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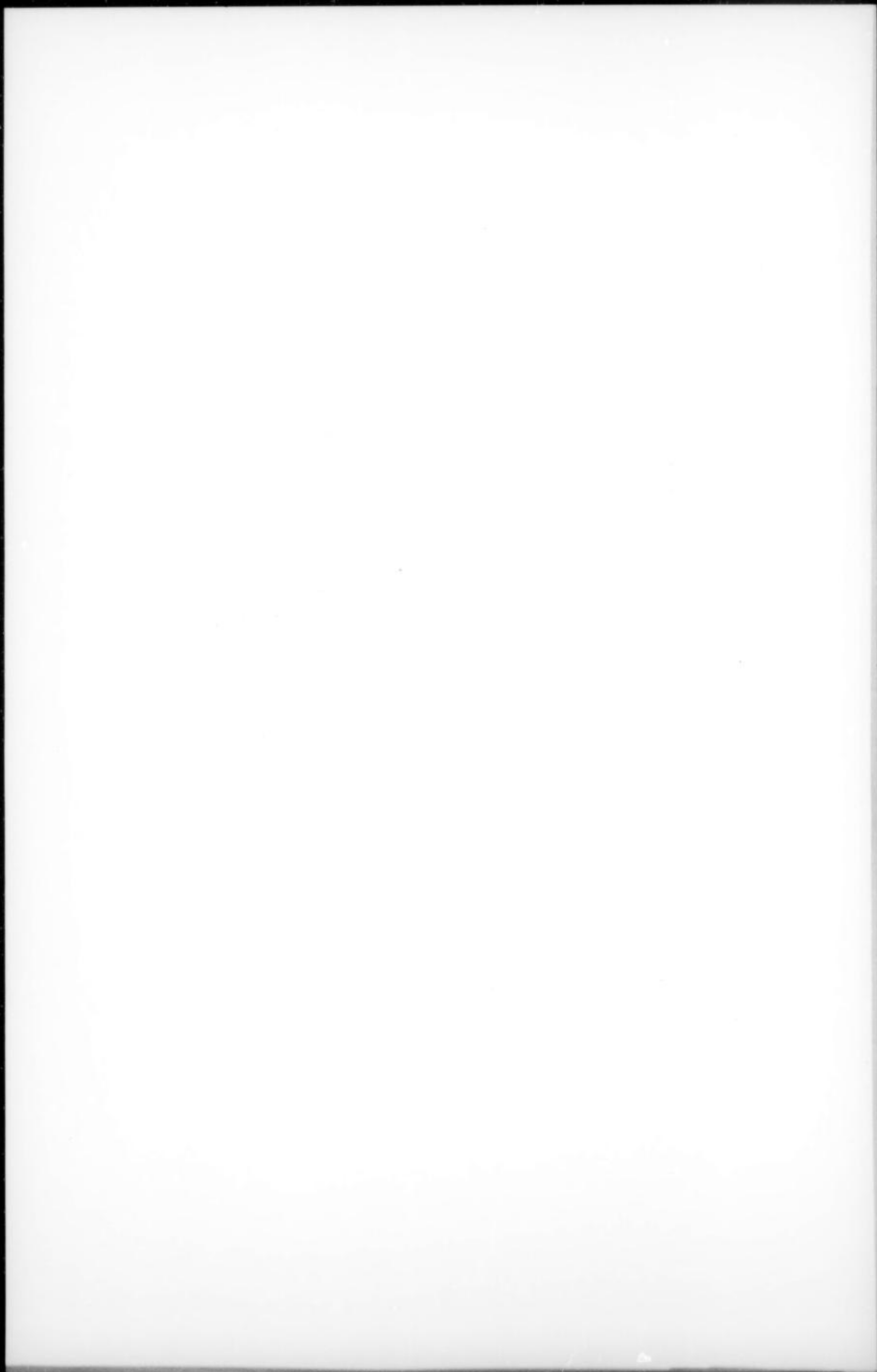
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features

The Struggle for Liberation: A School of Patriotism and Internationalism

Gustáv Husák – CC General
Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
President of the CSSR

THE fortieth anniversary of victory over fascism and the end of World War II is approaching. That war, which was the biggest and most cruel ever and was provoked by bitter rivalries between imperialist powers and by their anti-Soviet policy caused humanity immense suffering and losses. The aggression unleashed by Hitler Germany and its allies was aimed at destroying the freedom, independence and sovereignty of many states and went hand in hand with unprecedented terror, the flouting of the rights of whole nations and their enslavement.

The victory over these forces of the blackest reaction achieved by a broad anti-fascist coalition of peoples and states exacted immense effort and gigantic resources. The Soviet Union played the decisive part in the defeat of fascism. The world's first socialist state carried the brunt of the war and made the greatest sacrifices to bring about victory. In fighting for their freedom and independence, all nations derived strength and support primarily from the heroic struggle of the Soviet people. The severe test to which the Soviet Union was put fully demonstrated the invincible strength of its socialist social system and Marxist-Leninist ideas. Great historical credit is due to the Land of Soviets for saving civilisation from fascist barbarity.

The results of World War II marked a further stage in the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The anti-fascist battle during which the masses went through serious political schooling was profoundly democratic, popular and anti-imperialist. The war unmasked imperialism in the eyes of the masses, among whom socialist ideals struck increasingly deep roots and who showed a growing desire for a progressive reshaping of post-war social relations. Radical changes took place in the balance of class forces both in individual countries and internationally. In the forties the national liberation struggle in a number of European and Asian countries developed into social revolutions whose victory was the first step towards building a new society there and forming the world socialist system.

After the war the revolutionary processes begun by the struggle of nations to defeat fascism went deeper, acquiring a new dynamism and extending to various spheres of life. The world socialist system became a mighty force; its formation was the greatest revolutionary achievement since the victory of the Great October. This system is the mainstay of world social progress, the most dynamic economic and political force of society, a solid bulwark of international peace and security. The international communist and working class movement assumed vast proportions. The intensifying struggle for national liberation in Asian, African and Latin American countries gradually led to the disintegration and virtual abolition of imperialism's colonial system. There sprang up a number of new states intent on consolidating their political and economic independence. Some of them chose a socialist orientation. The sphere of imperialist domination in the world shrank substantially.

The results of World War II and the struggle of peoples for national liberation had

and still have a considerable impact on the course of history. Reactionary imperialist forces refuse to resign themselves to the deep-going changes in favour of socialism, democracy and progress that have come about. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, the causes of its outbreak and its character, course and results are coming to the fore in the bitter ideological struggle going on between capitalism and socialism. Having joined in the crusade against the new system, a crusade launched primarily by the present US Administration, bourgeois propaganda is trying to exonerate imperialism from the blame for the outbreak of world military conflagration which took millions of lives. It distorts the meaning of the struggle of nations for freedom and progress, minimises the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of nazism and denies the fact that the revolutionary struggle of the masses in countries of Central and Southeastern Europe played a role of fundamental importance in establishing people's rule there.

A major common task of all progressive, democratic forces is to uphold the historical truth, to study and generalise the experience of the anti-fascist struggle, drawing on it for energy to solve current problems and passing it on to younger generations as a lesson learnt at high cost. The memory of the enormous sacrifices made by humanity in the name of victory over nazism binds the peoples, especially in this nuclear age, to prevent a new war, unite in the struggle for peace, and foil the aggressive schemes of reactionary imperialist forces aimed at winning world domination. The lessons of World War II are also a warning to those who are trying to revive revanchism and questioning the post-war political organisation of Europe, a decisive earnest of preserving peace on our continent.

Thus the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism is highly relevant to the international communist, democratic and national liberation movements, to the present-day struggle for peace and social progress in the world. The Communist Party of our country and the Czechoslovak people as a whole are well aware of the great significance of the upcoming anniversary.

Leading Role of the Party in Preparations for an Armed Uprising of the Entire People

These days socialist Czechoslovakia is commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. Its origin, progress and results were inseparable from the previous development of the national liberation struggle of our people, from the whole anti-fascist resistance, the heroic battle of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War and the liberating mission of the Soviet Army.

The outstanding victories of the Soviet Armed Forces at Stalingrad and the Kursk Bulge were decisive turning points in World War II. They were carried forward by a powerful offensive of Soviet troops in 1944. Under their blows fascist domination in Europe began to collapse and so did the collaborationist regimes of the nazi-occupied countries. The time came for a final settlement of accounts with nazism. A further factor in this was the long-delayed opening of a second front in Western Europe in June 1944. However, it did not in the least alter the meaning of events showing that the Soviet Army was the main factor which decided the outcome of the war. Historical literature contains many indisputable facts proving this. The recent attempts of anti-communist propaganda to misuse the anniversary of the landing of allied troops in France for its ends run counter to the historical truth.

The great exploit of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the consistency and heroism of Communists in the resistance movement contributed to the prestige of communist parties, gave rise to tremendous militancy among the working class and the masses in various countries and caused a powerful upsurge in their revolutionary energy. At the final stages of the war, the struggle against the fascist invaders merged increasingly with the struggle for a just post-war settlement in the liberated countries.

The national liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks held a rightful place in that fight against nazism. Our peoples, one of the early victims of fascist aggression,

never resigned themselves to nazi bondage; they continuously carried on a selfless struggle for the restoration of their national freedom and state sovereignty.

The Munich surrender and the subsequent liquidation of independent Czechoslovakia meant that the political concept of the ruling class, the Czech bourgeoisie, and its international political orientation to the Western powers had failed, for these powers had in an hour of crisis given Czechoslovakia to Hitler to further their own anti-Soviet plans. The working class and increasing sections of the working people gradually came to realise by experience that the bourgeoisie was unable to defend the people's interests and requirements, just as earlier it had been unable to ensure the country's economic and social progress. This led them to the conclusion that it was necessary to evolve a new political orientation and find new solutions to national and social problems.

The bourgeoisie discredited itself both by capitulating when it was necessary to defend the interests of the people and the state and as a consequence of the fact that many of its members agreed to openly collaborate with the invaders. True, another part of it, the Western-oriented one, which had its centre in London and wanted to re-establish the Czechoslovak state in its pre-Munich form, still wielded a certain influence in the national resistance.

On the whole, however, radical changes took place in the political leadership of our peoples as they fought against fascism and for national liberation. The working class moved into a leading position. Its vanguard, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, whose leadership under Klement Gottwald had its headquarters in Moscow, became a recognised and decisive political force of nation-wide resistance thanks to its principled policy in defending the republic and fighting the invaders.

The nazis dominated a divided Czechoslovakia through the open terroristic regime installed in Bohemia and the vassal clerical fascist authorities in Slovakia. The Communists had to take account of the difference in conditions due to this situation and choose corresponding tactics of resistance and forms of illegal activity. This necessitated the formation of two autonomous party leaderships on the territory of the country adhering to a common strategy, and so the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS) was formed in May 1939. Underground leading centres of the party had to operate in the extremely difficult conditions of terror and persecution. The fascists persecuted them and succeeded in liquidating several of them in both Bohemia and Slovakia. However, the party demonstrated its ability to re-establish its leadership.

The disintegration of the clerical fascist regime in Slovakia was hastened by the Soviet Army's advance to the Slovakian frontier. The Soviet example, the prospect of the approaching victory over fascism and, on the other hand, the regime's growing oppression of the people prompted them to evolve increasingly active forms of resistance, particularly guerrilla warfare. Under the impact of these external and internal factors, a revolutionary situation began to mature in Slovakia.

Early in August 1943, the fifth illegal central leadership of the CPS¹ met in session. On the strength of a realistic assessment of class and social forces and the level of the political consciousness and morals of the masses, the new leadership decided to begin preparations for a nation-wide armed uprising. This called for concentration on ensuring the underground operation of a solid, united and efficient all-Slovakia party organisation equal to mobilising and leading the people. The implementation of this guideline was decisive for the success of the uprising.

In planning the uprising, the CPS leadership considered that the order of the day was, for the time being, general democratic and not socialist tasks. It therefore worked to creatively apply in specific conditions Lenin's ideas about the dialectical interconnection of the democratic and the socialist revolutions, his idea that the struggle for political liberty and a democratic republic is one of the necessary stages in the struggle for the social revolution which will overthrow the bourgeois system.² In

preparing for the uprising, a special effort was made to combine the struggle for the restoration of the political independence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia with the struggle for the just social and national demands of the workers and other working people. This being the approach preparations for the uprising were seen from the outset, not as a purely military activity, but as a mass revolutionary action by an armed people.

On the initiative of the CPS and in line with this programmatic concept, there gradually formed a broad anti-fascist front that was the political expression of an alliance of social forces willing to contribute actively to national liberation. The alliance included bourgeois resistance groups that saw the defeat of fascism as inevitable and wanted to take part in the restoration of the Czechoslovak state so as to secure a dominant position in it for themselves. The National Front taking shape in this way comprised democratic, anti-fascist and patriotic forces declaring in spite of ideological and other differences that they were prepared to fight in common for the overthrow of nazi rule.

In December 1943, an underground Slovak National Council (SNC) was established. It was the nation's resistance headquarters representing, along with the CPS, other major contingents of the liberation movement. The Council approved the programme for a national uprising evolved by the Communists. The documents went down in history as the 1943 Christmas Agreement, according to the time when it came into being. In it the SNC announced its decision to eliminate the vassal clerical fascist state by force and restore the Czechoslovak Republic on new political, social and national principles as a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks, free of the mistakes and miscalculations of pre-Munich capitalist Czechoslovakia. The decision also established the historical need to safeguard the vital interests of the Czech and Slovak peoples and the future of Czechoslovakia through alliance and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. The main provisions of the programme reflected our peoples' legitimate national and social demands and aspirations. The Christmas Agreement played a tremendous role in uniting and mobilising the masses for the uprising and in strengthening their resolve to fight undeterred by sacrifices, no matter how heavy, for a new life fit for human beings in a liberated country.

It was a fact of key importance for the Slovak National Uprising that thanks to the Communists the SNC was able to form in time armed units which merged into a mass guerrilla movement, and to bring into the nation-wide action the greater part of the army of the clerical fascist regime, in which anti-fascist patriotic forces won decisive influence.

Another fact very important for the uprising and the national liberation struggle which ensued was that underground revolutionary national councils were set up as governing bodies of the revolution and the people's power to come even while preparations for the uprising went on. In the course of subsequent revolutionary changes the national committees developed into a notable social force and then became the most important and inseparable component of our political system. Their significance as socialist government bodies and basic institutions of socialist democracy and people's rule has been growing in Czechoslovakia.

The Uprising As the Beginning of the Czechoslovak National Democratic Revolution

Under the impact of the imminent defeat of nazism and the consolidation of the revolutionary trend of the anti-fascist resistance, the national liberation struggle began in the second half of 1944 to develop into armed uprisings against the nazi invaders in a number of countries. Early in the summer of that year, the revolutionary situation became more tense in Slovakia as well. The power structures of the clerical fascist states were falling apart. The guerrilla movement was assuming a mass character, setting up its rule in some areas of Slovakia. All this posed a serious threat to the interests of fascist Germany, which attached great importance to Slovakia in its

strategic plans. This decided the nazis to occupy it outright. In these circumstances it was necessary to hasten the uprising.

The Slovak National Uprising, launched on August 29, 1944, marked the beginning of a national democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia. The insurgents brought down the clerical fascist regime, freed one-third of Slovakia's territory and proclaimed the Czechoslovak Republic there. The Slovak National Council took all power in the liberated areas into its hands. The old administrative apparatus was destroyed and all clerical fascist organisations and institutions were abolished. The SNC legalised the existence and vast powers of the national committees as revolutionary organs of people's rule. There began the formation of a new, popular, truly democratic political system, with the Communist Party of Slovakia as its leading force, the largest and most well-organised one. In the course of the uprising the CPS and the Social Democratic Party merged on Marxist-Leninist principles by the will of the working class. As a result, the influence of the revolutionary party of the working class on the progress of the revolution increased substantially. Another factor for this was the unification of trade union organisations, which laid the groundwork for postwar trade union unity in Czechoslovakia.

The revolutionary organs of state power on insurgent territory had extensive responsibilities in regard to directing the people's national liberation struggle. Extraordinary attention was paid to defending the liberated areas. All energies were directed primarily towards aiding the insurgent fronts that were defending the Slovak island of freedom.

The Slovak National Council's solution of key problems of power, or military, political, social and other problems, lent the revolution a profoundly democratic, anti-fascist character. There was an unprecedented upturn in the revolutionary energy and initiative of the people, whose swift offensive resulted in routing the fascists and their flunkies. The revolution expropriated renegades and collaborationists with a firm hand. The national committees, operating in conjunction with factory committees, virtually took over the management of enterprises. They saw to the strengthening of the defences as well as to production and supply. The church was stripped of all privileges. The new authorities adopted drastic measures against those who enriched themselves during the war, against speculators, and established revolutionary standards of social maintenance. They effected democratic changes in the cultural sphere. The transfer of schools to the state was one of the major changes decreed by the SNC.

Establishing just national relations between the Czechs and Slovaks in liberated Czechoslovakia was one of the biggest programme problems discussed in preparing for the uprising. A correct settlement of this problem was important as a means of achieving closer popular unity and mobilising the revolutionary energy of the masses. During the uprising the Slovak people rejected the reactionary clerical fascist nationalism of the Slovak bourgeoisie, which Hitler Germany used as a tool for dominating the country. They also took a resolute stand against attempts by bourgeois emigres in London to go back to the discredited undemocratic system of relations between the Czechs and Slovaks typical of the pre-Munich bourgeois republic, in which the ruling Czech bourgeoisie had ignored the Slovaks' national distinctiveness.

The Slovak people, carrying on their armed struggle, declared explicitly for linking their future with that of the fraternal Czech people within a united Czechoslovak Republic and for building their mutual relations on the principles of equality and equal rights. They were deeply convinced that only in such a state and only on these principles could the conditions be provided for the all-round development of the Czech and Slovak peoples and strengthening their unity. The Slovak Uprising laid the foundations for new, truly just relations between nationalities in the country. It won the initial positions for the pursuit of a consistent Leninist national policy, for a

fraternal unification of our peoples in a common state. Afterwards this unification was completed with the federalisation of Czechoslovakia.

For two months the uprising defended the territorial integrity of the freed areas deep in the fascists' rear, heroically resisting superior enemy forces. The battle with the nazis also went on undated after the insurgents had gone over to massive guerrilla warfare in the mountains. The deep-going revolutionary changes begun during the uprising were continued on the Czechoslovak territory, to which the government bodies set up by the uprising moved. The progress and results of the uprising were largely instrumental in the Košice Government Programme³ being formulated as a programme of the Czechoslovak national democratic revolution. Thus the uprising largely predetermined the development of post-war Czechoslovakia.

Klement Gottwald had a high opinion of the historic role and significance of the Slovak National Uprising for the future of the whole country. Speaking on the fifth anniversary of the uprising, he said: "I regard the fact that we have a new republic, a state of Czechs and Slovaks enjoying equal rights, a state of working people, a republic in which the working people are masters of their own destiny and the destiny of their country, having united an inseparable friendship with the mighty Soviet Union, as the greatest achievement of the Slovak National Uprising."⁴

The views and concepts of the revolutionary forces, on the one hand, and bourgeois groups, on the other, clashed understandably in the resistance movement, which encompassed a wide political spectrum. This applied to the strategy and tactics of the anti-fascist struggle as well as, and above all, to the post-war political organisation of the republic. It was highly important for Czechoslovakia to decide on its international political orientation. The Communists linked victorious completion of the uprising with a new foreign policy orientation towards cooperation with the Soviet Union which the liberated state would consistently maintain. They proceeded in this respect from the experience of the people, who remembered well that in the Munich period the Soviet Union had been the only country to stand by Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Cooperation, signed in Moscow on December 12, 1943, was a landmark in the implementation of this policy. The fact that even the bourgeoisie in exile had to accept it was an expression of the deep changes which had occurred in the balance of class forces both at home, where the Communists had gained considerably in prestige, and abroad, thanks to the increased prestige and leverage of the Soviet Union. Thus one of the historical achievements of the Slovak National Uprising was that it furthered the development of relations of alliance between Czechoslovakia and the world's first socialist state in depth and breadth and led to a new foreign policy orientation for our republic. This made the unity of the national and internationalist aspects of the anti-fascist struggle a reality.

The Soviet Union, prompted by the principles of fraternal cooperation, rendered decisive military, material and political aid to the combatants of the insurgent fronts and subsequently to guerrilla units. In this connection mention should be made, first and foremost, of the Carpathian-Dukla operation which the Soviet Army carried out in September 1944, leading off the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the USSR. Our peoples will never forget that this exceedingly difficult and complicated operation against strongly fortified enemy positions in the Carpathians was mounted by the Soviet Command with a view to giving the insurgent Slovak people effective support as speedily as possible. By shedding their blood in joint battles at Dukla Pass and by making sacrifices, Soviet troops and the troops of the Czechoslovak Army Corps, which was formed in the Soviet Union and fought its way to Prague shoulder to shoulder with Soviet troops, sealed for ever the inseparable alliance and friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples.

The Soviet Army's liberating mission was explicitly internationalist. Soviet troops

freed a number of nations, including the peoples of Czechoslovakia, from fascist tyranny. This enabled them on regaining freedom to chart the path of their future development by themselves. The Czechoslovak revolutions, which opened with the Slovak National Uprising in the conditions of fascist slavery, followed the general laws of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism begun by the Great October. At the same time it developed in forms determined by the internal peculiarities, historical experience and traditions of our peoples. The determination shown by the masses in establishing a just social order and steadfastly opposing attempts to go back to the past sprang from the high intensity of the national liberation struggle, people's great revolutionary energy, their will and readiness to advance along a new road.

Needless to say, the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army and our alliance and friendship with the world's first socialist state were important class factors for the revolutionary trend of development in our country and elsewhere. These factors ruled out the possibility of an international imperialist intervention likely to help re-establish bourgeois rule. Events in several countries, where operations by Western troops ended in the defeat of the revolutionary movement and in restoration of the capitalist system, showed that imperialism was defending the class interests of the bourgeoisie, doing its utmost to persevere and shore up the capitalist system.

The Slovak National Uprising, one of the largest armed actions by the masses against fascism in occupied Europe, made a substantial contribution to the defeat of Hitler Germany. It knocked the Slovak clerical fascist state out of the war and tied down considerable nazi forces. The uprising seriously upset international reaction's anti-communist and anti-Soviet plans in Central Europe and helped strengthen the positions of popular forces at further stages of the revolutionary process.

Our victorious national liberation struggle against fascism ended in the May Uprising of the Czech people in Prague, which fused with the final liberation of Czechoslovakia as a result of the Soviet Army's Prague operation that culminated on May 9, 1945. The favourable international situation created by the defeat of fascism, the vast dimensions of national democratic revolutions, the high militancy of the masses led by the Communists and unity with the Soviet Union all made for a further upsurge in the revolutionary process.

In Czechoslovakia as in other countries, the national democratic revolution was conducive to a thorough class, social and economic restructuring of society. It gave power to a class alliance comprising the working people of town and countryside plus the anti-nazi section of the bourgeoisie. The alliance took political form as the National Front, in which the leading role and initiative belonged to the working class led by the Communists. The state apparatus of the past, disrupted in the course of liberation and the revolution, was gradually replaced by a new system, people's rule, based on national committees. Immediately after the war, the state nationalised key industries, banks and insurance companies, effected an agrarian reform and took steps to confiscate the property of the invaders and traitors. The overall result was a weakening of the political and economic positions of the bourgeoisie. Much was done to form armed institutions loyal to the people.

The bourgeoisie, part of which shared in power, was unwilling to reconcile itself to further revolutionary transformations. It calculated that the revolution would gradually subside and that this would make it possible to reverse the march of history. The bourgeoisie was backed in this by imperialist forces, which by then had explicitly renounced at international level cooperation with socialism within the anti-fascist coalition formed during World War II and taken a frankly anti-Soviet and anti-communist stand.

Preservation and promotion of the progressive character of home and foreign policy, and consistent advancement of the national democratic revolution became

the chief purpose of the subsequent activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. To this end the Communists used both the advantages of their position in the government and the upswing in the revolutionary initiative of the masses. The CPCz chose a tactic enabling the working people to detect the anti-popular intentions of the bourgeoisie by their own experience.

The logic of the revolutionary process in our country as elsewhere was leading to the definitive settlement of the problem of power, the fundamental problem of every revolution. The first open political clash with the bourgeoisie over this issue occurred in Slovakia in 1947. The defeat suffered by the anti-popular forces of reaction there considerably weakened the positions of the bourgeoisie throughout the country. As for radical and final settlement of the problem of power all over the state, it came in the memorable February days of 1948. The working people led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, defended the achievements of the revolution by responding with a resolute mass action to the attempt of the reactionary bourgeoisie at a counter-revolutionary coup, which was inseparable from international imperialism's effort to stop post-war revolutionary development all over Europe and turn it back. The absolute majority of rank-and-file members of even non-communist parties dissociated from their policy. Political power on constitutional principles was fully taken by the workers and other working people. This opened for the peoples of Czechoslovakia the road to building a new society.

