascist regime.

Savimbi's correspondence with the Portuguese command, published in 1974 by the journal *Afrique-Asia*, shows that he regularly received instructions from the colonialists and supplied them with intelligence information about the MPLA. His letters testify that UNITA mounted operations only against the Angolan patriots who fought under the leadership of the MPLA. Soliciting the Portuguese command for weapons and ammunition, Savimbi assured them that he would never take them up against the authorities. "We use our arms so that one day we will force the MPLA to abandon the East."²

But the stake on Portuguese colonialists misfired. The revolution won out in Angola and the people's power was established. Progressive transformations were started. More and more Ovimbundu peasants realised what the people's power had in store for them and so abandoned UNITA. On the other hand, the class struggle in the country became ever more acute, UNITA was joined by enemies of the revolution, who now constitute its backbone. It has also found new patrons in the United States and South Africa.

It was natural for international reaction to take an interest in UNITA. Imperialism has suffered irreparable losses in southern Africa in the recent period. The portuguese colonial empire collapsed, giving way to states which opted for the way of radical social transformations and which are having a revolutionising effect on Africa as a whole. Zimbabwe threw off the shackles of racist control in 1980. Namibia's heroic people are carrying on a persevering struggle for independence under the leadership of the Southwest African People's Organisation (SWAPO). The

revolutionary movement under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa itself is spreading. The entire system of colonialist racist oppression constituting a basis of imperialist domination is, in effect, collapsing in the south of the continent.

The imperialists are trying to restore their lost positions, to hamper the socio-economic transformations and to erect a barrier in the way of socialist ideas in Africa. One of their aims is to overthrow the governments of Angola and Mozambique, which they do not like, so as to install their puppets. For these purposes, they have given every support to outfits like UNITA.

Washington and Pretoria have supplied UNITA with modern weapons and military equipment. The CIA is spending tens of millions of dollars on its operations in Angola, and the lion's share of this money goes into the hands of the Savimbi bandits. In special camps, South African instructors train UNITA men in the techniques of subversion and terrorism.³

For his part, Savimbi is doing his utmost to be useful to the racists and overseas 'patrons'. In an effort to destabilise the situation in the country, he has started a campaign of terrorism against his own people, and his bandits have spared neither women, children, nor old people.

Here are some examples. In the summer of last year, 22 people were killed in the village of Kaala, when the bandits threw hand-grenades at a carnival. Dozens of civilians were killed in the towns of Huambo and Biè. On July 26, 1983, the UNITA bandits derailed a passenger train in the province of Moxico: 50 people were killed and 216 wounded.

The bandits have been blowing up electric powerplants, destroying towns and villages, and trying to inflict the greatest economic losses on the country so as to compound its economic difficulties. As a result of UNITA's ceaseless sorties and South Africa's aggressive acts, the country's economy had already suffered losses equalling roughly \$10 billion. Food supplies to the population have worsened, especially in the provinces of Cuanza-Sul and Malanje. In Angola, there are now 600,000 refugees, who have had to flee from the areas of operations by South African troops and UNITA bands.

UNITA has not stopped short of barbarous acts even against foreign specialists working in Angola, in an effort to hamper international assistance to that country. Twenty Czechoslovak citizens, who were abducted by them in early 1983, are still being held by the bandits. In October, Savimbi units abducted another 22 people, among them Brazilians, Spaniards and Portuguese. They attacked the International Red Cross mission and its hospital in the town of Huambo.

Those are the elements supported by Washington's 'champions of democracy', and this shows the worth of their 'morality', which will justify any crime, so long as it is committed in the interests of imperialism.

Despite the terrorism and intervention, the stand taken by Angola, an advanced post in the African peoples' struggle against imperialism and racism, remains firm, as President Eduardo dos Santos recently reiterated. Angola demands an end to aid to UNITA, a withdrawal of South African troops from the occupied Angolan territory, and independence for Namibia in accordance with Security Council Resolution No. 435.

George Malasse

¹ J. Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies. A CIA Story*, London, 1978, p. 154.

² *Afrique-Asie*, No. 61, 1974, p. 9.

³ The British paper reported a secret meeting of US and South Africa representatives to discuss plans to destabilise the Angolan government. The meeting was also attended by UNITA men and a member of the Israeli military mission in Kinshasa. They considered ways to activate the opposition forces, and sabotage Angola's industry and transport. They reached an agreement to increase arms supplies to UNITA. (*The Observer*, January 22, 1984.)

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