The experience of the Communist-led mass revolutionary struggle of the people against fascist bondage, for the restoration of national freedom and political independence and the establishment of people's rule, which paved the way for socialism, is a set of valuable lessons valid to this day. The legacy of the Great October was creatively carried forward by the joint solution on a common basis of national and class, internal and international problems, bearing in mind that the transfer of power to the working class in different countries took specific forms. The lessons drawn from the major revolutionary events of the 1940s contributed to Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution. In spite of distinctions in the initial levels of economic, social, political and cultural development, and alignment and mutual relations of class forces, and the forms and pace of democratic and socialist changes, all the revolutions of the time had a common essence expressive of the chief law-governed process of the contemporary epoch, the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Friendship with the Soviet Union Is a Fundamental Policy Principle of the CSSR

It is fair to say that the new society has attained its main goals and met the demands for which the Czechoslovak people fought both under capitalism and in the years of the anti-fascist national liberation struggle. A deep-going revolutionary restructuring of the entire social system, economy and culture took place during the period of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia. At a time of rapid social changes, when it was necessary to firmly resist imperialist attempts at pressure and interference in our affairs, break the resistance of the class enemy and combat survivals of centuries-long prejudices and backward habits without ceasing to generalise the experience being gained, Czechoslovakia accomplished the main tasks of the period of transition from the old system to a new one and laid the foundations for socialism in a historically short time. As a result, our country entered the period of building a developed socialist society. The difficult task of transforming life on revolutionary lines was not exempt from mistakes and miscalculations but they were overcome in the end.

On Czechoslovak soil as elsewhere, socialism, a new and dynamically developing social system, demonstrates its historical advantages and potentialities. It actually guarantees the working people all fundamental political and social rights and assures a high standard of living, rapid economic progress, a continuous perfection of socialist democracy, real brotherhood and equality of our peoples and nationalities.

The country's membership of the socialist community is a reliable safeguard of its independence and security.

The experience gained by us leaves no room for doubt that loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles and unfailing adherence to the general objective laws of socialist construction, their creative application, are decisive if the programme goals of the new society's development are to be achieved. Any departure from these principles is fraught with serious mistakes and difficulties. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our society went through their most difficult period in the late sixties, when they had to fight back the attacks of counter-revolutionary forces endangering the very foundations of socialism in our country. With the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries we succeeded in defeating the plans of foreign and domestic reaction designed to liquidate the new system in Czechoslovakia and weaken the positions of socialism all over the world. Over fifteen years have passed since then. The progress made in socialist construction in these years shows that the measures adopted in order to defeat the counter-revolution were necessary and correct. They were highly important as a factor for the consolidation and advancement of socialism in the CSSR, for closer unity and cohesion of the socialist community, for peace in Europe.

Czechoslovakia's experience also shows that in the course of building the new society, especially now, in the eighties, when the scientific and technological revolution is making rapid headway, there logically arise many questions which cannot be answered without engaging in creative quests, generalising practice and testing through experiments new approaches to the solution of major problems. This necessitates persevering effort to master and perfect Leninist working methods, whose chief features are the ability to discern, analyse and resolve in time contradictions and problems arising in the course of socialist construction; to correctly define the character of any stage reached by society; to make a sober assessment of achievements; to steer clear of complacency and subjectivism; to set major but realistic objectives with due regard to both the requirements and the potentialities of society; to foster and make effective use of the people's initiative in order to accomplish the tasks set.

In accordance with the decisions of its 16th Congress, the CPCz helps combine scientific and technological achievements more and more effectively with the advantages of the socialist system and hasten the transition of the economy to intensive development. To implement the line adopted by the congress, it is necessary to carry socialist democracy deeper, perfect the whole political system and work to draw more and more people into the management of society. Society constantly demands of all of us that we should do our best for the education of socialist man and guarantee people high living and cultural standards by dynamically developing the economy and raising labour productivity.

Doing everything possible to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—a friendship based on common class interests, ideas and goals—is the cornerstone of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

The very existence and growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, their foreign policy for peace and their unity and cooperation within the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance account in decisive measure, now as in the past, for the fact that Europe has enjoyed peace for nearly forty years. Socialist Czechoslovakia will go on doing its utmost to contribute to the political, economic and defence power of the fraternal community. Today, when the international situation has been made much worse by imperialism's aggressive militarist forces, our common efforts are aimed at preserving peaceful conditions for life on our planet, easing international tensions, bringing about disarmament and resuming the policy of peaceful cooperation among all countries irrespective of their social systems. The recent CMEA Economic

Summit showed this again.

In solving diverse political problems, the Czechoslovak Communists never overlook the need to maintain the unity of national and internationalist interests. We are prompted in doing so by our responsibility to the working class, to our people and the whole international communist and working class movement, and by solidarity with the national liberation and other progressive movements of the world.

The Czechoslovak people express their patriotic and internationalist sentiments by showing a high degree of labour and social activity on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and in the course of preparations for the upcoming anniversary of the May Uprising of the Czech people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army. The fulfilment of socialist construction plans is the most valuable contribution to the strength of our community and the struggle for peace and progress on earth.

The achievements registered by the Czechoslovak people in the years of the national liberation war, their struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution and their efforts at building and advancing the new society make contemporary history. We learn from the revolutionary legacy of the past and derive strength from it for further progress. Just as we speak with good reason of the important place in history and the great significance of the struggles in which the foundations for the new Society were laid, so future generations will draw on our experience as a source of inspiration in building the future. And this constitutes the continuity of the struggle for the realisation of the great ideas of communism.

¹ The leadership included Karol Šmídke, Gustáv Husák and Ladislav Novomeský.—*Ed.*

² See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 24.

³ The programme of the first government of the restored republic was proclaimed in the city of Košice on April 5, 1945.—*Ed.*

⁴ Klement Gottwald, *Spisy*, Vol. XV, Prague, 1961, p. 276.

Responsibility of the Working Class Before History

Ibrahim Zakaria – General Secretary,
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THE world's socio-political make-up is today determined to a huge extent by the working class. By fighting for its own liberation it fights for the liberation of the whole of humanity. In this lies its socio-historical mission. This is seen not only in the fact that the working class is the main motive force of social progress. On the working people also falls an immense responsibility for resolving the basic problem of our time, that of preventing a nuclear disaster and freeing the human race from the threat of total annihilation.

Lenin's words that 'peace cannot be concluded only from above. Peace must be won from below'¹ are particularly apt today when the fire-eating circles of imperialism, of US imperialism in the first place, are trying to block the peace efforts of those nations that are doing their utmost to ease international tension. The Geneva talks on limiting nuclear missiles armaments have been brought to a standstill as a result of the USA's policy of obstruction. US first-strike missiles are being deployed

in Western Europe. The arms race is moving into a qualitatively new and more dangerous spiral. The USA is inflaming tension in Central America and other parts of the world. In short, the present situation demands an invigoration of the struggle for peace 'from below'.

The working class has the decisive role to play in achieving this objective. Can it cope with this role? As we contemplate the significance of the working class historical achievements which reveal the gigantic potential of its influence on social development, we can say confidently: Yes, it can. A class that has given rise to a social movement of no equal in terms of size, organisational strength, and political influence, a class that has given effect to the greatest revolutionary transformations in history, renewed humankind's life, and in existing socialism created a bastion of peace that has for nearly four decades been a barrier to imperialism's attempts to unleash a world war—such a class can without the shadow of a doubt effectively respond to the main challenge of our time, namely, to prevent a nuclear shambles.

The international working class movement is inseparable from the epoch-making changes ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The consolidation of existing socialism, its conversion into the leading motor of social development, and the spread of anti-imperialist actions on the world scene are increasing the strength of the working class and giving it broad possibilities for making further headway in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The facts demonstrate that the social might and political influence of the working class are steadily expanding. The numerical strength of the workers, whose labour forms the foundation of the present-day economy, is growing in many parts of the world. The working class is achieving an ever higher level of organisation and growing more active socially and politically. Large numbers of working people are rallying around it. The trade union movement, which unites hundreds of millions of working people, is now world-wide.

However, it has to be borne in mind that the working class movement is developing in a wide variety of conditions and feels the influence of other social forces. It is part and parcel of the social fabric of present-day social relations, which are characterised by the interaction of diverse social and political systems, national cultures, and traditions. This affects the struggle of the working people and is seen in the uneven development of that struggle. In some countries the working class has been more successful and acquired vast experience of struggle, while in others its achievements are less impressive. Also, there are countries, chiefly former colonies, in which an organised working class movement is only now emerging.

In the capitalist world a certain proportion of the working people still holds aloof from the social struggle or participates in it for purely economic reasons. In some capitalist countries the trade unions have been hurt very badly by anti-labour legislation, which has undercut their strength and the impact of their actions. In addition, in some branches of the capitalist world's economy we are seeing a trend towards a diminution of the trade union ranks on account of the growth of the unemployment and the introduction of new technology, which is eliminating jobs in industry.

Under these conditions special significance is being acquired by the ability of the working class movement to develop and uphold such positions on crucial issues of domestic and foreign policies as would harmonise with the vital interests of the people. This is made all the more important by the fact that in a situation marked by a sharp exacerbation of the problem of jobs, rising unemployment, and chronic inflation the monopoly circles are starting an offensive against the working class in order to shift most of the burden of the crisis to the workers, restrict the social and political rights they have won, and take the edge off their mass actions.

This offensive is combined with political demagoguery and social manoeuvring. The purpose of this tactic is to use some concessions and the support of the leadership

of reformist parties and organisations to foist a policy of class partnership on the working class movement and justify the attempts to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of working people with specious arguments about there being 'common interests' in the face of 'common difficulties'.

Workers' organisations that consistently abide by class positions are opposing tactics of this kind with their own programme of surmounting the crisis, defending the working people's gains with determination, and stepping up the struggle against the imperialist circles, against their warlike policies. This is seen in the demands of the working class movement. They are more and more frequently going beyond grievances about matters such as wages and working conditions to embrace the entire spectrum of national problems that have become acute as a result of the deepening economic crisis in the capitalist world. Workers' organisations are beginning to press harder for disarmament and the demilitarisation of the economy and showing a growing concern for the character and orientation of the economic relations of their respective countries, the system of education, the development of backward areas, the rights of women and young people, environmental protection, and the management of the affairs of society as a whole. This is enhancing the socio-political prestige of the working class and giving it a bigger role in the defence of democracy and social progress and in the decision of important national and international problems.

The lesson of experience is that the more consistently workers' organisations champion class interests the greater becomes their influence in the democratic struggle and on people of different social affiliation participating in that struggle. Precisely such organisations are in the vanguard of the anti-war movement and enjoy considerable prestige in it. In the struggle for peace their principles of working class solidarity and internationalism are helping to make this movement more united, militant, and organised. Advanced workers' organisations are enriching the movement's demands with clear-cut aims and concrete alternatives to imperialism's militarist policies, such as are formulated in, for instance, one of the most widespread slogans of the anti-war movement in the West: 'Jobs, Not Missiles!'

The trade unions are playing a highly important role in the class and democratic struggles of the workers. To what specifically is this due? To the fact that the trade unions are the largest organisations of the working people. To the fact that they are active in all the socio-political zones of the world and have considerable experience of coöperation with other mass movements advocating peace and progress—communist, national liberation, anti-war, anti-fascist, and ecological. And, lastly, to the fact that they have an international system of links between national and branch associations of working people which enables them to coordinate their actions on the international scene and serves as an effective instrument of the working class of different countries for influencing world politics.

The cumulative potential of all these factors is seen strikingly in the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is the largest association of the working class: it has 206 million members in 81 countries. Steadfastly abiding by workers' class solidarity, the WFTU undeviatingly champions the interests of working people and steadily broadens the struggle against imperialism and its anti-people policies.

By its nature the working class is profoundly interested in the preservation and consolidation of peace. This stems from the conditions of its social life, political aspirations, and the struggle that is ultimately aimed at creating a social system free of exploitation and war, a society whose 'international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour*'.²

In fighting for peace the working class and its organisations follow the great anti-war traditions of the proletarian movement, which were born in the nineteenth century. A powerful impetus to the development of these traditions was given by the October Revolution, which opened up fundamentally new opportunities for

resolving the problem of war and peace. The international policies of the victorious working class have brought about radical changes in the world order and created the conditions for finally removing war from the life of humanity. Imperialism has irretrievably lost its ability to rule the destinies of the world without challenge, on the principle of 'might is right'.

International relations of a new type based on the principles of internationalist solidarity, equality, and fraternal mutual assistance have been established in the large community of socialist countries. World-wide recognition has been won by Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, a concept that is now institutionalised in many agreements and in the practise of international relations. These are achievements not only of the socialist countries but also of the entire world working class movement, of which the former are a historic gain.

The international working class is thus acting from solid positions in the struggle against the threat of war. In this struggle the crucial objective is to stop the arms race, which was started and is being whipped up by the imperialists. In its drive towards this objective the working class is fighting not only for its own future, for the future of all humankind, but also for the current vital interests of all working people and expresses the basic requirements of the people of all countries.

In the socialist world, where there neither are nor can be social groups that benefit from the arms race, the measures to strengthen the defence capability compelled by imperialism's aggressive policies are diverting large funds and a significant proportion of the skilled workforce from pressing problems of economic development, from the programmes for promoting the welfare of the people. Imperialism's war preparations are a direct threat to the independence of developing nations and, by drawing these nations into the arms race, are increasing the tormenting hardships of their working people. These preparations are absorbing resources that might be used to deliver hundreds of millions of people from chronic malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, and mass unemployment, and end the pillaging of natural wealth and the pollution of the environment.

It is of special significance that the disastrous socio-economic effects of the arms race should be seen by the working people of the leading capitalist countries, where for many years the working class has been subjected to ideological brainwashing by the military-industrial complex in order to foist upon it the notion that military production is essential to social and material wellbeing, to economic stability. Militarist propaganda is trying to discredit the very possibility of adjusting the war industry to civilian production, contending that this would 'negatively affect' the working people and the whole of society. Playing on the job problem, on the fact that a large number of people are employed in armaments-making, this propaganda has been able to exercise some influence on sections of the working class movement, and make these sections suspicious of disarmament and adopt a passive if not a negative attitude to the anti-war struggle. That is why the objective analysis of the socio-economic consequences of the war preparations and the exposure of how the arms race influences the condition of the people have become of the utmost importance for the working people's organisations.

These matters are widely debated in the trade union movement. Many national and international trade union bodies focus attention on them and discuss them in depth at their meetings and conferences. A large contribution to analysing these problems has been made by the World Trade Union Conference of Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament (Paris, 1981), which was attended by representatives of 115 trade unions in 62 countries. They have been high on the agenda of major international forums, for instance, the Conference of the International Trade Union Movement Against Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons (Ho Chi Minh, 1983), the trade union meeting during the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War (Prague, 1983), and the International Trade Union Conference on the Socio-

Economic Aspects of Disarmament in the Energy Industries (Moscow, 1983). At these and other analogous meetings trade unions of diverse orientations have worked out common or similar attitudes to the arms race. Let us look into the substance of these attitudes.

The arms race is very adversely affecting all the main areas of social life in the capitalist countries, and chiefly, the socio-economic interests of the working class. While it checks the development of civilian branches of the economy that account for most of the increment of new jobs, it does not in any way compensate for the resultant decline in employment: an equal sum of investment in new jobs in the military sector of the economy creates roughly from one-third to half as many jobs as in the civilian sector. Although it stimulates a temporary upsurge in the war industries, the arms race ultimately spurs mass unemployment and cuts back the living standard of working people. It jeopardises not only people's right to life but also their social, civil rights. The launching of new armaments programmes at the close of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s in some capitalist countries was quite naturally accompanied by a curtailment of social programmes, the freezing of wages, and assaults by reaction on the trade unions. At the same time, a favourable climate takes shape for the activation of the most dangerous enemies of the working class movement—neofascism, chauvinism, and anti-communism, which are the constant fellow-travellers of imperialism's bellicose policies.

The dangers arising out of the arms race are being seen more and more clearly by the working class. In spite of the pressure from militarist propaganda, the working class is expanding its participation in the struggle against the threat of war and developing its own militant approach to the problem of war and peace. This approach calls for the coupling of actions in defence of the people's vital interests with the anti-war protest. It allows combining the democratic slogans of the anti-war movement, including pacifist slogans, with the aims stemming from the struggles of the working people for their rights. As a result, in the capitalist countries many trade unions are increasingly accentuating the link between the nuclear arms race and unemployment and other aspects of the economic crisis.

The anti-war actions of the working people are spearheaded at the main cause of the war threat—imperialism's aggressive policies. Disturbed by the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe, millions of people are protesting against this buildup of fearsome arsenals. Many millions of people in Western countries took part in the demonstrations, marches, and peace rallies of the first half of 1984. The development of the anti-missile movement is paralleled by a growing understanding on the part of large sections of the working class that it is imperative to act with determination now. The enhanced anti-war protest of the working people over the recent period is seen compellingly in the 'municipal anti-nuclear revolution', the 'pacifist revolt', and other actions linked to the broad movement for proclaiming cities and whole regions of Western Europe nuclear-free zones. More determined ways and means of struggle are used by the militant workers helping to organise anti-war strikes, the blockade of nuclear launching sites, and national referendums.

The trade unions have become a major force of the peace movement. Their aims and the character of their activities make them committed to preserving peace, to removing the threat of war, because it is only under conditions of peace that it is possible to ensure most fully the vital rights and interests of working people, notably their right to life, creative work, and social guarantees. Most trade unions successfully link the slogans of the entire anti-war movement (meaning its broad base—pacifist, youth, women's, religious, and other organisations) with the aims comprising the purpose of trade union activity.

European trade union federations now see their prime duty in fighting for peace, in fighting to stop the arms race. This has become the stand even of federations that had formerly regarded this struggle as incompatible with the aims and purposes of trade

unions. This trend manifests itself most strikingly in the mounting anti-missile actions, in which a big role is played by trade unions of the FRG, Britain, Italy, Belgium, and other European countries.

Trade union actions for peace are unfolding also in the citadel of present-day militarism—the United States of America, where many working people's organisations have joined actively in the nuclear-freeze movement, which is challenging the present Administration's militarist policies. Although the conservative leadership of the AFL-CIO on the whole supports Washington's aggressive line, it is already now finding that it is harder than before to ignore entirely the demands of the trade union rank-and-file. This is demonstrated, in particular, by the fact that under pressure from delegates a provision urging a halt to the arms race was included in one of the resolutions of the 15th AFL-CIO Convention at the close of 1983.

The working class and its organisations are seriously disturbed by the USA's intention, as part of its militarist policies, to fold up trade and economic ties with socialist countries. Most trade unions in the capitalist world are strongly opposed to the practice of embargoes, sanctions, and boycotts relative to these countries and urge the continued expansion of economic relations with them. Trade discrimination is tangibly hurting the working people of countries practising such discrimination. To illustrate: every billion dollars' increment of US trade with socialist countries could provide 87,000 jobs in the USA. In Western Europe, which has experience of mutually beneficial trade with member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the trade unions take into account the fact that contracts with these countries are sustaining nearly two million jobs in a region where in only the EEC countries more than 12 million people are unemployed.

An important element of the anti-war struggles of the trade unions is their demand for a more equitable international economic order. This dovetails with opposition to gunboat diplomacy, to the military pressure that imperialism is bringing to bear on developing nations. Supported by the international working class movement, the trade unions of these nations are campaigning to turn the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Pacific into peace zones, for nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world.

The working people and trade unions of countries with different social systems are unanimous in their attitude to the war threat and the arms race. This was reiterated in Havana in 1982 by the 10th World Trade Union Congress, which focused on problems related to promoting the anti-war struggle. Special attention was given to the negative effects of the arms race, which, as the main document 'Trade Unions and the Challenges of the 1980s' says, 'is one of the key factors in the strategy of imperialism, both at the national level and at the international level. It is an anti-social weapon which the imperialist forces use against the workers.'³

The WFTU's point of departure is that the trade unions have a large reserve of strength and potentialities to respond effectively to the challenge of imperialism's aggressive forces. The 10th Congress called upon the trade unions to broaden the struggle for the preservation of peace on earth as the indispensable condition for all their other activities. It noted that the struggle for peace and disarmament was closely linked to the struggle for jobs, a better system of social security, better working conditions, a shorter working week, and a higher living standard.

The WFTU vigorously backs the nuclear-freeze movement that is gaining momentum in all countries. It supports the Warsaw Treaty countries' constructive proposals for disarmament, lasting peace, and equal cooperation between countries and between peoples. It has highly assessed the Soviet Union's solemn commitment on a no-first-use of nuclear weapons and urged the other nuclear powers to follow the example of the USSR.

In the international working class movement there has been a wide response to the

initiatives of the WFTU at the second special UN General Assembly session on disarmament. These call upon countries to undertake the following commitments to prevent any further growth of the war threat:

- to impose an immediate ban on the production of nuclear weapons and a freeze on all projects for the introduction and deployment of new nuclear missiles, as well as other systems of mass destruction;

- to reduce by 10 per cent the military expenditures of, in the first place, the permanent members of the UN Security Council, the released funds to be used for socio-economic development;

- to set up a mechanism of negotiations controlled by the peoples with the purpose of ensuring the conclusion of an agreement on effective measures leading to disarmament.

The implementation of these and other anti-war initiatives of the working class movement requires the concerted efforts of its various contingents.

The working class and its organisations are aware that lasting peace on earth can only be the result of the concerted efforts, mutual understanding, and cooperation of broad political and social forces. The working class movement by no means claims a monopoly status among these forces. It seeks to unite all the peace forces on the basis of a democratic platform. A key prerequisite for attaining this aim is to strengthen unity in the anti-war struggle of the working class movement itself. That Marx was right in concluding that the 'unity of the working class of different countries must ultimately make war between nations impossible'⁴ is now seen more clearly than ever before.

Between workers' organisations and streams of different affiliation there are no such insuperable divergences as could prevent them from acting in unison in the name of peace, to halt the arms race, ensure the democratic restructuring of international relations, and resolve other acute problems affecting the life of nations. However, far from all the potentialities for cooperation for these purposes are being tapped. Let us consider the reasons.

The main reason is, of course, the massive pressure being brought to bear on the working class movement by imperialist reaction, which is bent upon turning the question of peace from a factor of unity among working people into a factor dividing them. The anti-war struggles are taking place in a situation in which the working people are coming under increasing ideological and political pressure from the monopolies and the bourgeois state and in which peace champions are harassed. Militarism's propaganda media are claiming that the 'positions of strength' policy is a guarantee against war, that the arms race is a response to the 'Soviet threat'. Anti-Sovietism is pursuing inter-related objectives: to justify the growth of military allocations and direct the disaffection of the masses into a channel serving the ruling circles of the imperialism powers, to separate their social protest from the anti-war struggle.

The possibilities for attaining these aims are steadily diminishing with the growth of the class consciousness of the working people, a process whose momentum has been quickened dramatically by the present sharp polarisation of social forces on the world scene. Large sections of the people are coming round to realising the incontrovertible fact that while the socialist countries are consistently urging disarmament and putting forward peace initiatives whose acceptance could remove the nuclear threat, the USA and the other imperialist powers are not responding to these initiatives.

The growth of the anti-war struggle of the working class is being obstructed not only by the forces of capital but also by socio-reformist circles that have for decades on end been pursuing a divisive policy in the trade union movement and opposed to its active participation in the anti-war struggle. Until recently these circles have been drawing a dividing line between the anti-war struggle and the defence of workers' interests. This implied that the only task of the trade unions was to defend the socio-

economic gains of the working people and that peace was the business exclusively of governments and political parties.

In the face of the people's rising anti-war sentiments and their striving for unity of action against the nuclear threat, the reformist trade unions began to reconsider their approach, as was seen, in particular, in 1983 at the 13th Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In its documents it is stated that the arms race is adversely affecting, above all, the life of the working people and that the international trade union movement cannot permit the social achievements of its great struggle to be destroyed in a new devastating war. Provisions of a similar kind are contained also in the latest documents of the World Confederation of Labour.

Despite this obviously new attitude to the problem of war and peace, both the ICFTU and the WCL continue to abide by anti-communism, which remains the chief barrier to unity of action by the trade unions in the anti-war movement. Misrepresenting the objective reasons for the arms race, they equate imperialism's aggressive policy with the policy of peace pursued by countries of the socialist community. Their leaders continue to oppose cooperation between trade unions of different affiliation. As a result, although their positions are close or even coincide on many issues, the working people affiliated to the three main international trade union federations act in isolation from each other.

While it takes into account that on the problems of disarmament and the struggle for peace the attitude of the ICFTU and WCL is inconsistent and hidebound, the WFTU attaches great significance to the fact that their rank-and-file are demanding an end to the arms race, the switch of the war industry and military appropriations to peaceful purposes, and the solution of pressing socio-economic problems in the interests of the working people. With this as its motivation the WFTU Bureau has appealed to the ICFTU and the WCL, to all trade unions regardless of their political affiliation, to act jointly to prevent a further escalation of the arms race and compel the annulment of plans for the production of new types of weapons.

The WFTU wants cooperation in the anti-war struggle with organisations of working people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America such as the Standing Congress of Trade Union Unity of the Working People of Latin America and the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, which are taking action to end the arms race, isolate dictatorial, fascist, and racist regimes, and promote cooperation among countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The WFTU is cooperating energetically in organising anti-war actions with the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament, which since its formation in Dublin in 1982 has become an important factor uniting the peace forces.

The trade unions of the European socialist countries are acting strongly against the threat of war. As soon as the deployment of Pershing-2 and Tomahawk missiles was started they sent an open letter to the working people and trade unions of Europe in which they declared their determination to promote cooperation in defence of peace at all levels—territorial and branch trade unions and federations, twin cities, and large-scale peace actions covering the whole of Europe. In the open letter they declared: 'We support all constructive steps towards a European trade union meeting for peace, disarmament, and mutually beneficial cooperation among countries with different social systems.'

Unity among fighters for peace and social progress is a dependable barrier to the militarist ambitions of US imperialism and its NATO allies. This was underscored in May 1984 in Moscow at the international conference of 'Trade Unions in the Struggle for the Vital Interests of the Working People, Against the Threat of Another War', which was attended by delegations from 111 countries and representatives of five international trade union organisations.

New forms of international anti-war actions are being developed in the trade union movement. The first-ever Day of Trade Union Action for Peace was held on

September 1, 1982—the anniversary of the outbreak of World War II—in response to a call from the 10th World Trade Union Congress. Since then this day has been marked annually with anti-war rallies, peace demonstrations, and other actions. The WFTU has recommended that this year's Action for Peace Day should be marked by national trade union federations under the slogan of 'Disarmament for Jobs'.

The trend towards unity of action in the anti-war struggles of the working people continues to gather strength. It is serving as a powerful impetus towards the unity of all the peace forces for resistance to imperialism's aggressive policies.

* * *

The growing socio-historical role of the working class is giving it a great responsibility for the destiny of peace. It will unquestionably carry out its duty, for its struggles are consistent with the aspiration of working people for social justice, of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence, and of all humankind for lasting peace.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 318.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 194.

³ *Trade Unions and the Challenges of the 1980s*, Main Document Passed at the 10th World Trade Union Congress, Havana, February 10-15, 1982, a WFTU Publication, p. 15.

⁴ 'Stenographic Record of Marx's Speech on the Attitude of the International Working Men's Association to the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom. From the Minutes of a Sitting of the General Council, August 13, 1876.'

Commentary Socialism's Economic Strength: The Material Basis of the Peace Policy

THE 1970s and the 1980s are two decades which politicians, journalists and scientists throughout the world keep comparing. Social conditions and international economic and political relations have changed to such an extent, while the need to adapt to them and to find new approaches to the pressing problems is being so keenly felt that more and more is being said about the challenge of our day, the challenge of the 1980s. It is a challenge which is connected above all with the preservation of world peace, and with political and socio-economic development. It cannot be met by any partial measures and requires decisions designed for the long term.

A summit Economic Meeting of the Member Countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was held in Moscow from June 12 to 14 of this year for the purpose of collectively taking such decisions for the socialist community. It was attended by the leaders of the communist and workers' parties, heads of government and other party and state leaders from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union and Vietnam. They discussed the key problems in the community's life, took a bold look into the future and examined the most important aspects of present-day international relations. Documents of historical significance—'Statement on the Guidelines for the Further

Development and Deepening of the Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation of the CMEA Member Countries' and Declaration 'Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation'—were unanimously adopted.

In a speech after the meeting, General Secretary of the CPSU CC and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Konstantin Chernenko emphasised: 'The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and a sincere desire to gain a deeper understanding of each other's interests and needs, and to make our interaction even closer and more effective. We draw strength from the inexhaustible source of Marxism-Leninism and loyalty to internationalism. We are united by our common concern for the common cause, and by our responsibility for the destinies of socialism.'¹

The results of the meeting in Moscow demonstrated the will of the fraternal parties and states to continue consistently to strengthen and deepen their economic cooperation and socialist economic integration, and to strengthen their unity for the sake of peace and the progress of the new society. The adopted decisions rest on a solid foundation: a collective and comprehensive analysis of the situation in the modern world. The choice of such a point of departure in tackling the socialist community's internal problems is fully justified because, on the one hand, the economic, social and political processes in various countries and various regions of the globe are now closely interlaced with each other, and on the other, world socialism has the leading role to play in preserving world peace, strengthening the security of the peoples, and in the struggle against imperialism, and exerts a growing influence on international development as a whole. The documents of the CMEA countries' economic summit are characterised by a broad grasp of world phenomena: various aspects of their economic development are considered in close connection with global political problems as the material basis of the peace policy. That is an indication of the scientific and realistic approach to the shaping of their political line, while being a reflection of the humanistic and democratic substance of socialism.

The Most Important Task of Our Day

The leaders of the communist and workers parties and the heads of government of the community countries deemed it their duty once again to draw the attention of all the peoples and the politicians vested with their confidence to the terrible fact that the political and economic situation in the world is becoming ever less stable, and that the danger of a world war is affecting the whole of mankind as never before in the past. The international atmosphere is tense, because the aggressive forces of imperialism, especially in the United States, have set themselves up as arbiters allegedly empowered to judge what is good and what is evil, and have taken the line of confrontation, overt use of force, the fanning of hotbeds of international tension, and provocation of conflicts and crisis situations in various regions of the world. Politicians waxing nostalgic for the old days of undivided domination by a handful of imperialist powers are not at all ashamed to try to enshrine economic and political 'sanctions' and direct interference in the internal affairs of other countries and people almost as a moral virtue capable of reviving the days of 'good old capitalism'. The class egoism, and political irresponsibility and the blindness of the imperialist hypocrites, who are trying to restore the irretrievable at any price, threaten calamities for millions of people and could result in irreparable consequences for the life of mankind.

The Declaration says: 'No task is now more important than that of preserving world peace and averting a nuclear catastrophe. An end to the arms race, a switch to the reduction of armaments, and the maintenance of the military-strategic equilibrium at ever lower levels are now of primary importance. This is also the most important condition for improving the world economic situation.'²

The new round in the nuclear arms race started by the deployment of US medium-

range missiles in some NATO states falls as a heavy burden on the peoples. The imperialist strategists are aiming at the forces of socialism and progress in the hope of shattering their political and social stability, and are prepared to sacrifice the existing system of international economic ties in their fight against communism. That is also a sphere to which the aggression is being spread: Unwilling to admit past failures and to draw lessons from them, the Reagan Administration resorts to methods of economic blackmail, introduces embargoes, and makes unusual efforts to invent 'sanctions' that would hit most painfully at the nations refusing to bend to imperialist dictates.

However, the deliberate disruption of world economic ties has boomeranged on the capitalist powers themselves, disorganising international trade and monetary and financial relations, and protracting the economic stagnation, so acting as a brake on the already hard economic recovery, and exacerbates their social problems, such as mass unemployment, the most painful one of all.

But it is most of the developing countries, says the Declaration, that suffer especially from this kind of policy, because the imperialist powers make use of every means of political and economic pressure to shift the burdens of the crisis on these peoples' shoulders, to intensify their exploitation, to infiltrate foreign capital into their national economies.

The participants in the meeting emphasised that detente is necessary and fruitful for all the peoples of the world. It improves international relations, serves to develop mutually advantageous economic ties between countries and helps to increase assistance to the developing states. The demand contained in the Moscow Declaration that efforts should be made to consolidate and multiply everything positive that was attained in international relations in the 1970s shows that bourgeois propaganda attempts to have the peoples believe that the detente has been buried by the socialist countries are only a common anti-communist myth.

The CMEA member countries have countered the growing threat of war with their own alternative: the line of consolidating peace and relaxing international tension, and cooperation of all the sovereign states, in various spheres including cooperation in the economic field. Their Declaration calls for joint efforts in this direction by everyone who stands for detente and opposes the nuclear madness.

This call is addressed to the socialist countries not represented at the meeting. The very nature of the new social system objectively produces the need for joint action for the preservation of peace.

This call is addressed to the developing states taking part in the non-aligned movement. Peace and the security of the peoples, efforts to check the burdensome arms race are an indispensable condition for their further socio-economic progress.

This call is addressed to the industrialised capitalist countries as well. The socialist states offer honest conditions for peaceful coexistence. Socialism has no need of war; it will be able to demonstrate its advantages in peaceful competition.

Two Meetings—Two Outcomes

In the light of the clearcut, profound and realistic programme adopted in Moscow, a direct comparison with the recent London summit of the seven leading capitalist countries (June 1984) naturally suggests itself. It met to consider the sharp problems of the capitalist world: unemployment, inflation, state budget deficits, instability of the international financial system, protectionism, and so on. However, the 'package' of these problems, on which the meeting was to have worked out a long-term collective strategy, has not become any thinner. Indeed, that was to have been expected, because solving these problems is like trying to square the circle, so long as the United States and other NATO countries continue their foreign-policy line of stepping up the arms race, which is fraught with grave economic consequences. None of the documents adopted after negotiations marked by serious disagreements—

whether in the sphere of economics, finance or politics—contain any new initiatives, they are confined to restating old positions.

The fundamental distinction between the two summit meetings is that, first, the leaders of the CMEA countries countered the rhetorical statements of the Seven with a constructive and realistic programme for solving world problems, and second, the participants in the Moscow meeting indicated, straightforwardly and unambiguously, the main condition for improving the international economic situation: a halt to the arms race. In order to take this way, which is beneficial for mankind, there is a need above all to stop stockpiling new nuclear weapons in Europe and, in particular, to halt the deployment of US medium-range missiles in the area. The leaders of the communist and worker's parties and heads of government of the CMEA member countries have given yet another assurance that if the West took steps to withdraw the missiles already in place they would, for their part, simultaneously take steps to revoke the counter-measures. This would make it possible to resume negotiations on a reduction of nuclear weapons, and so also to rid Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.

The Moscow Declaration reaffirmed all the earlier peace initiatives of the socialist community states: the call to reach agreement on a complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons: tests to ban the militarisation of cosmic space, the use of force in space and from space with respect to the Earth; to ban and liquidate chemical weapons on a world scale, starting with the European continent. The proposal made at the Prague meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries (January 1983) to conclude a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Armed Force and Maintenance of Relations of Peace between Warsaw Treaty and the NATO Member States is of especial importance. An agreement to reduce military expenditures—an initiative the Warsaw Treaty states recently addressed to the NATO countries—would be a great stride towards improving international economic and political relations. The released funds could be used for the purposes of economic and social progress, including assistance to the developing countries.

The socialist community has put forward a wide range of measures to strengthen peace and security throughout the world, because it is convinced that it is not yet too late to halt the nuclear arms race. If the principle of equality and equal security is scrupulously observed, if political will be displayed, and an honest, equitable and constructive dialogue is conducted, it will be possible to overcome the dangerous growth of international tension, and to strengthen mutual confidence and equitable cooperation of states with different social systems. That is why the CMEA countries have also put forward their own action programme in contrast to the imperialist policy, which erects ever new barriers between them in the economic sphere. Its purpose is to develop stable international political and economic relations, to improve world economic ties, and to ensure economic security and trust as the material basis for deepening the international detente.

What does this imply in concrete terms? The economic summit documents provide a clearcut and exhaustive answer to that question: 'The CMEA member countries are consistent advocates of the adoption of effective decisions and actions designed to rule out any exploitation in international economic relations, ensure unhampered international scientific and technical cooperation, eliminate discrimination, artificial barriers and unequal exchange in trade relations, establish a fair and economically justified relation of prices for raw materials, foodstuffs and manufactured products and, for that purpose, to tighten controls over the activity of transnational monopolies. They advocate the ordering of monetary and financial relations, oppose the policy of high interest rates, and favour normalisation of the terms on which credits are granted and repaid, so as to prevent these terms, especially with respect to the developing countries' indebtedness, from being used as an instrument of political pressure and interference in domestic affairs.'³

Consequently, there is fresh confirmation that the socialist states take a firm stand for restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, and establishing a new international economic order, and resolutely support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in this matter. The communist and workers' parties of our community formulate their policy on the strength of their profound conviction that mankind cannot advance along the way of stable and harmonious economic progress while such yawning gaps exist between the development levels of individual regions and countries. That is why the Moscow meeting once again voiced full solidarity with the newly liberated states' demands for compensation of the vast resources which were extracted in the past and which are still being extracted today by the former colonial powers bearing the responsibility for their backwardness. For their part, the socialist community countries, uninvolved in the plunder of the Third World, will continue to assist its people in their efforts for economic progress to the best of their abilities.

The development of mutually advantageous ties between the socialist and the capitalist states, and also between their enterprises and firms, is an essential element in normalising international economic relations. Practice shows that both sides can benefit from such cooperation. In order to provide a stable contractual basis for economic, scientific and technical contacts the socialist community countries are prepared to conclude an agreement between the CMEA and the EEC.

The adopted documents say that collective efforts have already helped to work out a number of important recommendations and understandings, which are written into the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the final document of the Madrid Meeting, and UN resolutions. Their consistent fulfilment could markedly advance the normalisation of international economic intercourse. Powerful forces resisting imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and blocking the way to war and aggression have also taken shape. The Declaration contains a high appreciation of the activity of the non-aligned movement, which is making a big contribution to solving the vital problems of our day. Emphasising the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace and international security, the socialist community states have called for a start of global negotiations within its framework on the key economic problems of our day.

The urge to normalise international political and economic relations is in line with the very substance of socialism, which has invariably displayed goodwill and concern to enable all the peoples to develop their economic potential to the utmost, and to advance along the way of progress in the conditions of peace, justice and mutual cooperation.

Cooperation—To a New Stage

The policy of peace and development of economic ties, which the CMEA countries have consistently pursued, rests on the steady growth of their economic potential. The community of socialist states has now been in existence and developing successfully for over three and a half decades, setting an example of new international relations of complete equality, comradely mutual assistance and collective cooperation, relations which never before existed in history. The previous summit meeting of the fraternal countries' representatives in 1969 took the line of socialist economic integration, which has fully justified itself. Over the past fifteen years, they have doubled their industrial output, while capitalism has increased its industrial output by just over a third. But it is, of course, not only a matter of economic growth rates. The fundamental social advantages of the new system have also been manifested to the fullest extent.

The collective work in harmonising the fraternal states' economic interests to their mutual advantage is a stride towards the 'harmonious national and international coordination of social forms of production' which Marx forecast.⁴ From that

standpoint, the comprehensive Programme for Further Deepening and Perfecting Cooperation and Developing Socialist Economic Integration, adopted in 1971, and also the long-term multilateral and bilateral cooperation programmes have been of particular importance. Relying on the valuable experience gained in their realisation, the participants in the Moscow meeting discussed the cardinal problems of economic strategy and further deepening of economic integration.

The Statement of the meeting formulates the new tasks arising in the socialist countries' economic development at the present stage in connection with the switch of their economies to intensive and more efficient development. Their solution will help to consolidate the material and technical basis of socialism and to raise the working people's wellbeing. It provides for an acceleration of the process in which the economic development levels of the CMEA countries are being gradually evened out, primarily the development levels of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam, as compared with those of the European community states, a process which epitomises the strength and effectiveness of proletarian internationalism.

The great new tasks set by life before the socialist community require a further improvement of the forms and methods of economic cooperation and of its mechanism. The switch from main quantitative growth to qualitative growth brings to the fore problems of conducting an economically grounded and agreed structural policy, resolute raising the technical level of the whole social production, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and application of its achievements. The meeting noted the considerable reserves in expanding the fraternal countries' cooperation, deepening specialisation and cooperation of production and increasing their mutual trade, and expressed the confidence that they have everything necessary for more effective cooperation.

Like the whole of the socialist states' economic life, their integration turns to intensive methods. This is vividly evidenced by the meeting's decision to enhance the coordination of economic policy in spheres connected with mutual cooperation, and also in other socio-economic spheres, when the interested countries desire to do so. This means collective elaboration of the ways for tackling the major problems which are of mutual interest. This will enable each of the fraternal countries to determine the lines of long-term economic development with greater precision, and join other countries in mapping out direct cooperation in science, technology, material production and capital construction.

In order to raise the work of coordinating economic policy and deepening the international division of labour to a higher stage, the need for holding regular meetings at the party-and-state-leadership level has been recognised, thereby making the activity of the communist and workers' parties in developing cooperation and socialist economic integration and exchange of experience in economic construction truly collective and constant. The concrete ways of improving the mechanism of cooperation have also been decided upon. The meeting came out in favour of broad production cooperation and establishment of direct ties between associations, enterprises and organisations. There is to be more effective combination of planning activity with the use of commodity-money relations, in particular, improvement of price-formation in mutual trade, and monetary and financial instruments of economic ties, and a strengthening of the transferable rouble,⁵ the collective currency.

The leaders of the communist and workers' parties and the heads of government of the CMEA member countries devoted much attention to the problems of scientific and technical cooperation. Agreement has been reached on working out a Complex Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress over the next 15-20 years within the CMEA, on the basis of national programmes. It will help to pursue an agreed, and in some areas a common scientific and technical policy, to solve the problems more rapidly through common efforts.

Socialism is capable of solving through its own efforts the most complicated scientific, technical and economic problems. With their extensive and diverse potential and making use of the tremendous potentialities of the planned economy, the fraternal states will not allow the imperialist circles to halt the progress of the new society or limit the CMEA countries' participation in international economic life. The strengthening of its internal unity safeguards the socialist community against any attempts at economic blackmail and diktat, and makes it even more invulnerable in technical, economic and defence terms. At the same time, the socialist world, as the meeting shows once again, has never sought to isolate itself, and has never tried to fence itself off from the capitalist and developing states. Contrary to the prophecies of bourgeois propaganda, which claimed that the Moscow summit would take the line of economic autarky, the socialist community has once again confirmed the line of broad and all-round economic cooperation as an embodiment of the principles of peaceful coexistence in practice.

The CMEA economic summit is a milestone not only in the history of world socialism, but also of the international communist and working class movement as a whole. Its results are regarded by the progressive opinion of the world as fresh confirmation of the collective course pursued by the fraternal parties and states towards a steady strengthening of their unity and cohesion. Speaking on behalf of all the participants after the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP CC and Chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, said: "Time is on our side. That is why, while giving a high assessment of the results achieved in our cooperation, we have concentrated our main attention at this time on the future. . . . Therein lie the strength and viability of our system, whose substance and goal are development, progress and service of the people. This also bears out our undeviating stand for peace, and our certainty in the morrow and the justice of our cause."⁶

The Moscow meeting demonstrated with fresh force the profound responsibility of the socialist countries for the destinies of mankind, for averting a nuclear war. They countered the reactionary adventurism of US imperialist circles with their line of relaxing international tensions, improving the situation in the world, and political and economic cooperation of all the states. This will be made possible on the solid basis which the meeting laid for deepening economic, scientific and technical integration, and ensuring the economic security of world socialism. Consistent realisation of what has been projected will give a fresh impetus to the dynamic and harmonious economic development of each country and of the socialist community as a whole.

The whole content of the historical documents adopted by the leaders of the communist and workers' parties and heads of government of the CMEA member countries meets the challenge of our day and the aspirations of the peoples of the world for a life in peace and social progress, and rebuffs the forces of reaction and war.

**Pavel Auersperg,
Sergei Tsukasov,
Managing Editors of WMR**

¹ *Pravda*, June 15, 1984.

² *Pravda*, June 16, 1984.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Karl Marx, 'The Civil War in France' (first draft), Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 17, p. 553 (in Russian).

⁵ The transferable rouble is a unit of account and a means of payment for mutual settlements between the CMEA countries.—*Ed.*

⁶ *Pravda*, June 15, 1984.

the party

Meeting of CC Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries

THE CC secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries in charge of organising party work met in Sofia on May 29 and 30. The meeting was attended by representatives of the following parties: the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The meeting was also attended by the Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*.

The participants compared notes on party guidance of youth organisations and on current problems of work among youth in their countries.

Speakers pointed out that in exercising their leading role in society, communist and workers' parties consider the education of youth a most important strategic task of socialist construction. They expressed a high opinion of the contribution made by young people and their organisations to socialist construction and the defence of socialism's achievements. Growing in fraternal countries under the impact of all social relations is a generally hard-working, socially active younger generation dedicated to the socialist cause. The participants were unanimous in the view that the fundamental interests of youth, their material and intellectual requirements, can be met in ever fuller measure only by building socialism and communism. Socialism alone enables young people to take up their place in society and provides conditions for the formation of a fully developed individual and the application of his energies and abilities in life.

It was said at the meeting that in view of the increasing scale and complexity of socialist construction tasks, mounting international tensions and a marked exacerbation of the struggle between the two systems, the ideological, political, labour and moral education of the young people and the fostering of an active position in life on their part and a sense of responsibility for the present and future of peace and socialism are gaining in importance. Speakers stressed the need to steadfastly infuse the younger generation with revolutionary class consciousness, firm communist convictions and moral principles and unshakable confidence in the rightness of socialist ideals, and continuously to educate youth in the spirit of the revolutionary and labour traditions of the working class and their peoples, and in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, of an uncompromising attitude to bourgeois ideology.

The fraternal parties, participants noted, see their standing task in drawing youth on a growing scale into the solution of key problems of economic and social development, the management of the affairs of state and society, and in raising their political culture in every way. In the interest of the progress of socialist society, they work to ensure that each new generation rises to a higher level in terms of education, general culture, professional skill and civic maturity.

Therefore the communist and workers' parties which participated in the meeting attach great importance to the effort to perfect the functioning of youth leagues, increase their influence on all the social sectors and age groups of youth, encourage

their initiative and foster their sense of responsibility for the education of the younger generation. A requisite for this is to strengthen youth leagues ideologically, organisationally and politically and promote their activity and initiative. It is important that the content, forms and methods of their work should meet as fully as possible the varied interests and requirements of youth, have a clear-cut ideological, political, moral and aesthetic trend and help effectively in fostering their initiative and creative effort and improving discipline and organisation. Considerable attention was devoted to the problems of making judicious use of the free time of youth and of organising their recreation.

All participants stressed that party guidance is a source of strength for youth leagues and an earnest of their fruitful activity. They called attention to the task of increasing party influence on the life and activities of youth organisations, strengthening the party core in them, raising the role of party branches and ensuring that Communists set an example of educating young people. They pointed out that the fraternal parties see the moulding of new generations of builders of socialism and communism as a cause of the people and state as a whole. Mention was made of the great role of the family, schools and work collectives in this matter. There was an exchange of experience of cooperation between government, economic and mass organisations in the education of youth in the respective countries.

Speakers said that youth leagues make an appreciable contribution to the development of friendship and all-round cooperation between their fraternal peoples. On behalf of the parties represented at the meeting, they expressed readiness to help extend the scope and content of internationalist relations between young people of the socialist community countries. They emphasised the importance of the effort of youth leagues to further the international solidarity of the youth of the world and step up the struggle against imperialism, reaction and the threat of nuclear war, for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, the preservation and consolidation of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The discussion showed that each fraternal party is working among youth with due regard to the specific context of socialist construction. At the same time speakers pointed out that the only basis on which problems of the communist education of youth can be solved is creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the advance of socialist society.

Participants expressed the fraternal parties' readiness to contribute actively to the realisation of International Youth Year. They underlined the importance of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Moscow as a mass event against war and imperialism.

The Sofia meeting proceeded in a friendly, cordial atmosphere and in a spirit of unity and cohesion.

Sri Lanka

Communist Congresses

Championing Independence, Democracy and Progress

K. P. Silva – CC General Secretary
Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL)

THE 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka was held at the end of January, 1984, in Colombo. It was originally intended to take place in August, 1983, immediately after the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of our party. But it had to be postponed due to the widespread communal violence that occurred in July, 1983, the declaration of a state of emergency, and the subsequent banning of our party and the arrest and detention of some of its leaders.

The falsity of the provocative charges that the United National Party (UNP) government made against our party was demonstrated by the fact that it was compelled to lift the ban after three months and to release the imprisoned leaders without either charge or explanation. It was only after this that our party was able to decide to convene the postponed 12th Congress.

As the situation continued to be tense, our Central Committee found it impossible to invite delegations from fraternal parties to attend the Congress. Nevertheless, we highly appreciate the messages of greetings and solidarity that we received on this occasion from 62 fraternal parties, which were a source of great encouragement to us.

Our 12th Congress met under complicated and even dangerous conditions. Many factors, both external and domestic, contributed towards this.

Domestically, the basically neocolonialist 'open economy' policies that the UNP government had followed since 1977 on the insistence of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had produced a major crisis of the economy. Sri Lanka's indebtedness to several imperialist states and international monetary institutions had swollen to such an extent that the government was unable to keep up with interest payments on this debt. This had in turn produced huge budget deficits, crisis in balance of trade and payments, continuous devaluation of the rupee, galloping inflation combined with a virtual wage freeze, major cutbacks in social services and welfare measures, increased privatisation of the public sector, and ever-sharpening attacks on the standards of living of the people.

The crisis was not merely economic and financial. It began to affect the state structure and the political system itself, threatening democratic processes and institutions that developed over half a century as a result of the struggles of the working class and the mass of the people. Democratic rights and freedoms found themselves under increasing attack. The crisis also affected Sri Lanka's external relations, as witnessed by a shift away from traditional non-aligned policies.

Lastly, the crisis in relations between the major nationalities of Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese and Tamils, went deeper and led to three devastating eruptions of communal violence in the six-year term of the UNP government.¹

The unceasing attacks on democratic rights and institutions, as well as the fanning of ethnic strife, were an integral part of the UNP government's attempts to force through its 'open economy' policy, to crush opposition to these efforts, and to distract the attention of the people from the adverse consequences of this policy. In doing so, it had proceeded from authoritarianism to more dictatorial forms of rule in which

even the forms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy were increasingly perverted or discarded. By the time our 12th Congress met, the danger of military government had become very real.

The external danger had also become very sharp. US imperialism had begun to intensify its efforts to militarise and nuclearise the Indian Ocean, thereby flouting the wish of the United Nations and the non-aligned nations that this ocean should be a zone of peace. As Sri Lanka is situated in the midst of this ocean and at the southern tip of India, which the US Administration seeks to ring around with hostile states in a bid to pressurise India's government to abandon its independent and peaceful policy in world and regional affairs, the Reagan Administration has sought to use our country's economic and financial dependence on it to increase its political and military presence. In return for economic assistance the US demanded and secured a new agreement to set up in Sri Lanka a radio network to be used for both a propaganda war and naval communications, as well as facilities for its Seventh Fleet at Trincomalee. All this meant, on the one hand, that the nuclear war had been brought to Sri Lanka's doorstep, and on the other hand, that Sri Lanka was being increasingly involved in US imperialism's strategy.

A central task of the 12th Congress, therefore, was to evolve means whereby the disunited left and democratic forces could be brought together in action to defend Sri Lanka's political independence and national sovereignty, to resist US imperialism's attempt to involve Sri Lanka in its war plans, to maintain and extend democratic rights, processes and institutions, to protect and extend the vital interests and the standards of life of the people, and to defeat persistent moves towards fascist-type military rule. An important task in this connection was to work for a political solution to the problems of ethnic discord through dialogue and to defeat the government's attempts to find a way out through repression and military force.

One of the key issues before the 12th Congress was that of defending world peace against the threat of a nuclear conflagration emanating from the drive of imperialism to gain military superiority, impose its will on the world, roll back socialism, suppress the national liberation struggles and arrest social progress. The immense destructive capacity of the existing nuclear arsenals and the development of highly sophisticated systems for their delivery have altered the character and added to the destructiveness of modern warfare. In the words of the Political Report of the CC to the Congress, world peace today 'has become an indispensable prerequisite for social progress and the solution of the people's problems in every country of the world'.²

The 12th Congress appreciated highly the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries towards curbing the nuclear arms race and reducing nuclear stockpiles on the basis of parity and equal security, and the innumerable initiatives made by them in this connection, particularly the Soviet Union's pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It noted that awareness of the danger of nuclear war is still low in Sri Lanka and that the peace movement still lacks a mass character. Hence the party should intensify its efforts to build public opinion on the omnicidal nature of nuclear war.

The Congress also confirmed the need to launch mass campaigns against militarisation and nuclearisation of the Indian Ocean zone by the USA, for the conversion of the ocean into a nuclear-free zone, the holding of the UN Conference on the Indian Ocean Peace Zone (IOPZ), and the return of Diego Garcia³ to Mauritius. It is necessary to insist that the government should bar warships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons from Sri Lanka's harbours and airports and renounce its intention to grant the USA base facilities at Trincomalee. It had also become urgent for our party to carry on a vigorous campaign against the government's tendency to support imperialism in reciprocation for economic assistance, thereby eroding national sovereignty and smearing the good name of Sri Lanka in the non-aligned movement in the past.

Much attention was paid to other international developments, including those in the sphere of national liberation struggles. Among the special resolutions adopted were those on the nuclear war threat and solidarity with the people's struggles in other countries.

The 12th Congress assessed internal developments and drew important conclusions. It pointed out that, mainly in consequence of the 'open economy' policy of the government, Sri Lanka's economy is in dire straits. In the past there was an increase in economic activity and an expansion of capitalist relations on the strength of massive external infusions of credit. This, however, does not represent real economic growth. As the Political Report of the CC to the Congress notes, 'the so-called "economic development" that the "open economy" policies have spawned has been mainly in tourism and the service trades as well as various speculative, peripheral, parasitical, and even underworld sectors'.⁴

Plantation agriculture, which remains the backbone of the economy, is declining both in production and in yielding income. Under the 'liberalised' trade policy national industry is failing to withstand the stiff competition from imported goods for want of adequate protection. State banks, which dominated the financial sphere, were compelled to yield their positions to foreign banks already in control of more than half of the deposits. Deficit in the balance of trade and payments has risen by 30 per cent and budget deficits soar with the passage of every year. Cumulatively these deficits today equal the total annual export earnings of Sri Lanka. The external debt⁵ is so heavy and the means to meet the obligations so scant that the government is on the verge of defaulting even on interest due.

The economic situation has been further aggravated by the colossal material devastation and loss of earnings from abroad caused by the communal riots of 1983. Private foreign investment through which the government had sought to sustain its 'open economy' policy has tapered off. The depth of the crisis is reflected in the budget of 1984, which froze development activity for the next two years, cut existing capital expenditures, increased spending on the armed forces and the police, and imposed additional burdens on the people, including new taxes.

The vicious circle of debt and dependence has afflicted Sri Lanka to such an extent that prior approval of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other capitalist 'aid' donors has become a prerequisite for the adoption of any major policy.

Although the private sector was relied upon to perform the major role in the development 'strategy' of the government, the reluctance of local capital to engage in industrial and agricultural development and its concentration on peripheral sectors, such as the tourist and service trades, contract and commission agencies and various parasitical and speculative activities, have belied the government's hopes.

The new stage of the 'open economy' policy is characterised by the government's total subservience to the dictates of imperialist financial institutions and other grantors of 'aid'. This is fully evidenced by the Investment Programme for 1983-1989, which ensures the continuity of the 'open economy' policy and is intended to overcome the budget deficits at the expense of capital works and social welfare, to 'revitalise' the plantation sector (mainly state-owned) by introducing private management, to support export-oriented projects that can earn quick returns, and to withdraw all support and protection for import-substitution industries. The government has also assured its capitalist 'aid' donors that it will undertake no public sector development projects until 1985 and that in future 'development' will be the concern of foreign and local capital, with the government providing only the infrastructure, services and finance, if need be.

The social costs of the 'open economy' policy are also very high. It has bred further poverty and enormously widened the gap between the rich and the poor. More than half the population lives below the officially accepted poverty line of Rs.300/= per

month.⁶ The impoverishment of the masses has been deepened by the government's savage cuts in subsidies. Public health and free health care are being systematically eroded. Steps have already been taken to decimate the free-education system. The development of national cultures has been seriously undermined. Social and moral values have been debased. Corruption is rampant at all levels of public life. The crude consumerism and crass commercialism promoted by this policy are beginning to influence social behaviour on a large scale.

'The "open economy" policy, therefore,' says the Political Report of the CC, which was unanimously approved by the Congress, 'spells disaster to national sovereignty and greater and greater dependence on imperialism in the spheres of national policies, the economy and external affairs'.⁷ It points out further that if this policy is not reversed all gains made by the working class and the patriotic forces in struggle during the course of this century could be lost.

The government's attempt to get out of the crisis of the capitalist path of development by adopting a neocolonialist and dependent 'open economy' policy is accompanied by systematic and continuous attacks on the democratic rights of the people, especially the working class. Processes and institutions of bourgeois parliamentary democracy have been considerably weakened and face a mortal threat. The government apparently considers that even the authoritarian powers it has acquired under the 1978 Constitution and the anti-democratic legislation it has adopted thereafter are insufficient for preserving its rule and maintaining its 'open economy' policy. This is well evident in the draconian powers it has vested itself with and the brutal measures it has taken in dealing with its opponents. The savage manner in which the 1980 strike was suppressed and the arbitrary dismissal of over 100,000 strikers provide a graphic illustration of this. This was followed by further restrictions on trade union rights, peaceful demonstrations and picketing, and by the application of state violence against those who sought to exercise their rights.

Emergency powers have been abused to attack the general democratic rights and freedoms of the people. A case in point are the events during the 1982 referendum to extend the life of the 1977 parliament for a further period of five years when our party's daily newspaper was suppressed, political opponents of the regime were detained without charge or reason, election laws were brazenly violated and those suspected of opposing the government were terrorised.⁸

Independence of the judiciary is under persistent attack. The promotion of police officers found guilty of violating fundamental democratic rights and the covert support rendered to hooligans sent to intimidate judges are in utter disregard of even the norms of bourgeois democracy.

Another serious development is the use of special gangs (reminiscent of Hitler's storm-troopers) to intimidate and assault political opponents, strikers' pickets and national minorities. These gangs are led by trade unions and other organisations controlled by the ruling party and enjoy the patronage of key government officials.

An even more dangerous development has been the advance of a demand for a 'non-party government' made by a powerful group who enjoy the support of certain imperialist forces as well as certain circles in the government. This trend has to be beaten back immediately so as to prevent the imposition of a military government. The fight to defend democratic rights, including bourgeois representative institutions, and for the restoration of civil rights already withdrawn occupies a central place at this stage of the struggle.

The government's failure to solve the just grievances of the Sri Lanka Tamils has sharply deteriorated inter-communal relations. The communal violence of 1983 caused them to reach the lowest level in living memory. As a consequence, the antagonistic positions of the two communities have been further hardened and the fissiparous trends among the Tamils strengthened. The government has used the

situation to distract people's attention from the social effects of the crisis and to put further burdens on them.

The Congress reiterated that a just and lasting solution to the national question can only be found in the conditions of a socialist society. However, it is possible and necessary even under prevailing conditions to find partial solutions that will help preserve communal harmony, guarantee the different national groups their security and evolve conditions for them to coexist in mutual respect and friendship.

Building an atmosphere of national harmony is connected with the extension of democracy. Accordingly, the Congress decided that the party should campaign for: (1) a reduction of armed forces in the North and the East⁹ to levels similar to those in other areas of the country, (2) the withdrawal of emergency regulations authorising arbitrary arrests and detentions, (3) the repeal of the so-called Prevention of Terrorism Act,¹⁰ and (4) the granting of an amnesty. The party will actively support all proposals that would end discrimination in the spheres of public employment, higher education, land settlement, etc.

The Congress considered that the absence of even a mutually acceptable partial settlement of the national question has become an impediment to the further growth of the struggle of the masses in defence of their vital interests and for social change and that the party should strive hard to find such a solution. In this respect, the convening of an All-Parties' Conference to find a settlement to the problem of the Tamil nationality, for which the party has vigorously campaigned for so long, is deemed a positive development.

Serious attention was also paid to the attempt of a section in and around the government to exploit the prevailing inter-ethnic tension to attain certain foreign policy objectives which they had thus far failed to achieve due to popular opposition. The principal aim had been to grant military facilities in Sri Lanka to the USA in return for economic assistance. One line of action in this respect had been to provoke a confrontation with India, which hardcore Sinhalese chauvinists regard as giving material and other support to Tamil separatist movements. The myth of an imminent Indian invasion was spread and is still kept up through the mass media with the approval of high government officials. US imperialism and its friends 'are out to create conditions under which US imperialism can be invited to send troops to Sri Lanka under the guise of a so-called "peace-keeping force between communities" and a "protector" of Sri Lanka against an imaginary Indian invasion,' states the Appeal of the 12th Congress of the CPSL.¹¹ As the Appeal declares in its opening part, Sri Lanka today faces the biggest threat to its political independence, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity and the unity of its multi-ethnic people since it regained independence.

This situation demands broad-based united actions in defence of peace, national sovereignty, democratic rights, processes and institutions, and against the sharpening attacks on the people's living standards and vital interests. The Congress declared that the party should lead the struggle to unite the left and democratic forces in action for the purpose. In view of the lack of proper unity in the working class and the left movement, tremendous efforts are necessary to achieve such united action.

Our party considers that united action with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)¹² is possible and necessary, particularly on issues such as the fight for peace and defence of national sovereignty and democratic rights and processes. However, the Congress noted that although the SLFP is in the opposition, it seeks forms of rapprochement with the ruling UNP and has lately been openly resorting to anti-communism under the slogan 'No Truck with the Left'.

A new factor in national politics is the formation of the Sri Lanka People's Party by radical elements of the SLFP who broke away from it at the end of last year. It enjoys wide support among the radical petty bourgeoisie, which was an important traditional base of the SLFP. The formation of this new party, which opposes the pro-UNP and

anti-left positions of the SLFP, has opened new prospects for developing united struggles by an alliance of the working class and the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. However, the split in the SLFP has introduced new complications in forging united action against the UNP government and its policies.

Having examined the situation in the left movement, the Congress concluded that the fight to build greater cohesion and unity of the left movement will be a protracted process. Practical united actions for common purposes will have to be combined with principled ideological and political struggles against erroneous and disruptive theories and policies.

The work needed to implement the present strategy of the party was set out in detail in the Organisational Report approved by the 12th Congress. The new Constitution of the Party, which came into force on its adoption by the Congress, has upgraded and consolidated the provisions of the old Constitution and provided for new levels of party organisation among other things.

Strengthening the party politically, organisationally and ideologically so that its capacity will correspond, at least in the first instance, to its political influence, will be the priority task in building the party. Presently the party's newspapers and other publications exceed those of other parties. Large sections of the left and democratic movement seek guidance from them in day-to-day struggles. The party's basic task is to concentrate on building its influence among the working class. Work among the peasantry, where much remains to be done, will be expanded.

As the Political Report of the CC to the 12th Congress states, despite the relatively weak position of the working class movement in general, the correct policies and the work of the party have brought it to a position where it can emerge as the leading party of the Left, with sufficient influence and prestige to unite and rally all other sections of the left movement behind correct common policies.

¹ See Pieter Keuneman, 'The Background of the Conflict', *WMR*, No. 2, 1984.—*Ed.*

² *Political Thesis for the 12th National Congress. January 27-29, 1984, Colombo*, p. 4.

³ Site of a major US military base.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Political Thesis . . .*, p. 17.

⁵ Rs. 69,121.5 million (over \$2,650 million) in 1983 compared with Rs. 19,279 in 1979.

⁶ One dollar now equals about Rs.27/=.—*Ed.*

⁷ *Political Thesis . . .*, p. 25.

⁸ Despite all this and the massive frauds resorted to and although the government won the referendum, it could secure only 38 per cent of the total vote in support of putting off parliamentary elections until 1989.

⁹ Tamil majority areas.

¹⁰ A draconian piece of legislation which overrides normal Penal Law and Criminal Procedure.

¹¹ *Forward*, February 1, 1984.

¹² Bourgeois party led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike.—*Ed.*

Dominican Republic

For Unity and Organisation

José A. Riva Tavárez — CC member,
Dominican Communist Party (DCP)

THE Dominican Communist Party held its Third Congress in Santo Domingo last March. Loyal to the memory of Orlando Martínez¹ and the legacy of other fallen

Communists, the delegates deliberated under the motto of strengthening the party and the working class on the basis of a correct conception of long-range political tasks which provide for a radical transformation of society and the establishment of socialism in the Dominican Republic.

The congress was a milestone in the national revolutionary movement. Its decisions concern the most important problems of the people's struggle at this stage and are forceful evidence of the triumph of the ideas of solidarity and internationalism among the party membership. The delegates unanimously approved resolutions in support of the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation and of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries and condemned the bellicose policy of imperialism.

Preparations for the Congress and the discussion preceding it involved all party organisations, which took a keen interest in the analysis and assessment of the work done, the documents relating to organisational matters and the amendments to the Rules and Programme submitted to the Communists for consideration. The material intended for the congress was discussed throughout the country at party branch meetings, regional conferences, meetings of leaders with rank-and-file members and publications in *Hablan los comunistas*.²

The Congress drew 320 delegates, guests from fraternal communist parties and numerous other guests: politicians, trade union executives, prominent intellectuals, leaders of the Dominican Left Front (DLF).³

The CC Report, presented by DCP General Secretary Narciso Isa Conde, examined the main aspects of the tense international situation, the interventionist moves of the Reagan Administration in Central America and acute socio-economic problems of the Dominican Republic. The rapporteur described the party's activity over the past five years, formulated new tasks and called on the Communists to show still greater militancy in order to meet the exigencies of the current stage of the struggle.

The political context of the congress was characterised by three realities. First, a deepening of the economic crisis due, in particular, to talks with the IMF on a new agreement, for they led at once to price increases foreboding a further decline in the standard of living. Second, growing political activity of the people, with more strikes by workers, actions by peasants demanding land and protests by the population at large against the policies of the nation's top leadership. Third, the people's anger at the government plan to allow the establishment of a US military base on Dominican territory, a plan which revealed the extent of the government's subservience to imperialism.

By the time the congress opened, there was evidence of a deep conflict between the working people and the Jorge Blanco government. Unrest in various parts of the country lasted throughout 1983 and is continuing.

The present cabinet was formed after the Dominican Revolutionary Party (DRP) had won the elections (May 1982). Although the DRP is affiliated to the Socialist International, we Communists consider that it only expresses the interests of US financial capital, foreign companies and a handful of domestic bankers, big merchants, industrialists and latifundium owners. The ruling party, the congress documents note, is committed to a political and economic course aimed above all at bolstering the positions of the most powerful section of the dependent bourgeoisie.

Civil freedoms are constantly violated by reactionary elements and the pro-imperialist military. As for the government, it reconciles itself to this, being under sustained pressure from Washington. More and more often, it bans strikes, adopts repressive measures against participants in popular demonstrations and uses force to curb actions by peasants demanding land. In these circumstances the prospects of development of the political democracy existing in the country depend chiefly on the people's struggle, which is instrumental in at least the nominal preservation of the

rights of left organisations, including the DCP. However, our party, which enjoys popular respect, is under constant government pressure aimed at restricting its activity.

With regard to problems agitating the whole of humanity, the Blanco government is at pains to look independent, to disguise its allegiance to US foreign policy as best it can. While paying lip-service to peace in our region, it refrained from condemning the barefaced US invasion of Grenada; it is indifferent to the tension being built up around Nicaragua by imperialism and declares against the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador. Despite its association with the Socialist International, the leadership of the ruling party adheres in foreign policy to a course fully meeting Washington's selfish aspirations in Central America and the Caribbean.

The congress devoted much attention to economic matters. The government signed an agreement with the IMF in 1982. The agreement stipulated the granting of a 459 million dollar loan, to be made available in instalments till 1986. In exchange the Dominican government committed itself to implement a draconian programme for austerity and price increases. Two years later, the ruinous effects of the economic policy dictated by the IMF came out. They are a further deterioration of the living standards of the working people and middle strata and alarming pauperisation.

Meanwhile the situation over repayment of the foreign debt, totalling 2,600 million dollars, has been going from bad to worse. A serious problem arose in the early months of 1984, when payments had to be made on credits granted mostly by foreign private banks. There was no foreign exchange. The government had to turn to the IMF again. Talks resulted in its committing itself to raise the prices of food staples and prohibiting the financing in foreign exchange of the purchase of medicines and certain raw materials, with the result that the prices of many industrial goods of domestic make went up too. These measures plus those effected over the past years caused a new upsurge in popular discontent, as we have pointed out.

The delegates took a positive view of the policy line of the Central Committee and approved its Report, which says: 'In the home policy sphere the DCP leadership has in general been equal to the tasks facing out party. It amply demonstrated its capacity for action exposing the government, gained greater sympathy and influence, took a firm stand against diverse policies of the government, advanced alternatives and linked the struggle for immediate goals with our programme demands and strategic goals. In urban and rural areas alike, the party supported and encouraged multiple social protests and struggles for the working people's rights. It resisted various populist and reformist trends in defending the revolutionary essence of our organisation and safeguarding it against conformists, integrationists and conciliators. The DCP maintained and stepped up its revolutionary class militancy in fighting the sectors forming the dominant social bloc and all the institutions of Dominican capitalist representative democracy, including the armed forces. It helped spread revolutionary socialist consciousness among the masses and contributed in important measure to the difficult and still uncompleted process of unification and politico-ideological formation of the Left.'⁴

A particularly important fact is that the party leadership has fully preserved its principled and consistent policy line, refusing to make sterile compromises and working to raise the political consciousness of the people. The DCP used all legal opportunities and joined in all actions by working people in defence of their rights, doing so from positions of vigorous resistance to the system, the exploiting classes and the government.

The policy of bringing about left unity is a particularly important activity of the party. It has delivered a telling blow to the sectarianism affecting some party members and a substantial number of participants in the Dominican revolutionary process.

After the previous (Second) congress, held in 1979, the party strove for the

formation of a unity movement with an explicit and precise anti-imperialist platform. However, the uncertainty of some left organisations as to programme and the character of their policy impeded the attainment of this aim.

We Communists realise that left unity is a key problem inasmuch as its solution will make for the growth of the revolutionary potential. We have been operating to this end and have brought about noteworthy changes and agreements that began to bear fruit after the 1982 elections. The Socialist Unity Movement joined the DCP on the basis of common programme guidelines. At the same time several other left groups effected a merger while others showed a growing trend towards unity.

An agreement on unity of action paved the way for the formation of the DLF. This aim was achieved after lively debates and an exchange of occasionally conflicting views, which resulted in the signing of a Political Agreement by nearly all left organisations in June 1983. In this way an important step was taken to end the disunity of the left movement dating from earlier years, a development which made it possible to largely coordinate and multiply the efforts of available and potential forces.

The agreement, which served as a platform for the political alliance in question, is a reflection of the coinciding positions of diverse organisations. 'This platform,' says a document of the Third DCP Congress, 'really made it possible, despite its limitations, to form a left alliance with a clear-cut revolutionary content and provided—notwithstanding the difficulty of implementing it and an occasional lack of dynamism in doing so—ample and varied experience of joint efforts and of increasing political dissociation of the Left from the parties of the system and from populist and reformist options.'⁵

On analysing the situation in the world, the congress approved the foreign policy activity of the DCP leadership. The party took part in various internationalist actions. It extended and strengthened its foreign ties and its solidarity with peoples struggling for independence and stepped up its effort for world peace and its defence of the achievements of existing socialism. Much was done for the extension of relations between the Dominican Republic and socialist community countries. On the world scene the DCP has been pursuing its policy on the principles of revolutionary internationalism, the independence of parties and a creative approach to problems.

The congress denounced the bellicose, interventionist policy of the Reagan Administration in Central America and the Middle East and the buildup of its nuclear arsenal in Western Europe. It noted that President Reagan announces without the slightest embarrassment his intention to stop the liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America by force. The facts indicate that the US government is now paying special attention to Central America, a new centre of the anti-imperialist struggle whose success will largely condition the destiny of the Latin American revolutionary process. Washington has adopted a threatening tone in inciting the more aggressive and reactionary forces to join in a 'crusade' against the Nicaraguan revolution and the patriotic forces of El Salvador. It resorts to secret operations, provocations and indirect aggression to clear the decks for direct armed intervention in the affairs of the region.

The Third Congress pointed out that loyalty to internationalist ideals binds us to active solidarity with Sandinist Nicaragua and El Salvador, which is fighting. These countries are in the forefront of the struggle for Latin America's radiant future.

The delegates gave much attention to organisational matters. The relevant decision says that the Communists' priority task is to assume guidance of the national and social liberation process under way in the country. With this aim in view and with due regard to the prevailing political conditions, the congress called for the reinforcement of the revolutionary cadre operating among the people.

The congress stressed that to build up the Communists' organisation, it is necessary to respect democratic standards, which enable all Communists to join in party work

and to express their opinions, exercising their right to criticism. It is also essential to ensure unity of action and centralised leadership to safeguard the party against disunity and clannishness.

In regard to relations between the DCP and mass organisations, the congress pointed to the need for Communists to take part in working people's spontaneous actions. The chief task is to achieve a close combination of their participation with effort to mould the anti-imperialist and socialist consciousness of the working people and increase the party's vanguard role.

The congress also analysed the situation in the trade unions from the standpoint of relations between the DCP and the working class movement. It noted that party members must help the working people exercise democracy in the unions, strive to ensure the participation of the majority of trade unionists in decision-making on important matters and help promote real proletarian leaders to key posts in the teeth of political manipulations.

Having discussed the problem of trade union unity, the congress passed a resolution whose main points are as follows: achieving unity has to be a permanent concern of the party organisations operating in the working class movement. Communists must try to ensure that the majority of working people voluntarily support this policy for unity irrespective of whether they belong to a union or not. This movement should encompass all trade unions, autonomous and independent ones included. In other words, activity to this end must not be limited to organisations in which there are favourable opportunities for it, or to those influenced by the DCP or other left groups. The congress stated that the worsened economic crisis and the government's increasingly frequent repressive measures against strikes and other actions by working people objectively help raise the class consciousness of the proletariat, making it easier to seek trade union unity.

The conclusions of the congress regarding the domestic situation were proved correct by events in late April. After the price increases decreed by the Blanco government under agreements signed with the IMF there began a nation-wide protest movement. It was joined by all trade unions, nor did those controlled by the ruling party stay out.

The government retaliated, with the result that over 100 people were killed, 500 wounded and 5,500 arrested. There were leading as well as rank-and-file members of the DLF and DCP among the victims.⁶

The vast demonstrations that took place were both a spontaneous expression of popular discontent and, to a degree, a result of the activity of organisations resisting government policy and imperialist designs.

The protest movement was also a reflection of serious differences within the government and the DRP as well as between various groups of the bourgeoisie some of which disagree with the government's practices. However, there are political forces set on exploiting popular anger for their selfish reactionary plans.

The situation created by brutal reprisals is bound to have its effect on the domestic situation.

In line with the decisions of its Third Congress, our party is searching for ways of furthering the struggle of the working and exploited people. Being in opposition, we Communists are doing out best to combine the people's demands for a better life with a strategy for revolutionary change. We proceed from the fact that the current crisis is not only an indicator of the failure of DRP policy but an expression of the inability of the system itself to solve the big problems of the country. This explains why we, like the left majority as a whole, gear our activity to achieving the main goal, which is to transform society.

At the closing sitting of the congress, following the debate on amendments to the Programme and Rules, all amendments and suggestions approved by the delegates were summed up by ad hoc commissions for inclusion in the final texts.

The Third DCP Congress played an important role in strengthening the party and its links with the people. It made a substantial contribution to the unity of the working people as a requisite of intensifying the revolutionary struggle.

¹ DCP leader and noted journalist who lost his life in 1975 at the hands of fascist terrorists.—*Ed.*

² Weekly newspaper of the DCP.—*Ed.*

³ Alignment comprising the DCP, Party of Dominican Working People, Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Union, Socialist Bloc and other organisations.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Hablan los comunistas*, March 15-22, 1984, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ A month after the shooting of the demonstrations, the government began to manoeuvre in an attempt to defuse popular action. All indications are that this was the purpose of the announced break-off of talks with the IMF.

The Ability to Address the Masses

Manuel Sepeda — CC Executive
Committee member, Colombian CP: Director
of CCP organ *Voz*

PROPAGANDA and information have traditionally had a special role in the multifaceted activity of the Colombian Communist Party. Like every other Leninist-type party, it wants to have its programme, proposals and ideas accepted by the broad masses of the working people as their very own, an asset of every stratum of the population and a weighty factor in socio-political life. But propaganda is known to be effective only when it is carried on in the light of the concrete conditions and the actual problems agitating the society, and when it rests on a thorough knowledge of the situation and the people's moods and aspirations.

Our assumption in defining the range of our tasks is that the present situation in Colombia is characterised by two distinct and contending trends. On the one hand, the recent period has been marked by a noticeable intensification of the struggle for democratic transformations, and broader action by the working class and the peasantry in defence of their vital rights and interests. Under pressure from the popular masses, President Betancur has tried to improve the internal political situation¹, and there has been a shift for the better in Colombia's official stand on a number of international issues. That was evident, for instance, in the approach to Central American problems,² and in the improvement of relations with Cuba and Nicaragua. Colombia's entry into the non-aligned movement could, we feel, lead to a change of the traditional line of submitting to US imperialism conducted by the local oligarchy.

On the other hand, the government's line as a whole appears to be contradictory. What is being done is clearly not enough to settle the problems facing the country. Any step towards democratisation runs into fierce resistance from US-backed domestic reaction.

But our party does not believe that the prospect of further democratic transformations has been entirely blocked by the mounting pressure of the oligarchy. The CCP's 13th Congress in 1980 emphasised that there are enough forces in the Colombian society capable of fighting for change and preventing the establishment of a fascist-type despotic regime, a conclusion since then fully borne out by developments. The democratic perspective is truly quite realistic, provided there is a growth in the activity of the masses on a national scale, and socio-economic and

anti-imperialist demands are combined in advancing the popular movement.

Hence the need to raise the whole of our propaganda and information work to a higher political and ideological level, and to exert an effective influence on the consciousness of the broadest strata of the Colombian people so as to clarify the meaning of the CCP's strategy, tactics, slogans and initiatives.

The Communists believe that efforts to start the process of democratisation, i.e., a set of social and especially political changes aimed to promote a progressive way out of the national crisis, is the central political task of the popular movement. Party propaganda is focused on resolute criticism (with a simultaneous explanation of the CCP's alternative ideas) of such hallmarks of oligarchic 'democracy' as the compulsory two-party system under which the bourgeois parties take turns in power; the indeterminate continuation of the state of emergency, which provides a 'legal' cover for the repressions against the patriotic forces and the peasant movement; the curbs on trade union freedoms and the right to strike; the fraudulent 'agrarian reform' and many others.

We continue, quite naturally, to give the closest attention to the pivotal and always pressing lines of ideological and political struggle over which there are sharp clashes with the imperialist mass media. This relates primarily to the problems of peace and opposition to the threat of a nuclear war, and exposure of US imperialism as the main obstacle in the way of progress for the Colombian society. This also relates to other issues which are of key importance in implementing the CCP's political line: establishment of a broad anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly front; the leadership of the working class and the role of the Communist Party in the struggle for democratic change; creative application of the principles and ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Colombia's concrete conditions; exposure of the lies about the Soviet Union and existing socialism; rebuffs to the ruling classes' reactionary ideology, and criticism of reformist and pseudo-revolutionary doctrines. Such, in short, are the main problems which are central to our party propaganda.

The CCP's 13th Congress noted the special importance of further improving the work of our press, above all that of the weekly *Voz*, CCP's central organ, which recently marked its 25th anniversary. In its quarter-century, the Communists' periodical has struck deep roots in the Colombian society, with a prominent place among the national periodicals and its unique ideological and political make-up. However, the present stage of the struggle tends to make new and ever higher demands.

How is a newspaper expressing the interests of the proletariat to be made the voice of the whole Colombian people? We are aware that if this is to be done, *Voz* has to develop together with the party, whose aim is to grow into a major mass organisation. The Communists want to turn their newspaper into a daily, because as a weekly with a far-flung network of non-staff correspondents, it is incapable of presenting on its several pages the vast flow of information coming in from the localities. Meanwhile, there is an obvious need for the CCP to react swiftly and vigorously to the kaleidoscopic problems of domestic and international life, to extend the dialogue with the masses, and to increase the volume of truthful information being spread by the Communist Party. That is something only a militant daily can cope with.

It is no easy task to set up such a periodical. The effort is being retarded by a number of objective and subjective factors. For instance, our paper's development largely depends on how consistently the democratic rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Constitution are observed throughout the national territory. Just now, *Voz*, with a printing of 40,000 copies, is most successfully circulated in the big cities. It is being sold at house entrances and doorways in the popular neighbourhoods, at the factory gates, and near universities and middle schools. At the same time, in the vast rural areas its distribution is being suppressed by reactionary militarists or thugs from the paramilitary MAS-type fascist outfits.³

Besides, the newspaper has to keep fighting to keep afloat financially. After all, the postal charges, the cost of newsprint, printer's ink and plant have been steadily rising and inflating publication costs. In contrast to the bourgeois press, *Voz* is unable to cover a part of its production costs by publishing commercial advertisements. Thus, the freedom of the press which is written into the Constitution in practice spells political and financial discrimination for a working class newspaper. *Voz* has managed to keep going to this day only through the party's constant concern.

The switch to daily publication and the paper's conversion into a voice for the whole people's aspirations will also crucially depend on the assistance of all CCP members. That is the only way in which we can circulate out periodical widely and make it pay its way.

We have managed to take an important stride forward: in mid-1983, we switched to the offset process, so improving the paper's look. We also changed its format, introduced new features, and improved the style and especially the content.

The party's interests require that the paper should have a bigger role in the ideological contest against the extreme right-wing forces, which are nurturing plans to set up a fascist-type regime. At the same time, *Voz* should intensify its criticism of the much-touted 'third way', and also of the leftist adventurists, who are inflating individual problems and difficulties in the socialist countries in an effort to prove that their historical experience is totally irrelevant to Colombia.

The struggle against diverse inventions about existing socialism is being constantly carried on by *Voz*. Its feature entitled 'Reliable Source' presents concrete examples, facts and figures about the accomplishments of socialism in economics, education, public-health care and culture, and prints articles on the peace policy of the USSR and its allies. These items should be made even more vivid, vigorous and at the same time most understandable so as to enable the readers to gain an adequate insight into the ideas we seek to carry to them.

Never before have the problems arising from the need to make propaganda more expressive, graphic and attractive, if you like, been as acute as they are today. The mass of readers want to have a newspaper with ampler information, better style and language. Some ask: 'Why can't you eliminate the boredom, why can't a revolutionary publication be cheerful and dynamic?' In other words, the criticism of *Voz* has tended to run mainly about it being somewhat dry and monotonous, overloaded with declarations and slogans, and excessively concentrated on inner-party problems. We are, of course, trying to change our style, but we are unable to do everything at once. Now and again we are hampered by our inability to break out of the circle of traditional topics. Still, some shifts for the better are already in evidence.

In the recent period, international events are being presented in greater depth and diversity. We ourselves have realised how important that is for the political education of the masses. For example, a detailed and timely presentation of developments in Lebanon has done much more to expose zionism than many other campaigns could have done. Similarly, the blockade of Cuba, the undeclared US aggression against Nicaragua, and the armed conflict over the Malvinas provided our party journalists with an opportunity of branding US imperialism as the arch-enemy of all the freedom-loving peoples, and of doing so in a most convincing manner.

We have started a special 'dossier' section, which is prepared by groups of authors. Colombian public opinion is most interested in the issues raised in the section, and so, as a rule, these have to be most thoroughly prepared. The paper has published studies of the crisis in the country's banking system, and also about the fascist terroristic MAS group, which had a tremendous public response. Our readers expect us to present surveys on topics like the arms race, social-reformism, and the army's role in the state and political life of the nation.

The party's publishing tasks are not confined to issuing its central organ. There are some others which deserve special mention.

The party also publishes a theoretical journal *Documentos Políticos* (Political Documents), which was founded in 1956. It is a bi-monthly carrying articles on the ideological and social problems, scientific papers, analysing the development of the class struggle and the activity of public organisations, essays on the history of the party and, of course, the most important documents of the CC and the CC Executive Committee of the CCP.

Another regular party publication is the journal *Punto de Vista* (Point of View). It used to be called *Cuadernos Políticos* (Political Notebooks) because its convenient format really looked like a school exercise-book. *Punto de Vista* carries surveys with an analysis on the political and socio-economic situation in Colombia, and items on the liberation struggle in Latin America and life in the countries of existing socialism.

The specific problems of the party's organisational work are dealt with in *El Organizador*, a periodical published by the CCP National Secretariat for Organisational Questions. In addition, the party also prints several thousand copies of *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism), which is circulated in the party organisations and through the commercial network. We are helping to publish and popularise a theoretical journal *Estudios Marxistas* (Marxist Studies), which is not an official organ of the CCP and is issued under the auspices of the Social Sciences Research and Study Centre.

The publication of books is an important part of our ideological work. Booklets and books containing the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin are in tremendous demand in Colombia and many other Latin American countries. The party publishers also issue works by Colombian authors, especially CCP leaders. Among the recent publications are collections of the works of CCP CC General Secretary Gilberto Vieira and CC Executive Committee member Alvaro Vásquez. Among the broad range of topics contained in our publications are the history of the party, the trade unions, mass social movements, terrorism and militarism, the sway of the monopolies and the struggle against imperialist domination.

Finally, another aspect of our propaganda activity that deserves to be looked at is the publication of bulletins, which are duplicated or printed by primary party organisations. Experience shows that, apart from *Voz* and other central organs, it pays the Communists to have additional media at the grass roots for enhancing the party's influence among the population. In the atmosphere of a 'conspiracy of silence' and reactionary slanders being daily heaped on the CCP, and in order to counter a trend within the party to unauthorised departure into the underground or self-isolation, local periodicals help to activate our dialogue with the masses and to provide fresh opportunities for increasing the party's ranks.

The party's publications have to carry on an unequal struggle against 40 regional and national dailies. These are mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie with a total printing of 1.5 million copies. However hard they may wish to do so, the weekly *Voz* and less massive party periodicals cannot hope to make good the disproportion in the balance of strength. Accordingly, the 13th Congress of the CCP called on the Communists to work for access to radio and television.

For reasons of 'favouritism' and economic and political gain, the government readily lets businessmen use the radio frequencies and television channels. The big monopolies have flooded the air with commercial advertising coupled with low-grade programmes that are seasoned with heavy doses of anti-communism, while the government has blocked access to the mass media for progressive political organisations and has ignored the opinions of the working class movement. That is why the Colombian Communists regard their demand for real freedom of information as a component part of their struggle for the country's democratic renewal.

We are campaigning above all against political discrimination and for respect of the CCP's right to express its opinion on radio and television. With the party's growing

role in social life and the relative strengthening of its influence among the masses, the Communists have made some advances: now and again reports on the party's measures and statements by its leaders appear in some broadcasts and news bulletins (even if inadequately and irregularly). In addition, we have begun to prepare our own new bulletins and cultural programmes for broadcasting on radio. The preparation of such programmes is very difficult because of the shortage of funds and the censorship, but the concrete results show that, however slowly, the Colombian Communists are making their way into the air: twice daily, the Bogota radio-station broadcasts a 45-minute news programme compiled by journalists close to the party.

The party has also considered the rapid introduction into the practice of our propaganda work audio-visual devices like video-cassette recorders, film projectors, sound slides and conventional cassette recorders. It was justly said at the National Conference on Propaganda in 1982 that the arrangement of auditions in the rural areas of recordings of parliamentary debates or documents exposing the repressive organs is a memorable occasion for peasants and is a highly effective and promising means for spreading the party's views.

Consequently, the forms of the CCP's propaganda and information work are being constantly amplified. We seek to diversify the channels of our ideological influence, making a close study of the experience gained by the fraternal parties for the purpose of applying it in Colombian conditions. Thus, many of these parties hold traditional festivals of central periodicals, while our *Voz* festival was started fairly recently—in 1978.

At first this was a measure with a very modest public response, but as the party committees were gradually involved in organising it, and also with the participation of fraternal newspaper delegations, notably the Soviet *Pravda*, the Cuban *Granma* and publications of other socialist countries' parties, the importance of the festival has increased, so that it is now a notable political and cultural event in national life.

Much has changed in the character and arrangement of the festivals. Initially, they abounded in speeches, which tended to damp down the emotional tenor of the festival. Now the programme includes a short speech on behalf of the party, and a great many other political acts on what could be called a local scale in the various parts of the festival grounds, in its pavilions, near the souvenir kiosks and book-stalls. Our friends from the socialist countries have helped us to raise the aesthetic, artistic and athletic level of the festival.

We also note with satisfaction that many activists and rank-and-file CCP members have become aware of the importance of *Voz* festival, which obviously benefits not only the newspaper, but the party as a whole. The festival grounds provide the Communists with a meeting-place where they come in contact with thousands of Colombians many of whom not only have a very vague notion of our ideas and aims, but sometimes also have a totally distorted opinion of the Communist Party. The free and easy atmosphere of the festival gives them their first opportunity to see the Communists' creative and organisational capabilities and to realise at first hand that the party is not a closed sect, but a well-knit family of like-minded associates who know both how to work hard and to enjoy themselves imaginatively. I think that it is hard to overrate the importance of such 'discoveries', for as they penetrate the minds of men and women they help to break down the barriers of prejudice and mistrust which separated them from the Communists.

The urge to enlarge the party's audience put us in mind of getting the Communists to act more vigorously within the professional groups whose members, in virtue of their training, specific creative effort and capabilities in general, carry or spread ideas and information. These are above all journalists, writers and workers in the figurative arts and of stage and screen.

The bourgeoisie is trying hard to maintain and strengthen its ideological influence among intellectuals working in the creative fields by clamping on them the shackles of

financial dependence. Adroit use is made of their habits, preferences and what could be called peculiar syndromes, such as their individualistic and elitist notions of their role and place in the society. Add to this the tenacity of anti-communist prejudice and the wide spread of false notions about the Communists being blinkered characters shunning every human emotion, and it will be clear how difficult the CCP's dialogue with the intelligentsia still is.

Party members working in this sector, as also with other strata of the population, need to be highly flexible, patient and able to present the right arguments to refute reactionary ideas and prove that the CCP's line is correct. These comrades have to be entirely free from shortcomings like sectarianism, red-tape and quotation-mongering, which are still to be found here and there. Propaganda generally brooks of no stereotype, formalism or inertia, and we believe that it is the duty of every fighter on the party's ideological front to bear this in mind.

Comrades who start from the particular and then go on to the general, from the simple to the complex, have the right approach. In other words, when working, say, in unions of journalists, they start from the vital interests of workers of the press on the issues of higher wages, sackings and firm contracts. With that as a point of departure, one can advance to show the journalists that the freedoms nominally guaranteed by the Constitution will not become a reality unless they are fought for.

Under pressure from journalists relying on the support of the Communist Party, the Parliament has passed an act under which journalism was recognised as a profession for the first time in the country's history. We are now promoting a struggle to set up one militant federation instead of the numerous small craft outfits in which workers of the press are members. Solution of this problem could markedly facilitate the defence of the journalists' interests in the face of their harassment by the capitalist press barons.

Propaganda is known to be closely bound up not only with ideology and politics, but also with activity in the field of culture. We have some interesting experience in our relations with workers of the stage and writers. Here the CCP has achieved some results: there are many Communists among producers, playwrights and actors who are recognised classics of the Colombian theatre. Together with singers and members of orchestras and dance groups, they do much to help the party arrange its measures and make them emotionally attractive and colourful.

We are trying to enhance the CCP's influence among workers in the figurative arts. The establishment of collective workshops is a new form of work with them, for these help to make our propaganda more effective and to improve our ability to address the masses.

There is, for example, the important matter of visual aids in political work. Up until recently, our placards, posters, banners and pennants were made mainly by amateurs from among workers and craftsmen. However, all of these, especially the quality of their design and content, need to be increasingly brought up to an ever higher standard. The involvement of experienced professional designers and artists by the large party organisations has helped to overcome the formalism in preparing visual agitation aids, to make them more attractive and so also more effective. We have managed to organise a number of shops for the printing of cloth and paper pennants and placards. Artists are also helping the propaganda teams to produce rich and colourful murals on topics in the struggle for peace and democracy. Special mention should be made of the initiative of a team named after Javier Baquero, a peasant leader killed by the reactionary militarists. It has adorned walls in the capital with vivid political placards, an initiative that has been taken up in other towns across the country.

While the ideological and political content of propaganda is, of course, the main thing, much also depends on who spreads communist ideas in the masses, and how skilfully, subtly and also simply, so carrying the party's ideas with conviction to the

broadest strata of the population.

Let us recall an example given by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. He had attended a meeting of unemployed in Germany shortly before Hitler's takeover. Under pressure from the audience, the chairman gave the floor to a Communist. When he got up to speak, there was a hush of expectation in the audience. In a loud and strong voice, he said:

"Comrades, a plenary meeting of the Communist International has just ended. . . . The main task it has set before you is, comrades, '*to win over a majority of the working class*'. (*Laughter.*) The plenary meeting said that the movement of the unemployed must be '*politicised*'. (*Laughter.*) The plenary meeting urges you to raise it to a high level. (*Laughter.*)"⁴ Sitting in a corner of the hall, Dimitrov watched with a sense of bitterness how the unemployed, who had wholeheartedly wished to hear what the Communist had to say, made no effort to conceal their disappointment and did not protest in any way when the chairman ordered the speaker to yield the floor.

That happened a long time ago, but it is a story that carries an important message even today: it shows that the ability to speak with the working people is far from being an abstract matter, for it springs directly from the style and substance of the party's influence on the masses and its understanding of their moods and burning problems.

That is precisely the attitude we are trying to teach our propaganda cadres to take at the special course arranged by the CCP Party School. Among the students are those who will later become correspondents of *Voz*, specialists in turning out printed publications by primary organisations, and agitators. They are given theoretical knowledge and trained in the fundamentals and practical skills of journalism and oratory. Their loyalty to the cause and their high professional standards will help the voice of the Communists to ring out more meaningfully at the fronts of the political struggle in Colombia.

¹ A law on amnesty for political prisoners was enacted in November 1982; the authorities' negotiations with guerrilla groups were resumed.

² Together with Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, Colombia is a member of the Contadora Group advocating a political settlement of Central America's problems.—*Ed.*

³ MAS (Death to the Sequestrators), a paramilitary ultra-reactionary organisation used by the oligarchy to massacre progressives.

⁴ Georgi Dimitrov, *Works*, Sofia, 1954, Vol. 10, p. 157 (in Bulgarian).

new experience

Our Interviews In the Thick of Anti-War Actions

Ernst Wimmer – CC Political Bureau
member, Communist Party of Austria

—During the early years of the current decade the Austrian peace movement has grown much stronger and acquired considerable experience. What do you, as Communists, see as most important in this experience?

The most important thing is, perhaps, that the clear direction of this movement against US first-strike missiles in Europe combines with the growth of its ranks. Time and again we have had to hear from friends and foes alike: 'If you oppose, as your prime aim, the stationing of cruise and Pershing-2 missiles you will inevitably narrow the peace movement.' But this is belied by the facts. While in May 1982 some 70,000 people demonstrated in Vienna to protest against the US and NATO preparations for aggression, on October 22, 1983 the number of demonstrators exceeded 100,000. National Peace Week, sponsored in May of this year by over 300 political parties, public organisations, and anti-war groups, has shown that a steadily growing number of people is joining the peace movement.

The second important point is that none of our political adversaries has ever been able to alienate the Communists, to cut them off from the anti-nuclear movement, or push them to the fringe of the movement. There have been many such attempts, notably by the leadership of the Socialist Party of Austria, which as early as at the movement's formative stage tried to foist upon it its own platform based on the 'two superpowers' theory. The vast majority of the people in the anti-war movement rejected the pressure from the SPA, declaring that the movement is independent, adheres to democratic principles, and independently resolves the question of its platform. An unsuccessful attempt to divide the peace forces and estrange them from the Communists was also made by the People's Party Youth Movement.¹ However, since its leadership is hardly making a secret of following the Reagan line it has become much too odious to be a threat to the peace movement's cohesion.

The experience of the anti-war struggle has opened for many people the true face of the Maoists, Trotskyites, and apostates, who had quit the Communist Party. Although they proclaim that they are equidistant from the 'superpowers', they have in fact moved to a frankly pro-American, Reaganist stand. From criticism of the CPA 'from the left', they have gone over to collaboration with the People's Party Youth Movement, joining hands with the Right and the extreme Right.

In spite of these actions, the Austrian peace movement has in the past two years grown more united and broader. Some new peace initiative committees have been set up and these have enlarged the range of their action. Of course, it still cannot be said that all the people joining in anti-war actions have shed anti-communist feeling. But among the most militant section there is no longer any rabid anti-communism. Of course, the new people who constantly augment the movement bring with them

various prejudices. But their views can and do change under the impact of participation in the struggle against the threat of war. In the political dimension this is an extremely important tendency. Although the Communists do not consider that the peace movement can turn into a revolutionary movement, they feel that it can contribute immensely towards far-reaching changes in Austrian society.

—Would you say a few words about the level and forms of Communist participation in the peace movement?

The party holds strong positions in the movement. The Communists are intimately involved in the anti-war actions, are members of initiative groups, take part in demonstrations, and join in discussing the aims and tasks of the movement and in wording and putting forward its demands. We explain our stand, world view, and approach to international problems to the other participants in the peace movement, and we constantly stress that the main thing is to concentrate on areas of agreement and to advance demands on which there can be a consensus.

By their patient work the Communists have won respect. It is therefore not surprising that despite the attempts to remove them from the movement's leading bodies, they are represented on its coordinating committee. But I should like to note that only one of our comrades was elected to that body as a party member. The others were nominated by initiative groups because of their enterprising participation in the fight for peace. Generally speaking, the communists get considerable support from the movement's rank-and-file. It is therefore hard for people of other ideologies—Socialists and Catholics—to bring pressure to bear on us, to create hindrances to our work in the leading bodies. When attempts are made to erect obstructions we insist that every decision must have majority backing; hitherto the Communists have been getting such backing in all difficult situations.

—What, would you say, are the distinctive features of the struggle for peace in Austria, a country that pursues a policy of neutrality?

As distinct from what is taking place in some other West European countries, there are no US military bases in neutral Austria. But this does not mean that the continuing deployment of US missiles in Europe is not threatening us. We therefore see a major aim in making the government propose steps to help improve the international situation and settle outstanding problems.

Take, for example, the Linz Appeal, which has been signed by 120,000 people.² It urges the government to take the initiative in turning Europe into a nuclear-free zone and, in this connection, making a statement against the deployment of cruise and Pershing-2 missiles.³ By adopting that stand the government of neutral Austria could make its own contribution to strengthening peace in Europe. It must be noted that it has already taken some positive steps, for example, on the question of European security, but the peace movement feels this is not enough. It is quite clear that although no missiles are stationed in Austria, if a nuclear war breaks out it will not stop at our frontiers. The government should therefore do everything in its power to improve the situation in Europe.

—What can be expected of the Austrian peace movement in the immediate future? What are the tasks confronting it today?

We hold that it is highly important to continue the struggle against the US first-strike missiles in Europe and to be prepared to cooperate with all people who intend to carry on that struggle. In a more long-term context we feel that the movement should aim at a basic change in world politics, press for the implementation of the principles

of peaceful coexistence, above all for a renunciation of the use of force, and oppose the attempts to achieve military superiority, to use coercion and intimidation in relations between states. It is only a change towards an easing of the entire international situation that can help to remove the threat of a nuclear war.

The Austrian Communists constantly make the point that the policies pursued by the US ruling circles are the principle source of danger, and it is at that source that the anti-war struggle must be spearheaded. The movement has to contribute to curbing the USA's aggressive ambitions, towards countering its global strategy. Not only the Communists, but many other participants in the peace movement believe that the movement's anti-imperialist thrust should be further reinforced and accentuated. This tendency is seen already today with the widening of the protests against US policies in Central America and other regions of the world.

In addition, a movement in support of the struggles of Third World peoples is gathering momentum in Austria. There are committees of solidarity with the patriots of Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, and South Africa, and a Committee for Nicaragua. Work teams from Austria helped out in Nicaragua. A vigorous drive has been conducted for funds to build a new village in a liberated area in El Salvador. Young Socialists, Catholics, and Communists are dynamically involved in these activities. Intellectuals are studying Third World problems and drawing public attention to them. More and more people are discussing the demand of the non-aligned countries for a new economic order. As a result, people are getting a better understanding of the link between the struggle for disarmament and the struggle to create the conditions for social progress in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These factors influence the peace movement increasing its potential.

Socialism: the Common Aim

Paul Rabemananjara – CC Political Bureau member, Madagascar Independence Congress Party (AKFM/KDRSM)¹, General Secretary, FISEMARE Trade Union Federation

—What would you name as distinctive features of the trade union movement on Madagascar? When and how was your trade union formed?

On Madagascar there are altogether 110,000 businesses, but the great majority are small and tiny. Industry as such is only just beginning to appear. Hence the small numerical strength of the working class, its small proportion in the social structure, and the relative weakness of the trade union movement.

We nevertheless have some traditions. The trade unions count their history from the mid-1930s when the General Confederation of Labour, later the Madagascar Federation of Labour (FISEMA), was founded. In the struggle for national liberation it acted together with progressive political organisations. In 1958, for instance, the FISEMA supported ten political parties that demanded national independence and merged to form the Madagascar Independence Congress Party.

Subsequently, the FISEMA maintained close contact with the party, recognising its leading political role. But soon after the referendum of December 21, 1975, when the Malagasy people declared for socialist development, a section of the FISEMA's leaders urged the trade unions to be 'neutral' in regard to political parties and to cease the 'privileged relations' with the Madagascar Independence Congress Party. At the 5th Congress of the FISEMA in October 1976, this group removed from the

leadership of the trade union body comrades who championed cooperation with the Madagascar Independence Congress Party.

However, the development of the trade union movement pursued a direction differing from what was desired by the advocates of 'neutrality'. The National Front for the Defence of the Revolution² was formed in 1976, and each affiliated political party set up a trade union federation associated with it. In May 1977, with most of the National Bureau of the FISEMA acting as sponsor, representatives of primary organisations of this federation in all provinces gathered in Antananarivo and decided to found a new federation, the FISEMARE, and restore cooperation with the Madagascar Independence Congress Party.

—What, in view of the divisions in the trade union movement of Madagascar, are the prospects for restoring unity? What is the stand of your party and the new trade union federation on this matter?

There are now more than ten trade union federations. Some of these, including FISEMARE, are associated with political parties affiliated to the National Front. Our party and trade union federation wholeheartedly back the idea of trade union unity. However, it must be taken into account that the revolutionary movement in the country is itself far from being united. Between and even in some of the parties of the Front, for instance, the AREMA (Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution, which is headed by the country's President Didier Ratsiraka) there are ideological differences. This situation affects the stand of the trade unions. This does not, of course, remove the difficult and very vital problem of putting an end to their disunity. A settlement should start with drawing up a minimum programme acceptable to everybody—and this is what we are now trying to do.

—What place is held by the FISEMARE among the other trade union federations?

During the past five years the number of primary organisations of our trade union has risen from 214 to 496, in other words they have more than doubled. For its numerical strength (roughly 45,000 members) and its influence at industrial facilities it is the second largest after the SEREMA (Confederation of the Malagasy Revolutionary Trade Unions), which cooperates with the AREMA. We have our organisations in all six provinces. Our presence is the strongest in Antananarivo. The FISEMARE embraces 12 branch federations, including steelworkers, construction workers, and transport workers.

—What are the main directions in which your organisation is working?

Madagascar is now going through a difficult stage of the national-democratic revolution, when imperialism and internal reaction are doing everything to hinder the country's progressive development. Various means of destabilisation are employed—economic subversion, the fanning of ethnic discord, and anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns. Every possible attempt is made to use the trade unions for this purpose by inflaming disaffection at the factories and drawing the workforce into unjustified strikes.

In this situation the FISEMARE and its grass-roots organisations see their duty chiefly in safeguarding the legitimate interests of the working people, protecting the achievements of the revolution, and exposing the manoeuvres to destabilise the country.

Of course, the character of our activities depends largely on concrete conditions, for example, on whether a facility belongs to the public, private, or mixed sector of the economy. In the private sector the trade union federation is fighting chiefly to

ensure compliance with operating labour legislation and obtain the best possible terms for the working people in collective bargaining. At nationalised facilities the federation's main concern is to promote output, labour productivity, discipline, and effective participation of representatives of the workforce in management committees. In the mixed sector the forms of trade union struggle depend on the structure of each given facility, but in all cases the FISEMARE mobilises its members to prevent the bourgeoisie from engaging in economic sabotage, from shutting facilities in order to weaken and erode the revolutionary process.

—What does cooperation between the federation and the party consist of?

I must point out, first and foremost, that we have no organisational links. In this context the FISEMARE is entirely autonomous. But it accepts the party's political leadership since the course steered by our party—its line towards socialism—is fully consistent with the interests of the masses and the requirements of social progress. As an organisation of working people in the true sense of the word, the FISEMARE acts in opposition to exploiting relations. Consequently, the party and the trade union federation have a common class concept. And for that reason we work together.

Documents

CYPRUS

AN IMPORTANT VICTORY OF THE LEFT

The Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) has issued a statement summing up the results of last May's elections to local administrative bodies.

The statement says that the elections in which AKEL and all other left-wing forces won a major victory were eloquent evidence of the people's support for the party's patriotic political line. AKEL and the other left-wing organisations polled an absolute majority of votes in 57 communities and 11 suburban administrative councils and now have a minimum of one representative in the administrative bodies of all of the country's 70 communities. A considerably larger number of people voted for AKEL than before. For instance, in Limassol, the second largest town on Cyprus, 10.9 per cent more people voted for the party than at the previous (1981) elections.

Expressing gratitude to all people who voted for the candidates of AKEL and other left-wing forces, to all members and supporters of the party, the CC declared that it would continue the fight for the country's liberation, the working people's interests, the modernisation of towns and villages, and a higher living standard and cultural level of the Cypriot people.

Népszabadság

AIMS OF PARTY PROPAGANDA WORK

This newspaper of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party carried an article on the state and aims of the party propaganda work. It says that publicity of the party's aims and tasks has always been and will be the earnest of the successful implementation of its policies. An important role in publicising the party's decisions is played by the political education network functioning at all levels. Altogether it now involves more than one and a half million people. This network is annually attended by between 600,000 and 700,000 HSWP members. Thanks to this ramified system of political education, the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism have become common knowledge and there has been a significant rise of the ideological level of party members and uncommitted people.

The demands now being made of the party propaganda work differ from what they were like in the 1960s and 1970s, the newspaper says. The party would have made a mistake had it not taken reality into account, had it not spoken openly about the present complex international situation and domestic problems. The need to reconsider the approach to the propaganda work is dictated by the fact that 40 per cent of the population is under age 30. They have to be given a knowledge of the country's history, of the experience of the working class movement, and of the building of socialism. At the same time, people are today more cultured and educated than they used to be, and they demand more sophisticated information. Consequently, the method of simple presentation of news is now obsolete.

Perfection of the propaganda work is an important way of surmounting negative phenomena that are still to be found in ideology. For example, some people question the prospects for the new society's development in Hungary, attribute our difficulties to the laws of socialism, and describe its successes as unrelated to the socialist system. Sentiments of this kind are encouraged by Western propaganda. The party must keep public opinion informed of the factors that influence its economic, foreign, and other policies, and what options there are for resolving existing problems. By means of such information, the newspaper writes, the party can show more persuasively the expediency and need of the decisions taken by it.

One of the central tasks of party organisations is to note the changes taking place in society and prepare party members to cope with these changes. Above all, this concerns propagandists of whom there are now nearly 100,000. To keep them informed seminars must be arranged systematically to discuss new conclusions of the social sciences, achievements, and methods of ideological work that have proved to be effective.

Party organisations should accord special attention to two aspects of their work. First, to make sure that in their own work collectives the Communists actively implement the party's policies, assert its ideological positions, and influence the thinking of the people around them. Second, conduct broad explanatory work among young people. The latter, the newspaper stresses, should not only see the advantages of their position in socialist society but also support the party's aims and values and understand that its policies are consonant with their interests.

Your Questions Answered

VIBRANT WORD OF THE REVOLUTION

The process of forming the Workers' Party of Ethiopia has entered the final stage. The party's founding congress is to be held this September, on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the people's revolution.

Our journal asked Tesfaye Tadesse, CC member, Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE), Editor-in-Chief of the COPWE CC organ, *Serto Ader*, about the role of the revolutionary press in the process of the party's formation, and its tasks at the present stage. Below is his reply.

The newspaper *Serto Ader*—Working People—was first published in 1980 as the COPWE CC organ, and its tasks are primarily determined by the Commission's objectives, the main one being to ensure through propaganda the creation of a strong vanguard of the Ethiopian working people which would carry the people further along the road of revolutionary transformations, to socialism. That is why our newspaper's first duty today is to explain to people the ideas and role in the country's political life of the party in formation.

Another direction of the newspaper's activity is to spread the Marxist-Leninist world outlook in the society, help to remove age-old prejudices and harmful customs, and struggle for a modern democratic culture.

Serto Ader was active in the literacy campaign, which has already shown good results. The 90 per cent illiteracy rate of just five years ago has now been almost halved in the country. The paper also works constantly to educate the working people politically. It should be noted that radio and TV also play a big role in these tasks. In the new Ethiopia, radio broadcasts are made not only in Amharic, the most widely spoken language, but in the languages of other nationalities, which of course did not happen before the revolution. So far TV programmes are only picked up in two administrative regions of our country, but they are beginning to have an increasingly important place in the mass media system. It is planned that TV programmes will reach another 14 regions of the country in the next few years.

The newspaper promotes the working people's greater activeness in the development of the economy, and mobilises them to fulfil the important tasks facing the Ethiopian revolution. *Serto Ader* helps to strengthen the country's defences and the unity of its various nationalities by developing the population's patriotic spirit and consistently exposing imperialism's aggressive and neocolonial activity and its subversive actions against African and other developing states.

Speaking of the newspaper's trend, COPWE Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam called it an internationalist one. This means that we see our activity as part and parcel of the peoples' common struggle against imperialism. We want to foster in Ethiopia's working people the ideas of proletarian internationalism, we deal regularly with the struggle for peace and against the arms race, participate in solidarity campaigns with the national liberation movement, and maintain close ties with the press organs of socialist countries and some communist and workers' parties.

In the four years of its existence the newspaper has become the most popular one in the country. It is now a weekly, with a circulation of 100,000. No press organ has ever enjoyed such a circulation in Ethiopia, where the prerevolutionary press was geared to the aristocratic elite, the small strata of literates and the foreigners living in the country.

It is very important for the newspaper to be actually read and discussed by those for

whom it is meant. We are seeking to achieve this by circulating *Serto Ader* through the COPWE primary cells and committees in the localities, and through sections of trade union and other public organisations, that is by taking it to literally everyone who can read.

Our publication's six pages deal with the fundamental problems of the country's social and political life, the COPWE's activity, including organisational questions, theoretical problems, among them those of ideology and culture, international events, the economy and production, and sporting and other news. One entire page is a channel of links between COPWE and the broad masses, answering readers' letters and telling about the proposals and critical comments they contain.

The *Serto Ader* staff is relatively small—15 journalists. So far there are no foreign correspondents, which is why it is particularly important for us to cooperate with the news agencies of the countries of socialism, from which we get international information. The newspaper is only published in Amharic, but we translate the most important material into English and publish it as a special review. Presently we are also thinking of putting out such reviews in other languages as well.

The shortage of professional staff is still impeding all that has been projected, including the plan to make the newspaper a daily. There are no higher educational institutions in the country turning out journalists, yet we need well-trained correspondents who can correctly analyse the working people's mood, work among them, and diffuse information among the masses. The socialist countries have been giving Ethiopia great assistance in the training of journalists. We expect that our comrades whom we send there will later teach others and pass on to them the necessary knowledge and skills.

Serto Ader is going to continue to be the voice of the working people, a propagandist of Marxist-Leninist ideas, a tribune of internationalist solidarity. Under the leadership of the party, once it is formed, we will have to expand the work to raise the masses' political consciousness and their role in the development of the Ethiopian revolution.

In Brief

BOLIVIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia has resolved to hold the next party congress on September 8-11 of this year.

GRENADA

The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, a party uniting supporters of the former people's revolutionary government of Grenada, has been formed on that island, which is occupied by the US military.

FRG

Unsere Zeit, newspaper of the German Communist Party, successfully held its annual festival in Duisburg, one of the largest towns in the Ruhr industrial region. More than 400,000 people came from the different lander during the three days of the festival. In

the festival park there were many exhibitions tracing the struggle of the German Communist Party and other West German progressive organisations for peace and the social rights of working people. The festival ended with a mass political rally attended by several tens of thousands of people.

IRAN

The newspaper *Namae Mardom*, organ of the Central Committee of Tudeh, has resumed publication. This ushers in the eighth period in the history of the newspaper, which has been repeatedly banned by the Iranian authorities, the last time being in 1982.

ITALY

The Italian Communist Party was very successful at the elections to the European Parliament, polling 33.3 per cent of the votes, outstripping the Christian Democratic Party, the leading bourgeois party in the ruling coalition. The Italian Communists received 11,600,000 votes.

MEXICO

The United Socialist Party of Mexico held its three-day festival in the nation's capital under the slogan 'For Democracy in Mexico and Peace in Central America'. The festival programme included discussions on urgent issues of domestic policy, the struggles of the working people for their rights, and questions related to strengthening peace and international security. There were rallies of solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador. Among the guests were representatives of communist and workers' parties in many countries, and representatives of progressive international movements and organisations.

MONGOLIA

Zonal conferences of mentors of young people have been held in Ulan Bator and three other cities with the aim of working out ways and means of further stepping up the efforts to fulfil the tasks set by the 18th Congress of the MPRP. There were exchanges of expertise by participants in the mentor movement, which is handing down skills and the finest moral qualities to young people, who comprise between 52 and 68 per cent of the workforce in many branches of industry and construction and over 40 per cent of the workforce in agriculture.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Communist Party of the Philippines has proposed the draft of a programme for national unity and conciliation, which it regards as its contribution to the dialogue between different social forces with the purpose of finding a way to end the crisis in the country. The party believes that this programme can create the conditions for the appearance of an independent and democratic regime consistent with the aspirations of the Filipino people, with their striving for a society free from poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, discrimination, and oppression.

VENEZUELA

The journal *Cantaclaro*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela, has begun publication as a monthly supplement to the Communist weekly *Tribuna popular*.

¹ The Austrian People's party champions the interests of the big bourgeoisie and landowners and has close ties to Catholic circles.—*Ed.*

² This appeal was adopted at the first national conference of the Austrian peace movement in Linz in December 1982.—*Ed.*

³ A plenary meeting of the Austrian peace movement, held in Linz last March, endorsed a document stating that the threat to peace rose steeply when US first-strike missiles began to be deployed in Europe. The same document refutes the claim that Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are bringing humankind greater security. The meeting demanded an end to the stationing of more missiles, the removal of those already deployed, the paving of the way to real disarmament measures, and an immediate freeze on all nuclear arsenals.—*Ed.*

¹ This has been the party's name since 1975 when a referendum was held on the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution—the programme of the revolutionary-democratic regime. Political parties were banned at the time. The KDRSM (Democratic Committee of Support for the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution) was formed on the basis of the AKFM (Madagascar Independence Congress Party) for participation in the referendum. The party and its programme and work are described in some detail in: Gisele Rabesahala, 'A Party of Patriots, of Internationalists', *WMR*, No. 1, 1981.

² An association of several political parties. Under the Constitution it is the leading political force of Malagasy society. No parties and organisations are permitted outside this front.—*Ed.*

exchange of views, discussion

**Socialism: Unity of Theory
and Practice
The People's Power:
The Motive force of
Social Progress**

Yevgeni Ambartsumov – Head of
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USSR Academy of Sciences

Gancho Ganev – CC member,
Bulgarian Communist Party

AT the initial stages of socialism, its political system is determined by the dictatorship of the proletariat, but as the new system is developed and consolidated, it seeks to

express the interests of the whole people ever more fully, and this leads to the establishment of *the whole people's* state. That is one of the key conclusions drawn by creative Marxism in summing up experience in building the new society in the USSR and other fraternal countries.

The June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) examined the further deepening of the people's power and said: 'As for the longer term, we, the Communists, see it in the gradual development of Soviet statehood into social self-administration. We believe that this will occur through the further development of the whole people's state and broader involvement of the masses in managing the affairs of the society.'¹

Let us note that the perfection of the political organisation of the new society is justly connected with changes in its class structure and the possibility of directing these. But it is not right to stop at this point. After all, with every step towards communism, progress is increasingly determined by the working people's social activity as the architects of the socialist and communist way of life and conscious subjects of social transformations, which means the activity of every individual. That is why efforts to raise the social activity of the masses in the economic, social, cultural and other spheres of life are a most vital and ever more important political task.

Socialism has had to tackle this difficult task at every stage of its development, and although it remains essentially the same one, those of its various facets which are most pressing for the main strategic line tend to come to the fore at every stage. Today this line is to intensify social production, blend the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, and realise all the creative potentialities of the 'human factor' as the prime force of progress.

Advance along this way largely depends on how successful the socialist countries are in activating millions of working people and deepening and extending the people's power. If, for one reason or another, that is not done, there are bound to be failings in socialist construction and a slowing of social progress. Marx stressed as one of the key aspects the need not just to ensure 'government for the people', the exercise of power for the benefit of the people, but also to accumulate the activity of ever larger masses of working people, i.e., to exercise 'government of the people by the people'.²

Consequently, the power system which accords with the substance of developed socialism is genuine people's power designed to give expression to the whole people's interests in state and political terms and to realise them. Such a system implies the existence of an elaborate structure resting on a social basis which consists of the alliance of the working class, with its vanguard role, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia.

When the political system of socialism becomes the whole people's system, it inevitably undergoes a number of substantial changes, as compared with the dictatorship-of-the-proletariat period. Not only does the state become the whole people's state, but the working class party is transformed into the whole people's party. There is an internal reallocation of functions between the various elements of the political structure, with a part of the prerogatives of the central organs being transferred to local organs, and some types of state activity being handed over to social organisations. In other words, there is a constant expansion of the potentialities for mass participation in perfecting mature socialism. 'In the process of building the new society, the content of socialist democracy is enriched, the restrictions formed historically wither away, and the forms of exercising the people's power become more varied. This process goes on in inseparable connection with the development of the socialist state system, which itself undergoes qualitative changes.'³ The overall line of this development is defined as the people's socialist self-governance.

Consistent practice of democratic centralism, one of the basic principles on which the political system of socialism is based and functions, now acquires especial

importance. It reflects the dialectical blend of the integral centralised direction of the society expressing the people's will and interests, with the development of extensive creative initiatives by the working people and their organisations in the localities.

In each concrete case, the growth of the dictatorship-of-the-proletariat state into the whole people's state entails its own specifics determined both by a country's international position, and by the accumulated experience, the traditions of the working class and democratic movements, the maturity and responsibility of the party and state leadership, and the level of mass consciousness. The whole of international experience in this field is a fruitful one, and it is the joint task of scientists in the socialist world to sum it up and bring out the uniformities, achievements, and long-term trends, and also to identify the 'bottlenecks' in the development of the society's political system. The results of this work are our common asset, stimulus and criterion in strengthening the new system.

The need for steadily improving the people's power in any socialist country is determined primarily by two factors. First, all the workers are co-proprietors of the means of production and of the whole of social wealth, which is why the economic development and the wellbeing of the people themselves depend on how vigorously they act as proprietors and managers of that wealth. Second, socialist democracy is a form in which the working people express their will on vital matters. Owing to it and through it, man's social qualities are shaped in the new society. That is why the extension and deepening of democracy is the key condition for moulding the full man.

It is not a matter of indifference to the true people's power *whose* interests it realises, and *how* these interests are translated into life. For objective and subjective reasons, it is no easy task to realise Lenin's programmatic idea of transforming government for the working people exercised through their representatives into government by the working people.⁴ Such a transformation under developed socialism signifies not just a complete replacement of the political mechanisms but also a change in the balance between administrative, centralist and democratic methods of government, between the powers and functions of the central organs of power, on the one hand, and the local organs of power, on the other, a more harmonious combination of representative and direct democracy, greater popular control over the activity of the state apparatus, etc.

Let us stress in this context that there is no substance to the view being spread about by bourgeois ideologists that it is unrealistic to expect power to be exercised through the working people themselves, because the administration of social affairs requires specialist knowledge which the masses do not have. It would, of course, be absurd to deny the intricacy of the matter, but there are grave negative consequences in any attempt to refuse to tackle the task and to try to conserve under socialism obsolete forms of power which makes it lose touch with the masses. It is impossible to improve the new system in any real way without the broadest involvement of the masses in tackling the complicated and multifaceted administrative problems which arise. Let us also note especially that the character of the new system itself is alien to the conversion of officials of the state apparatus into some kind of separate and self-sufficient stratum. Nevertheless, even under socialism the activity of 'administrative officials' is not immune to technocratic trends and bureaucratic practices. The latter are especially dangerous because they imply officials defending their own interests at the expense of the social interest. Marx says: 'The bureaucracy takes itself to be the ultimate purpose of the state. . . . State objective turns into his (bureaucrat's) private objective, into a *chasing after higher posts, the making of a career*.'⁵

Bureaucratic practices erect an insuperable barrier between the governors and the mass of the governed, distorting the system of the feed-forward and especially of the feed-back information, stifling initiative, fettering the working people's creative thinking and eventually hampering the real development of socialist democracy.

General Secretary of the CPSU CC Konstantin Chernenko says that 'the present level of administration requires the assertion in the work of Soviet government and economic agencies of a style which implies relentless struggle against bureaucratic practices. . . . During the Soviet period, a great deal has been done to eradicate the inherited formal-and-bureaucratic methods in the work of the apparatus of state and economic organs. The all-round development of socialist democracy and involvement of tens of millions of working people in the administration of the state have created objective prerequisites for the full and final liquidation of bureaucratic practices. However, it is an evil that is unfortunately tenacious.'⁶

Bureaucratic practices are not only an effect but also a cause of over-centralised administration. At the same time, it provides the basis for narrow-minded departmental attitudes, and promotion of selfish local interests, i.e., of centrifugal trends. Let us note that the raising of the educational and skill standards of officials does not yet provide a radical means for combating bureaucratic practices, because they are largely generated by the fact that democratic methods of administration have not yet been adequately asserted in practice.

A reliable instrument in combating bureaucratic practices, we think, is the introduction everywhere of stringent accountability by the apparatus to the society and strict control by the latter of the organisations serving it. What helps to eliminate bureaucratic practices is an optimal blend of professionalism and democracy in administration so that they mutually supplement and amplify each other.

The effective functioning of socialist democracy largely depends on the competence, efficiency and sense of responsibility on the part of the masses. Their participation in administering a society with tens of millions of workers can be effected primarily and most easily within the framework of production (and territorial) collectives. That is why the programmatic decisions of the ruling communist parties adopted over the past several years closely tie in the further economic intensification with the consistent development and deepening of *democratic principles in the sphere of production*, because democracy is real only when it ranges over the sphere in which man works from day to day. That is why ever greater importance attaches to the socio-political activity and decisions of the collectives of teams, sections, enterprises, associations and small populated localities. The experience being gradually accumulated by the working organs of work collectives successfully realising socialist self-management deserves to be studied.

Let us note that over the past several years the working people's participation in government in a number of countries, including the USSR, has been extended together with the spread of economic-calculus relations. Democracy in production is being given a concrete business underpinning. The collective contract, for instance, is based on the coordination of the interests of the producer and of the consumer, or, to be more specific, the contractor (team, farm or unit collective), i.e., the performer of the assignment, and the customer (management of building trust, state farm, collective farm, etc.). The work collective undertakes the commitment to turn out a quantity of high-quality products as stipulated in the contract, and the management undertakes to provide it in due time with all the necessary resources, to ensure the conditions for its work, and to pay for the product in accordance with the stipulated prices.

This produces a good blend of the workers' individual interests and those of the collective as a whole with the overall tasks of the economic unit, and with the state interests. The members of the collective discuss the progress of their production affairs, determine the manner in which the work is to be remunerated, decide on who is to make up the collective, elect their leader, etc. In other words, the executive and administrative functions of the working people are integrated. Every working person displays his own labour and political activity, reveals his capacities more fully, while simultaneously enhancing the efficiency of social production. As a result, the circle of

working people directly involved in running production is markedly enlarged.

The USSR Law on the Work Collectives, which is essentially designed to stimulate the resourcefulness, energy and initiative of the masses, has an important role to play in developing social processes.⁷

The drafting of a new Labour Code is nearing completion in Bulgaria. The document was put up for discussion by the whole people, and involved more than one million working people, who submitted over 140,000 proposals, recommendations and remarks. The Code further extends the rights of the collective, the democratic forms of management in areas like labour protection, protection of the rights of workers, control over the activity of management, promotion, allocation of social funds, and so on.

Practice shows that workers in production can take part in management at various levels, which are in no sense equivalent to each other. The chief of these are the adoption of decisions and their correction. It is the economic manager who is now authorised to perform such acts. The working people take part in preparing the decisions, as a rule, in a consultative form, voicing their opinions, introducing amendments, etc. One cannot, of course, fail to see that this form of participation in management is somewhat limited, because the views they express may or may not be reflected in the subsequent instruction, while the responsibility falls above all on the person sanctioning it. Consequently, the democratisation of management in production should also lead to an extension of the role of the collective in formulating the decisions which it will have to carry out. That is precisely how the conditions are created for advancing to self-management in production, so that the individual has a full sense of being its master.

Participation by broad masses of people in management yields a considerable economic, social and political effect only if the production collective and its social organisations go beyond approving the management's decisions to participate in hammering them out and in taking the decisions, shouldering an ever greater share of the responsibility for their fulfilment with all the consequences that this entails: material gains for the fulfilment of undertaken commitments and, vice versa, penalties for failure to do so.

The responsibility of the members of a collective for the successful progress of affairs at the enterprise is vividly expressed in the organisation of socialist emulation, which is widespread in the countries of the new system. When taking and meeting socialist commitments, the working people exert a purposeful influence on the development of the economy, and act in their emulation in the light of the reserves and potentialities which they themselves discover. If they are in earnest, the commitment undertaken by the individual worker or collective is an important act of production self-management helping to blend organisational and executive work.

The consolidation of production democracy has an influence on the character of the never-simple separation of managerial functions between state agencies and the working people, bringing out the ever more pronounced line towards socialist self-management, when the working people themselves take decisions in ever wider spheres of activity.

Under socialism the working people's participation in management extends to every phase of the reproduction cycle (and this is one of the fundamental distinctions between the new relations of production and the capitalist relations of production). In particular, there is a marked growth in the role of the collectives in the distribution of material goods. But however perfect the distribution, only that which has been produced can be distributed. It is quite natural that the producer's economic interest is connected both with distribution and with production. At the present stage of the people's power, the trade unions and other social organisations exert a growing influence both on distribution and on production, thereby extending their functions and blending the interests of the social group concerned and the whole people's

interest. On the one hand, the interests of the collective and of each of its members are safeguarded against possible neglect by individual members of the management, against bureaucratic distortions, obsolete formalistic approaches, and on the other, against irresponsible attitudes to the work in hand by some working people, indiscipline, etc. Through their clear-cut exercise of this two-fold function, the trade unions have won authority among the working people and also a reputation as an exacting and reasonable partner of the economic management.

Socialist democracy counters bourgeois individualism and self-seeking with *the working people's conscious discipline* for the benefit both of the individual and of the society. Let us recall that Marx put an especially high value on the free workers' sense of responsibility.⁸ Practice in the socialist countries shows that where this sense is adequately developed high production results are achieved, the wellbeing of the masses is raised and there is an active functioning of socialist democracy itself. Otherwise, there is a decline in economic growth, labour energy and initiative, and living standards.

The sense of responsibility and discipline can, of course, be developed by the masses only in close connection with the stringent application of the principle of social justice—'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'—a principle which is effective in the new society. This formula expresses the democratic moral standards of social life under socialism, which is why any breach of this principle, even when it is not malicious (it could be the effect of dissimilar conditions in production, imperfect assessments of labour inputs, etc.), has a harmful effect on output indicators, on the mood and moral state of the working people, and this, for its part, tends to dampen their democratic activity.

Departures from the principles of socialist justice on the scale of the society are fraught with even more dangerous political consequences. Thus, breaches of the norms of inner-party life, bureaucratic and autocratic curbs on the exercise of the socialist people's power, a simplistic approach to and neglect of ideological and educational work, and other negative phenomena which occurred in Poland in the late 1970s damaged the party's authority. Resolute efforts to overcome these breaches and to improve social life is the main line of the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PUWP, which its leadership is consistently implementing.⁹

The most stringent control over the measure of labour and consumption can be ensured only by a well-publicised set of economic, organisational and juridical measures, combined with various forms of verification of their fulfilment, and involvement of ever larger masses of working people. This naturally calls for additional efforts by the working people, and it is right to say at this point that some people are noticeably unwilling to spend any time or effort on social activity.

Let us recall that Lenin saw a special difficulty in 'drawing each and every citizen into direct and *daily* performance of their share of the burdens of administering the state'.¹⁰ We think that the word 'burdens' was used advisedly, because actual participation in management and administration is usually difficult, complicated and exceptionally responsible, calling for spiritual and physical effort, time, knowledge and a sense of purpose. The working people's understanding that participation in management accords with their own aspirations and the interests of the society can and obviously does become one of the chief incentives for that kind of activity. 'For all means for oneself': that is perhaps the best expression of the gist of social work.

The extension of the people's power cannot, as we have said, be limited and is not limited to the framework of the industrial enterprise, collective farm or establishment. The working people's direct participation in discussing and deciding *matters of state importance* is one of the basic problems in realising government by the working people themselves. It is now a tradition in the socialist countries to enact laws which determine the most essential aspects of social life after their discussion by the whole people. Thus, millions of citizens recently took part in discussing the CPSU CC

draft of the reform of general education and occupational training in the Soviet Union, and their responses, remarks, and proposals specifying and elaborating the draft were circulated by the mass media and were taken into account in the final writing of the document.

Such discussions are ever more widely practised by the organs of the people's power, the Soviets, which exercise legislative, executive and control functions, and also by the work collectives, trade unions and other social organisations combining direct and representative democracy.¹¹

We believe that it is wrong to assume that with the advance of communist construction, representative democracy will be altogether supplanted by direct self-governance. In actual fact, both are developing, increasingly intertwining, supplementing and continuing each other. That is natural, because, on the one hand, the working people's growing political consciousness, culture and requirements stimulate their urge for political self-expression, and it requires a diversity of forms; on the other hand, it is impossible in practice to solve all the problems (for instance, the urgent tasks of foreign policy) on the basis of direct democracy.

In this context, the expansion of the powers of the local organs of government virtually in all the socialist countries also appears to be indicative. Let us recall that the founders of Marxism-Leninism regarded the organisation of the working people's self-administration in the localities as one of the main lines in developing the political system of socialism. Engels wrote about the importance of the following programmatic demand of the Social Democrats: 'Complete self-government in the provinces, districts and communes through officials elected by universal suffrage. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed by the state.'¹² Lenin repeatedly referred to his idea and proposed its inclusion in the Bolshevik Party programme.¹³ After the victory of the socialist revolution in Soviet Russia, administration had to be stringently centralised largely because of the harsh demands of the fight against the counter-revolution. But even at the height of the civil war, the Bolshevik Party's programme said that the Soviet state had implemented 'local and regional self-government, without any authorities whatsoever being appointed from above, to a much greater extent than anywhere else'.¹⁴

There are many examples today testifying to the improvement of socialist self-administration in the localities. In Bulgaria, a considerable effect has been produced by implementation of the programme for the country's regional development, which was adopted by the March 1977 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC. It helped to accelerate the development of the economy, culture and social life and to stimulate the initiative of the population living in once-lagging districts. The local organs of power of the GDR, together with the collectives of leading combines and enterprises in the republic, have been improving the self-sufficiency of the territories in everything they need, with a view to saving considerable material and manpower resources. In the recent period, the CPSU has worked hard to bring about a radical improvement in the work of the Soviets at every level. It was said at the April 1984 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC that their vast potential 'is still being inadequately realised. . . . There is a definite contradiction and discrepancy between the Soviets' vast potentialities and the way they are actually being used.'¹⁵

Consequently, at the present stage in building and perfecting mature socialism, the process which Marx defined as 'the reverse absorption of the state power by the society, when its own living forces are replacing the forces subordinating and oppressing the society',¹⁶ is gathering momentum. The use of elements of direct democracy by the representative organs of power, notably the involvement of great masses of working people and social organisations in discussing various matters is a characteristic feature of the process. It helps to gain a deeper insight into problems, find the best solutions, and ensure social control over the work of the organs of power, including the highest. Thus, the practice of the legislative commission of the

People's Assembly of Bulgaria deserves attention: it meets in open session with the participation of representatives of work collectives, social organisations, departments and journalists.

The socialist organs of power seek to take fuller account of other group interests of the working people as well. A socio-economic council, for instance, operates under the Sejm in Poland with the characteristic name of the 'Chamber of Common Sense'. Under the government, there is a social (consultative) council. In Hungary, the specific interests of enterprises are represented by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce; the establishment of a consumer-interest organisation is being discussed.

The right of recalling a deputy who has failed to live up to the trust put in him by the electorate has been firmly established in the socialist system as a positive practice. Practice in the socialist countries also shows that the existing electoral systems are now being improved through the creation of opportunities for taking an ever more comprehensive account of mass opinion in the nomination of candidates for deputy.

Summing up some of the results, one could say that the growing effectiveness of all the institutions and forms of socialist democracy is determined both by the material prerequisites and by the higher level of the masses' political awareness and culture. Let us note that culture 'generally' is not sufficient (although the assimilation of its wealth is an essential condition for successfully running the affairs of the society and the state), and a high level of political culture is most important. This includes the scientific, Marxist-Leninist world view, a deep understanding of the principles on which the socialist state is based and the sources of its strength, a knowledge of the citizens' rights and duties, the norms of social life, and skill in the use of administrative techniques.

The broad spectrum of the citizens' rights and freedoms in the socialist community is inseparable from their social duties. The Communists' policy is aimed to help every member of the society become aware of this organic interconnection, because the more profound its comprehension by the working people, the more responsible and successful they are in fulfilling their civic duties, which means the richer and more meaningful is the socialist people's power. All the positive human qualities are shaped in the process of building the new society as a result of the party's purposeful ideological, educational and organisational work in the midst of the masses. This effort is designed to cement the unity of the party and the people, to enhance the working people's political activity and to develop their creative energies.

The ruling communist parties are the core of the political system of the socialist society, for it is they who ensure its effective functioning and prosecution of a well-considered and scientifically grounded state policy, close consideration and integration of the interests of all the social and professional groups of working people, and act as the guarantor of the actual exercise of their democratic rights. The party, being the embodiment of the advanced consciousness and progressive objectives of the society, and the political vanguard of the people, prevents bureaucratic distortions in the various elements of the social system and in the organs of state administration.

The communist parties' exercise of the functions of the society's political core largely depends on the depth to which the dynamic conception of social progress has been elaborated and consistently realised, on greater efforts in the work of ideological education, enhancement of creative activity, initiative and responsibility of the Communists themselves. These tasks are brought to the forefront before the party not only by the requirements of the present stage of socialist construction, but also by the inner logic of the party's development.

General Secretary of the BCP CC Todor Zhivkov says that "there is a need for a new perception, a new comprehension of social practice, there is a need to abandon not only the obsolete notions but also the outdated methods of work and leadership. Consequently, the inter-relation of the development of socialism and the party's role

in this development is now deepened and enriched. This requires *a growth in the party's transformative power, and an enhancement of its leading role as a factor paving the way for new progressive processes and trends in socialist construction.*"¹⁷

At the same time, the ruling party cannot undertake the solution of all the current practical problems, as that would signify its substitution for other socio-political institutions and would reduce the authority of the state organs of power which are staffed not only by Communists but also by non-party people.

The February 1984 Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC pointed to the need for 'clearly demarcating the functions of party committees and the tasks of state and economic organs, and for eliminating duplication in their work. This is a question of major political importance.'¹⁸

While noting the aspects of the growth of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the state which are common to all the socialist countries, one has to emphasise that in each country its activity naturally has its own peculiarities. One need merely point to the fact that under the multi-party system which exists in some countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Poland), the Communists are faced with specific tasks which spring from the need to concert their policy with those of the other organisations, to formulate joint action programmes, and so on.

The strengthening of the party's leading role requires broader involvement of representatives of the working people, including non-party workers, peasants and intellectuals, at every level of social administration. Lenin says that 'socialism cannot be implemented by a minority, by the party, it can be implemented only by tens of millions, when they have learned to do it themselves'.¹⁹

The party's effective exercise of its leading role largely depends on the development of inner-party democracy, which makes for the unity of the communist organisation in actual fact. It is inner-party democracy that helps to work out the correct strategic line and to bring to the fore the measures which help to attain long-term political, economic, social and other objectives. Consistent and steadfast development of this democracy helps to increase trust in the ruling Marxist-Leninist party, and is the key condition for improving the whole of the socio-political climate in the country.

The whole style of life in the party, and the character of relations among its members, as comrades and fellow-fighters, regardless of the post each fills, is an indicator of inner democracy, although the fact remains that the parties 'are run by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced' members.²⁰ Stability of party leadership and respect for it among broad masses of people are not achieved by singing it praises, but by its correct pursuit of policy in action, continuity of its policy, and orientation towards the whole people's interest.

In a speech to his constituents on March 2, 1984, Konstantin Chernenko said: "Party and government cadres gain the affection and respect of the masses primarily through their actual involvement in public affairs; they gain it by their energy and knowledge, by their example and behaviour that is free of anything which may offend man's sense of morality. An official can be exacting towards others only if he is even more exacting towards himself. . . . The people's approval and support are the basis of an executive's authority. Whoever does not have them and is deaf to the opinion of the masses cannot and must not hold an executive office."²¹

Socialist democracy is a qualitatively new and higher stage in the development of the political system of human civilisation ensuring the power of broad masses of working people. In the antagonistic society, the form in which power is organised is always secondary with respect to its content, and that is the domination of the propertied classes, regardless of the form of such domination (parliamentary government with all its democratic trappings or a despotic regime of personal power). The Communists do not, of course, equate the various forms of the bourgeois state,

and put a higher value on those with broader democratic institutions, because, as everyone knows, these do not spring from the whims or good will of the ruling elite, but result from hard struggle by the working class and all the other working people. It is the Communists, in alliance with all the other progressive forces, that take the most consistent stand for democratic rights and freedoms and most resolutely rebuff the diverse attempts by reaction to invalidate these.

However, the people's power becomes truly meaningful only with the triumph of the socialist revolution. Socialism provides democracy with the only real economic basis: social property in the means of production, and sets the only fitting objective: the free development of each as the condition for the free development of all. In contrast to the formal trappings and standards of bourgeois democracy, socialism has its own criteria and traditions of popular power which meet the vital interests of the working people and the tasks of building the new society.

Socialist democracy has a tangible advantage in being effective and stable, in being ready and able to withstand destructive trends, whether bourgeois-anarchic or totalitarian. At the same time, socialist democracy is not a 'closed' system, but a system brimming with internal forces and potentialities for self-improvement and necessary renewal, and that makes it one of the factors exerting the most telling influence on the future of mankind.

In the epoch of the scientific and technical revolution, the socialist people's power, extended and deepened through the working people's ever greater activity in every sphere of social life, is one of the key conditions for the steady advance of the system which holds out the greatest justice in human history.

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¹ *Information Bulletin*, No. 16, 1983, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 49.

² See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 227.

³ Yuri Andropov, 'The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Building Socialism in the USSR', *Information Bulletin*, No. 9, 1983, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 14.

⁴ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 183.

⁵ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 46, 47.

⁶ Konstantin Chernenko, *Selected Speeches and Articles*, Moscow, 1984, pp. 311-312 (in Russian).

⁷ Geidar Aliyev, 'The Nucleus of the Socialist Society', *WMR*, No. 3, 1984.—Ed.

⁸ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 49, p. 86 (in Russian).

⁹ Wojciech Jaruzelski, 'The Message of the Polish Experience', *WMR*, No. 11, 1983.—Ed.

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 156.

¹¹ See Pencho Kubadinsky, 'Role of Public Organisations in the Development of Socialist Democracy', *WMR*, No. 8, 1983.—Ed.

¹² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 437.

¹³ See for instance, V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 448.

¹⁴ *CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of the Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenary Meetings*, Eighth Edition, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1970, p. 42 (in Russian).

¹⁵ *Pravda*, April 11, 1984.

¹⁶ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 17, p. 548 (in Russian).

¹⁷ Todor Zhivkov, *For Enhancing the Leading Role of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and for Improving Its Political and Ideological Work*, Sofia, 1983, pp. 8-9 (in Bulgarian).

¹⁸ *Pravda*, February 14, 1984.

¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 135.

²⁰ See *ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 41.

²¹ *Information Bulletin*, No. 9, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, p. 12.

Anti-Communism's Ideological Bellicosity

IT is beyond all question that a bent towards violence is the underlying characteristic of the actions of the anti-communists today. This line has been pursued frenziedly since the beginning of the 1980s by imperialism's ultra-reactionary forces, who have proclaimed a 'crusade' against existing socialism. Also, these forces have steeply escalated their attacks on the national liberation movements, in many cases going to overt armed aggression. Moreover, anti-communism is trying to assert itself broadly in the theory of social development. It is trying to complement violence with various forms of ideological pressure and foist its own approach to social phenomena in all forms of the class confrontation—economic, political, and ideological.

This does not escape the notice of the Communists, who are guided by Lenin's propositions that 'the dominant ideological and political trends of the given period, or the most widespread of them, or those which are most harmful for democracy and socialism'¹ must be analysed and that the actions of the class adversary must be exposed systematically and consistently.

Vitalisation of the Theoretical Function

In the present situation the struggle between the bourgeois and communist world views is acquiring new dimensions as a result of the steadily growing role being played in bourgeois ideology by the most reactionary, anti-communist concepts about present-day social development. This stimulates the attempts of the anti-communists to formulate a philosophy of history that would somehow explain the changes taking place in the world in a light benefiting them, to justify capitalism's policies, and to organise an ideological offensive against socialism with the use of the 'word in science' for the indoctrination of the people. They are trying to vindicate imperialism's concrete actions with plausible theory.

The activities of the anti-communists in developing theory are thus acquiring more diverse functions. The imperialists want their academic agencies to provide them with specific information about socialism and about the actual processes of social development. The acquired expert knowledge, accurate or otherwise, is used for correcting policy and organising more effective assaults on the socialist world.

Consequently, anti-communist ideology is being developed with the obvious aim of putting the monopoly circles of the bourgeoisie on their guard against gross miscalculations.

At the same time, in addressing the population of capitalist countries, anti-communism seeks to reinforce its political positions on the basis of entirely new attitudes. These are developed in response to imperialism's pressing need to create a false image of socialism, an image that would turn the masses away from it. To this end various anti-communist schools of thought are mobilised not only in the bourgeois West but also in the so-called Third World.

Anti-communism's ideological activity rests on an objective foundation: after all, the purpose of every ideology is essentially to elaborate a world view to translate the basic social interests of this or that class into the language of political programmes. In defining the general conditions of the emergence, development, and consolidation of ideology, Lenin noted that it is founded on the sum-total of human knowledge, presupposes a high level of scientific development, and demands research.² It is not accidental that the 'researches' of leading anti-communists of the recent period (for instance, Daniel Bell, Seymour M. Lipset, Alvin Toffler, and Edward Shiels) are indicative of anti-communism's immensely heightened attention to 'unsolved riddles'

of social dynamics, to the mechanisms of social processes, to the historical destinies of capitalism.

On the other hand, reactionary social forces are looking for philosophical material that would vindicate outdated foundations of society's life and depict the policies of the ruling class as expedient and substantiated. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s bourgeois political leaders implemented specific guidelines with only limited recourse to a comprehensive substantiation of these guidelines, present-day anti-communism seeks to 'enrich' its ideological arsenal in order to justify its political guideline in the eyes of large sections of the public. This is being done to provide ideological justification for imperialism's aggressiveness, for its adventurist attempts to halt the revolutionary, liberation processes in the world. This explains why the 'hardened' anti-communism of the 1980s draws so actively from the arsenal of theoretical speculations.

Since in bourgeois society the general character of ideological processes is influenced by the violence of the attacks on the progressive forces, this makes an imprint on theoretical concepts as well, on the modes of thought of the anti-communists. These modes of thought are growing increasingly more aggressive. But aggressiveness is not always a sign of strength. The more choleric anti-communism becomes, the more its theoretical declarations contain miscalculations and discrepancies of a logical and methodological nature, and the more frequently are arguments put aside in favour of a presentation of primitive social myths.

Tide of 'Re-ideologisation'

For several decades the anti-communists, including the French sociologist Raymond Aron, regarded as the 'patriarch' of West European anti-communism, and his no less well known American colleagues Seymour Lipset, Edward Shiels, and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., have been asserting that all ideologies have lost their significance in the modern world. This assertion figured in the then fashionable theory of 'de-ideologisation'. But a different tendency has been looming large since the mid-1970s. The bankruptcy of the 'de-ideologisation' theory has had to be acknowledged by its own proponents. But here, too, one observes something of a paradox. The very same theorists who spoke of 'de-ideologisation' are now developing a new fashionable concept—'re-ideologisation'. The prefix 're' expresses revitalised faith in bourgeois ideology, which, it is asserted, is crucially important and indispensable. Going farther, the anti-communists call for an 'intensification of ideology', elaborating social myths on a larger scale than before, and resort to deliberate falsifications. Precisely this doctrine of 're-ideologisation' is being adopted by many schools of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thought, particularly of the rabidly anti-communist stripe.

Leading exponents of 're-ideologisation' have in recent years proclaimed that dormant resources in terms of theory and philosophy have been identified and activated, and that it is their purpose to restore and reinforce the bourgeoisie's confidence in the mobilising power of imperialist ideology, and simultaneously facilitate a turbulent 'renewal of the spirit'. 'A new ideological age is beginning,'³ declared the recently deceased Raymond Aron. The British bourgeois sociologist Donald Wilhelm put the rhetorical question: 'For if non-Marxist philosophy, together with religion, cannot formulate a convincing statement of the fundamentals by which men live, then in what can we believe? If we are not to embrace Marxism, then how do we conduct ourselves and make necessary day-to-day decisions?' He feels that the answer to these questions can be found through the elaboration of an 'alternative view of the world', a 'flexible', 'all-integrating' ideological system that embraces 'new ideas'. This explains why the title of his book sounds like a manifesto: *Creative Alternatives to Communism*.⁴ The West German bourgeois sociologist Eugen

Lemberg has likewise come round to the conclusion that ideas make history and move mountains.⁵ Spokesmen of imperialism are thus endeavouring to combine, to integrate various anti-socialist doctrines and mobilise bourgeois society's scattered intellectual forces against the Marxist-Leninist world view. This is mirrored in, above all, the ideological vindication offered for imperialism's diverse actions.

In the course of two centuries Americans, for example, have been brought up in a spirit of 'historical messianism'. It has been drummed into their heads that their manifest destiny is to build the finest of worlds, and that Europe, to say nothing of other regions of the globe, will have to keep running after swiftly advancing America. In the mass consciousness the conviction was planted and reinforced that precisely the USA, in contrast to the rest of the world, could become the true proponent of religious and civil liberties, and put into effect the precepts of Biblical and bourgeois prophets.

However, historical practice is debunking this myth. The socialist countries are developing more dynamically. Capitalism's economic and social life likewise refutes the legend about America's manifest destiny. It would seem that this legend must explode. But it is namely this myth that it today acquiring a meticulously elaborated ideological setting. It is asserted that all the peoples of the world are now living in what for the United States is yesterday and even the day before yesterday. And it is the mission of precisely the USA to put history, which has allegedly almost gone astray, back on the right path and make sure that it moves along the highroad agreeable to the USA. Cooked up through the efforts of many, including such bourgeois theorists as the American historian John O. Robertson⁶ and the French academic Georges-Albert Astre,⁷ the myth about the USA having a special mission is being amplified with might and main by the anti-communists. It is constantly on the lips of the not unknown Zbigniew Brzezinski and other American sociologists, one of whom is Daniel Boorstin, who maintains that American history is moving five times faster than the history of Western Europe.⁸ This theory is questionable, to put it mildly, but it is a fact that it is being vigorously disseminated.

Imperialism has long been bringing cultural pressure to bear on other countries. It has created a mind-manipulating industry, which it has been using to implant so-called mass culture stereotypes and images to take the place of national cultures. This practice is today backed up by various culturological doctrines. On precisely this basis the anti-communists are trying to prove that a 'planetary' super-culture is not in the irreversible process of being created. It is seen as the result of the dissolution of local, national cultures and the creation of cosmopolitan values on the American pattern. Actually, this whole exercise is an attempt to vindicate the total Americanisation of culture. In this context, anti-communism regards social development as a process of cultural expansion, of a gradual diffusion of American values throughout the world, in Western Europe in the first place.

This cultural-ideological vindication of the 'Americanisation of the world' pursues specific socio-political objectives. US imperialism and its pundits are thinking not only in terms of bleeding the socialist countries white or subjugating them by means of updated military hardware. The objective of this strategy is to turn the corporations of the American billionaires into global monopolies and make the White House the world government in everything but name. The ultimate aim is to Americanise and rule the world.

There are particularly strident cosmopolitan keynotes in the writings of the 'new philosophers' of France (André Glucksman, Bernard-Henri Lévy, Maurice Clavel), who have since 1976 been critical of 'conservative components' of culture and proclaiming anti-Marxist, anti-communist views. Lévy, for example, questions the need to safeguard national culture.⁹ In fact, his study is an apologia of the interests of the bourgeois world's cosmopolitan circles, of the transnational corporations. The same purpose is served by the attempts of the anti-communists to debunk a priori the

concepts of homeland, patriotism, and inimitable national cultures.

Such is the actual content of the 'tide of re-ideologisation'. With their many writings the anti-communist ideologists are quite obviously going to the rescue of the ruling elite of the capitalist West, who are finding it increasingly harder to take the political initiative without the prior elaboration of new concepts.

Pluralism Or Unitarianism?

Anti-communism has many faces. As the concentrated expression of the policies of imperialism as a whole, of its reactionary forces, notably of the industrial and financial oligarchies, it breaks down into many schools and varieties. In this context the question arises: To what extent can one speak of this ideologico-political phenomenon as of a relatively integral system of views?

Traditionally, the concept of 'anti-communism' has three components: theory spearheaded against scientific communism; governmental action to suppress the communist, working class, and national liberation movements; and retrograde notions and reactionary stereotypes figuring in the mass consciousness. As a single whole it acts against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, to perpetuate capitalism. But the various anti-communist ideological schools are locked in argument over the ways and means of safeguarding capitalism and of countering the communist movement and the socialist countries. The different bourgeois ideologico-political trends—neoconservatism, liberalism, and petty-bourgeois radicalism—have their own concepts and arguments.

The fact that bourgeois ideology has itself become an arena of violent ideological conflicts, of an ever sharper polarisation of rival trends is due to the contradictions of capitalism and the class-political collisions generated by it. But here the argument is, essentially speaking, over who is fighting socialism more effectively. In the final analysis, the choice of a conceptual approach is determined by whether it is actually possible to use this approach. With capitalism stuck in a general and extremely acute crisis, every ideological school is trying to prove that it alone is the saviour of the bourgeois system and can produce the recipes to discredit the new society. The anti-communists often criticise one another, charging members of kindred schools with using less effective ways and means of struggle.

That bourgeois theories are engaged in a sort of contest is seen by the present aggravated conflict between neoconservative and neoliberal schools of anti-communism.

The neoconservative school has won a large following in capitalist countries. Social conservatives such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Daniel Bell, and Robert Nisbet in the USA and Gert-Klaus Kaltenbrunner in the FRG enjoy the greatest influence in official, state-monopoly circles. They are apprehensive of social progress, and are often inclined to adopt anti-progressist postures. However, they accept technological and economic innovations designed, as they see it, to strengthen capitalism and ensure its superiority over socialism. In their search for a way out of the present crisis they are trying to work out theoretical patterns that would, so it seems to them, provide a more dependable foundation for imperialism's economic policies. Hence the pretentious concept of Reaganomics and the economic policy of Thatcherism, which, while claiming to be invigorating the influence of market forces, are in fact doing no more than pushing up military expenditures to mind-boggling dimensions. The social essence of neoconservatism is very lucidly characterised by such foundations of Reaganomics as the tax exemption of 'economic activists', who comprise, to use the words of the French economist Guy Sorman, the capitalist elite and the 'makers of wealth'.¹⁰ Reagan's preaching that to revive the 'American dream' it is enough to give each person the opportunity to work freely and the assertions of the proponents of Reaganomics that the money of the rich ultimately bring happiness to the poor¹¹ are in fact directed towards no other purpose than to make the rich

richer and the poor poorer. Instead of resolving pressing economic and social problems, this is only exacerbating the crisis state of the world capitalist economy. For that reason the inevitable purpose of the neoconservatives is to modernise their ideological apparatus to serve as an effective propaganda instrument protecting capitalism under conditions where the socialist system has become the factor determining the further course of world history.

While these theorists sharply attack collectivism, they give individual enterprise and the readiness to compete an oreole of heroism. They regard the free market and the restriction of the power of the state as vital conditions for the attainment of the aims pursued by each individual. The ideologists of neoconservatism invent arguments in support of imperialism's course towards the fanning of international tension and acts of aggression, and urge the 'unravelling' of socialism and all 'recalcitrants' by means of boycotts and military pressure. Relative to Third World countries they justify the policy of military gambles, are hostile to all dissent, and reject progressive modernistic trends in religion and culture.

However, crisis processes began to surface in this school of anti-communism in the 1980s. First, it was found that its economic programmes were untenable. Further, neoconservatism is suffering setbacks on account of its unpopular militarist policies. The burden of military spending as a result of the unbridled arms race, the growing influence of the military-industrial complex, and the unchecked chauvinistic propaganda are evoking the disaffection of large groups of the population. This is impelling the neoconservatives to 'modernise' anti-communism, to camouflage its most odious aspects with demagogic calls for 'peace', for 'democratic' settlements of socio-political contradictions, and so forth.

In parallel with the growth of the tendencies we have noted, recent years have witnessed the beginning of a sort of counter-tendency that is strengthening the neoliberal school. Its spokesmen, of whom Daniel Boorstin, Alvin Toffler, Norman Barry, and other American sociologists are becoming particularly influential, are trying to develop technocratic ideas to serve their quest for new methods of confrontation with socialism.

After the innumerable forecasts that 'technological civilisation' will perish, that industrial capitalist countries are facing imminent disaster, there is now a revival of technocratic illusions. This time they are linked to the 'communication-computer revolution'. The broad penetration of communication and computer technology into the economic and social life of the West in the period from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, and the appearance of a new department of knowledge—information (telematics)—have regenerated the technocratic utopia.

Unlike the neoconservatives, the reformists and the liberals believe that the world can be rapidly renewed in technological terms on the basis of state-monopoly organisation. They believe that in a capitalist society prosperity can be ensured not so much by economic as, in the first place, by political mechanisms, by joint planning on the part of various bourgeois governments. And they hope that the 'computer society' of tomorrow will help to resolve the problems which the neoconservatives have been unable to resolve. In particular, the robots in 'information banks' would take over administrative functions. The 'anarcho-capitalism' spoken of by the neoconservatives would give way to an efficiently organised society. In that society private enterprise would be combined with scrupulously regulated production and distribution.

According to the neoliberals, 'computerisation' will make capitalism more mobile and flexible than socialism. They contend that socialism's political system cannot accommodate such radical innovations, that it will resist the spread of computerisation and, as a result, lose the competition with capitalism.

This interest in the historical prospect is also expressed in the appearance of innumerable 'scenarios' and 'forecasts' of humankind's development. The spate of

forecasts and the rapid flowering of social utopianism¹² are likewise striking evidence that present-day anti-communism is trying to formulate its own wide-ranging philosophical concept of society's life.

On the basis of arbitrary assertions of this kind, which they are assiduously spreading, the neoliberals are now virulently attacking the political system in socialist countries, drawing heavily on their methodology of the 1970s, i.e., of the period of detente, when their long-term tactic was that of gradually eroding socialism's ideologico-political foundations. As in that period, they are pushing their 'bridge-building', 'convergence', and other ideas, which supplement the imperialist theories calling for a 'selective approach' to and 'power' pressure on socialist countries.

The ideas preached by the liberal 're-ideologisers' do not go beyond the bourgeois world view and do not reject private property. They flourish on the soil of capitalism. For that reason the attempts of the neoliberals to evolve 'new ideologies' are no more than illusory, no more than 'ideological smoke',¹³ to use Lenin's expression.

More often than not the neoconservatives so far have the upper hand in their confrontation with the neoliberal school of anti-communism—they are at the helm of power. For this reason they claim continued leadership in elaborating anti-communist ideology. At the same time, they are seeking to make use of some of the preachings of the neoliberals. Their traditional themes—nation, family, duty, power—are now being complemented with such theses of revived neoliberalism as personal interest, individualism, and 'freedom'.¹⁴ However, they focus chiefly on vindicating their basic concept of protecting the old system and giving stronger philosophical support for historical adventurism.

Philosophy of Historical Adventurism

Anti-communism has always been the travelling-companion of attacks on democratic freedoms and the rights of nations, of the policy of aggression and war. Its present reinvigoration accompanies the inflaming, by imperialist circles, of international tension, which threatens the interests of all nations.

The German nazis preached the philosophy of historical adventurism and openly linked it to their foreign policies. The ruling circles of the USA likewise want ideology to vindicate even the situation twists in their political policies so that military actions, above all, get ideological support. Hence the fact that attacks on socialism and on developing nations are accompanied by an intensification of ideological propaganda. This propaganda assumes the forms of psychological warfare. This specific type of propaganda and the special mechanism of spreading it were developed by the imperialist governments during the period of the cold war.

As part of the ideologico-political struggle, psychological warfare has some distinctive features. Imperialism is trying to organise what amounts to an information-propaganda intervention, to use radio and television channels as instruments for interference in the internal affairs of nations. Practically all elements of the government apparatus of the USA and some other capitalist countries have been drawn into the psychological warfare that is being waged against the USSR and other socialist countries and against the communist and workers' parties. Also involved are subversive agencies and innumerable institutes specialising in anti-communism.¹⁵

Historical adventurism is seen very strikingly in social mythology: the stories about the 'Soviet military threat', the 'communist menace', and 'totalitarianism', to mention a few. The ideologists of imperialism focus on problems they have themselves created ('human rights', 'international terrorism', and so on) and are stepping up their political campaigns against existing socialism. Attacks on the socialist way of life are growing more frequent. At the same time, every encouragement is given to political coercion, irrational and mystical thought, racism, and misanthropy.

Having lost its political supremacy in some regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, US state-monopoly capitalism is actively fostering anti-communism in these regions in order to counter the ongoing socio-political struggles—witness what is happening in El Salvador, Lebanon, South Africa, and many other countries. Theories are being evolved to justify the infiltration of foreign capital into these countries, the creation of new forms of dependence on transnational corporations, and the reinforcement of private enterprise—‘interdependence’, ‘Western technological leadership’, and other theories.

Spokesmen of the so-called free world are arguing that developing Asian, African, and Latin American countries will inevitably travel the road already traversed by capitalist countries. This is part of the argumentation used to substantiate and justify capitalist expansion in the Third World, and those who propound it assert that the Third World peoples will adopt the bourgeois standards of economic development and life styles, and capitalist modes of society’s organisation.

Moreover, anti-communism appeals to nationalistic feeling. It tries to impress upon the people of each individual country that their cultural traditions and national psychology rule out acceptance of socialist ideas. There is total silence about the unique fact of the flourishing cultures of the peoples and republics of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, cultures which are in all cases national in form and socialist in content. Here the stake is on standardising identity on the American model, promoting the cult of parochialism, and stirring chauvinism.

Taking into account the fact that religion has sunk deep roots in the minds of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the anti-communists are trying to incite religious people against the policies and ideology of the social forces advocating revolutionary reforms and socialism. They insist that there can be no alliance with atheists, and for support fall back on the most primitive postulates of reactionary religious circles.

In their campaigns to influence the developing world ideologically, the anti-communists pursue a global strategy to suppress liberation movements. They are calculating on ideologically demoralising the peoples who have embarked upon an independent life and are out to subvert communist parties and progressive and patriotic movements. They support fascist, confessionalist,¹⁶ and dictatorial regimes, their stock in trade being economic and political blackmail.

Of course, the working people in the industrial capitalist countries are the object of this anti-communist ‘philosophy of action’. They are on the receiving end of the propaganda campaigns aimed at developing a ‘global consciousness’ and ‘planetary international relations’, at playing ‘computer society’ off against socialism. To this must be added the religious preachings, the teachings of the ‘new prophets’, ‘gurus’, and ‘messians’ urging passiveness, aloofness from conscious public life, political subservience, and conciliation. They go so far as to depict poverty and other social vices of capitalism as ‘providential’ and use Biblical prophecies to misrepresent modern history and to describe the present epoch as apocalyptic.

In all areas of its theoretical activity anti-communism has to use ideological symbols, to camouflage the actual aims of the ruling class. In practice this boils down to the creation of manipulative theories and the corresponding methodology for indoctrinating the population. The purpose of this entire torrent is to assert new ideological stereotypes and cultural standards and to use new means for influencing the people ideologically and psychologically.

* * *

Our analysis of the attempts of the bourgeoisie to reinforce its political strategy with an arsenal of ideological means allows us to draw some general conclusions.

First, it is evident that the monopoly circles are trying to use all the ideological

resources of the bourgeois world, bringing into play—as required by the situation—neoliberal, neoconservative, and other recipes for the preservation of their social and political privileges. Anti-communism plays a steadily mounting centralising role in their ideological formulations and political actions.

Second, an unbiased view of the processes of social development in the world over the past few decades makes it plain that the tendencies of the class struggle identified by Marxist-Leninist theory, the liberation of the peoples from the fetters of capitalist exploitation are irreversible. Just as bourgeois society cannot halt the course of history, anti-communism cannot develop ideological and political alternatives to the theory of the Communists.

International Research Group of the WMR
Commission on General Problems of Theory:
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This article is a further contribution to the series about the characteristics and trends of present-day anti-communism (WMR, Nos. 3, 5, and 6, 1984).

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 280.

² Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 163-164.

³ Raymond Aron, *Remarques sur le nouvel âge idéologique*, Paris, 1979.

⁴ Donald Wilhelm, *Creative Alternatives to Communism. Guidelines for Tomorrow's World*, London, 1977, pp. 56, 76, 155.

⁵ Eugen Lemberg, *Antropologie der ideologischen Systeme*, Wienheim, 1977.

⁶ John O. Robertson, *American Myth, American Reality*, New York, 1980.

⁷ Georges-Albert Astre, *Situation de l'idéologie aux USA*, Paris, 1980.

⁸ Daniel Boorstin, *The Republic of Technology*, New York, 1978, p. 43.

⁹ Bernard-Henri Lévy, *L'idéologie française*, Paris, 1981.

¹⁰ Guy Sorman, *La révolution conservatrice américaine*, Fayard, 1983, pp. 203-204.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² B. Hawrylishin, *Road Maps to the Future: Towards More Effective Societies*, Oxford, 1980; F. E. Manwel, F. P. Manwel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, Cambridge, 1979.

¹³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 238.

¹⁴ See *The Politics of Thatcherism*, Edited by S. Hall and M. Jacques, London, 1983.

¹⁵ For more detail see Hans Pirsch, 'Psychological Warfare in the Strategy of Confrontation', WMR, No. 5, 1984.

¹⁶ Lately, the reactionary forces of the bourgeois West have been making very active use of confessionalism as an ideologico-political means of dividing the people. By stirring religious fanaticism, chauvinism, and hostility between nationalities and religions, confessionalism as an ideology conceals the class essence of social contradictions and relations. On the political level, as the example of Lebanon and other Middle East and Asian countries demonstrates, confessionalism is being used by imperialist agencies as a means of inciting internecine strife between different groups of the population on the basis of national and religious prejudices.

viewpoints

Echoes of the Prague Appeal

A year ago Prague, capital of Czechoslovakia, played hosts to envoys of the peace movements of all continents. 'War is not inevitable,' declared the participants in this World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War.

'It is not too late to prevent a nuclear holocaust. Salvation is in the hands of the people themselves, of each man and woman, resolutely standing together for peace.' In different parts of the world the mounting peace actions, against the imperialist policy of preparing for another war, show that steadily widening sections of the people understand this fact.

FRG: ACTION PROGRAMME

'The ongoing deployment of missiles induces us to continue our resistance,' declared the participants in the Conference on Peace Actions, which was the first meeting of representatives of West German anti-missile movements, organisations, and groups since the appearance in the FRG of the first Pershing-2 and cruise missiles. Despite the forecasts to the country by supporters of the NATO decision, the conference has been able to define the main orientations of joint peace actions in the new situation.

Vigorous anti-missile actions have commenced throughout the country. This year's traditional Easter Marches drew more than 600,000 participants. The Peace Festival in Dortmund attracted 90,000 people. At the closing rally in Cologne there were 30,000 people, and in Nuremberg there were 40,000 people. At least 25,000 men and women of all ages joined hands and formed a gigantic chain around the US military base near Mutlangen, where the first Pershing-2s were stationed. In many large towns throughout the republic there were anti-missile demonstrations, blockades of military installations, and rallies and meetings. Their leitmotif was, 'Jobs, Not Missiles!'

During the elections to the European Parliament last June a poll conducted by the peace movement in the FRG showed that 87 per cent of its participants—more than five million people—want a halt to the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and the withdrawal of those that are already deployed in the FRG.

The most important development in the FRG peace movement is that this year the course has been continued towards joint mass actions against the arms race and the warlike policies of the USA and NATO. This was very strikingly demonstrated at the second, May Conference on Peace Actions. It showed the determination of the peace fighters to go on with the anti-missile struggle.

It drew up a general programme of autumn actions. Joint actions are to be held with trade unions on September 1, when International Peace Day will be marked. In October there are to be large demonstrations in various parts of the country; live chains are to be formed during these demonstrations. Religious groups are planning a Peace Week to show their support for the peace movement.

However, it was made clear at the conference that the debate on the aims and strategy of the peace movement has not ended. In particular, this was mirrored also in the resolution that was adopted on the Soviet counter-measures. On the one hand, it was underscored in this resolution that the USA and NATO are seeking military superiority over the USSR and that the key condition for halting the arms race in the West and East is to stop the stockpiling of weapons in the USA and Western Europe. On the other hand, it was stated that some participants in the peace movement are apprehensive that the Soviet measures may mean that they call in question the USSR's unilateral commitment on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons.

We Communists do not share such apprehensions. We have always stressed the fact that the Soviet Union is resolved to abide by this commitment, for it is in keeping with the basic course of its policy of peace. At the same time, at its Seventh Congress our Party declared that the USSR cannot close its eyes to the realities of imperialism's policies. We say that as long as imperialism is armed and threatens war, socialism must also be armed.

Taking into account the positive elements in the conference resolution and guided by the interests of ensuring unity in the movement, the German Communist Party,

the Socialist German Working Youth, and the Marxist Spartacus Student League supported this resolution as a whole. But they stated their special opinion, which conforms to our party's posture.

The Communists intend to uphold this posture at subsequent debates for we feel it is crucial to specify the content of the autumn actions. It will be necessary to concentrate on the following:

- remind people of the danger created by the stationing of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and demand an end to this deployment and the removal of these first-strike weapons from Europe;

- act with determination against the policies of the missile-mongers and bring constant political pressure to bear on the Federal Government in this context;

- further invigorate the people's participation in the peace movement and foster the differentiation process in the conservative camp;

- step up the struggle to settle those issues on which tangible progress is possible on the international level, including the creation of nuclear-free zones, the prevention of the militarisation of outer space, the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, and the creation of zones free from such weapons.

In the FRG the peace movement gives special attention to the need to freeze and reduce military budgets. We are demanding that at the Stockholm Conference the Federal Government should speak up for confidence-building measures, security, and disarmament, a mutual renunciation of the first-use of nuclear and conventional weapons, and the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force between NATO countries and Warsaw Treaty member states.

Georg Kwiatowski

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GREAT BRITAIN: SYMBOL OF A MILITANT SPIRIT

The peace camp pitched nearly three years ago near the US military base at Greenham Common has become a symbol of the determination of the British peace fighters to block the road to US first-strike weapons. By its example this camp is inspiring peace movements in other West European countries. Of immense significance, which has repercussions far beyond the British Isles, is the fact that the camp consists entirely of women, young, middle-aged, and the elderly representing all sections of society and a wide variety of political and philosophical views.

A difficult period began at the close of 1983 for the women inhabiting this tent city. The British authorities are doing all in their power to demoralise the peace campers. But the British government and the ruling circles in Washington underestimate the spirit of the peace activists, who are determined to immobilise the cruise missiles by preventing the dry runs of the mobile launchers deployed in combat positions, and by calling for joint actions with women and men from other parts of the country. The efficacy of these actions is self-evident. Immediately after the first cruise convoy was moved out of the Greenham Common base for an exercise run, rallies and demonstrations were held spontaneously in many British towns. In London a group of women blocked a street leading to the City for 20 minutes. In Lancaster participants in anti-missile actions blocked a transport by making a live chain across the centre of the town.

In the face of this determination of the peace camp, the Conservative government stepped up the persecutions. Michael Heseltine, Minister for Defence, made the

unprecedented and hysterical statement in the House of Commons to the effect that any women penetrating the base would be at risk of being shot at by the American and British guards at the base. The police harass the peace camp, sending provocateurs. The mass media keep up a flow of slander. Bulldozers have been used against the tented camp, with 'guardians of the law' burning the tents and vandalising or confiscating the personal possessions of the women. In 1983 there were over 1,200 arrests at Greenham Common. The arrests are continuing.

But this has not broken the peace fighters. They do not leave the gates of the base, sleeping under the open sky. As on previous occasions, new tents arrived to replace those that were destroyed. 'We will be here no matter how often they destroy our camp,' the women say. Their actions have won them nation-wide admiration. From different parts of the country tenting, sleeping bags, and other accessories are pouring in to replace the equipment confiscated or vandalised by the police.

A constant stream of delegations of women visit Greenham Common from all over the country and from abroad. These not only pledge solidarity with the courageous women on constant duty at Greenham Common but develop their own forms of protest. Recently a large group of elderly ladies gave the base administration a huge album, saying: 'Look who you are threatening with nuclear death!' In the album were the photographs of hundreds of children—their grandsons and granddaughters.

Last May a large delegation of striking British miners visited Greenham Common. They declared their support for the camp participants in their struggle. They made the point that together they were fighting two different but interrelated aims of Conservative policy: the arms race and the assault on the people's basic rights, the right to work in the first place.

In order to give people as vivid a picture as possible of the threat from the Euromissiles, the Greenham Common peace fighters are using various means. For example, with the aid of some US Congressmen 13 of them have filed a suit in a New York court challenging the US government with the claim, supported by many eminent lawyers, that the deployment of cruise missiles in Britain is contrary to international law, to human rights, to the laws and customs of wars, and also the US Constitution. We are not so naive as to believe that any justice can be expected on the far side of the ocean or to hope that this case can be won by the Greenham Common women. But it is already a success in that the court has requested the US Administration to refute the charges.

The anti-war struggle continues to gain momentum in Britain, and Greenham Common is only one of many of its epicentres. Last spring tens of thousands of Britons took part in the traditional Peace Week. Big protest rallies were held at the US submarine base at Holy Loch and at the Pentagon-controlled electronic surveillance centre at Edzell (East Scotland). A demonstration was held at the gates of the Bentley-Priory air base near London. More than two and a half thousand persons marched to one of Europe's largest US bomber aircraft bases at Lakenheath, county Suffolk. More than 200,000 people demonstrated in London last June in protest against Reagan's visit to the British capital. All these are heralds of a turbulent 1984, the year of a mounting struggle against nuclear disaster.

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CANADA: THE PEACE FRONT IS WIDENING

With a federal election only months away, Canada's major political parties are

carefully assessing the growing peace sentiment in the country. The greatest public anxiety stems from the fact that Canada is being turned into a Pentagon proving ground. Even the pro-Reagan Progressive Conservative Party, which has been holding a special 'hearing', has had to concede that '*most groups*' (my italics.—J.P.) of the population 'oppose the testing of the Cruise missile' in Canada. Growing support for peace was also shown in the peace referenda endorsed in many municipal elections.

A Peace Petition Caravan Campaign has been set into motion by the Committee of Peace workers and has received the endorsement of the Quebec provincial parliament and the Regina city council. The petition urges the federal parliament to annul the agreement with the USA on the testing of US Cruise missiles in Canada; declare Canada a nuclear weapons-free zone; and channel funds towards human needs, not arms—that is, to build prosperity through peace. The sponsors of the petition are pressing for a free vote in parliament on the above questions.

In February of this year, close to 200 delegates from peace forces across the country met in Winnipeg to pledge their support for the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign. It is noteworthy that they included representatives of the Communist Party of Canada and of Canada's largest trade union body, the Canadian Labour Congress, along with religious, youth, women's, Native, ethnic, pensioners' and organisations of the disabled.

There will be canvassing for endorsement in parliamentary constituencies across the country and local coalitions are being formed for this purpose. Buses will leave Halifax on the Atlantic Ocean and Vancouver on the Pacific. Their route includes Canada's two largest cities—Montreal and Toronto. Passengers will stop along the way, join local coalitions in rallies, and pick up signatures. They will then travel to Ottawa for the big demonstration on parliament hill on October 20, to coincide with local demonstrations in many other cities. This will be the culminating point of the campaign. One of its cardinal aims is to secure a freeze on nuclear arsenals.

The work is now in full swing. On April 28, 115,000 people marched for peace in Vancouver. They represented more than 100 labour, political, religious, student, and other organisations. This was the largest demonstration in Canadian history. It took place in a city whose council has declared it to be a nuclear-free zone. The demonstration was led by social democratic Mayor Michael Harcourt. The main speaker at the rally was Walter Gordon, former Liberal Minister of Finance. He strongly condemned the US mining of Nicaraguan ports.

Large anti-war demonstrations were also held in Montreal, Toronto, Victoria, and other Canadian cities. In Toronto, leaders of the Communist, New Democratic, and Green parties marched at the head of the contingents from their respective parties.

The fact that organised labour is deeply involved at various levels is a qualitative advance in the Canadian peace movement. In Canada's largest city, Toronto, the local council of trade unions has decided to set up a committee to work for peace and disarmament. There are grounds for believing that this will inspire other trade union bodies to do the same. A statement of the Communist Party of Canada notes that the Canadian working class is taking its place as the foremost fighter for peace in Canada, as seen by the active role of the Canadian Labour Congress in support of the Canadian Peace Petition Caravan Campaign.

At last December's plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, the General Secretary William Kashtan drew attention to a significant development: "There is a growing recognition of the vital role of the Communist Party and Communists in the fight for peace. This finds expression in agreements to include Communists among the speakers at peace demonstrations as well as in other ways."

Canadian peace organisations are growing in strength and peace groups are springing up in 'new territory'. While all of these groups do not see the key issues in

the same light, it is noteworthy that in nearly every demonstration and rally, the USA is named as the main source of the nuclear war danger, and that the two superpower theme, which implies an 'equal responsibility' for international tension to the Soviet Union and the USA, is getting less and less support. This will be a busy year on the Canadian peace front.

Jack Phillips
CEC alternate member,
Communist Party of Canada

Nuclear Insanity

Academician Georgy Arbatov - CPSU
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Academy of Sciences

TO speak of features distinguishing the present period of international relations, I would say that the 20th century holds a special place in history. It has witnessed the Great October Revolution (which ushered in a new epoch), the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, the formation of the world socialist system, the downfall of colonial empires, and dramatic social changes throughout the planet. It is a period of capitalism's general crisis.

Another distinguishing feature of the present epoch is the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, more, a new scientific and technological revolution marked by outstanding breakthroughs. With man's penetration into the microworld and into extraterrestrial macrodepths, our age is rightly called the nuclear and space age.

This has opened for humankind new potentialities, but it has also created new, unexampled dangers. One is the danger of the imperialist forces unleashing a nuclear war. The threat of humankind's total self-annihilation has become real for the first time in history. This threat can only be averted by developing and urgently bringing into operation new powerful mechanisms of self-preservation. But here the decisive word belongs not to technology, physics, or mathematics, but to politics.

In analysing present-day political processes I should like to note that right-wing, I would say even extremist right-wing, forces have come to power in some capitalist countries over the past few years. In the West there are political analysts who have hastened to christen this an 'overriding trend', the 'tidal wave of the future'. It seems to me that conclusions of this kind are premature and one-sided.

In the case of the USA, for example, I would first of all dispute the contentions that identify Ronald Reagan's victory at the 1980 elections with approval for his policies. I am aware that in the USA, where they have a penchant for catchwords, this victory was described as a 'landslide'. But the moment it is translated into the language of statistics it will be seen that the President owes his election to only 26 per cent of the citizens eligible to vote. Besides, many who gave him their votes were by no means supportive of an arms race. It is thus an illusion to believe that Reagan came to the White House with a 'mandate' to pursue an ultra-right course both in domestic affairs and on the international scene.

This was very soon realised by Reagan himself, particularly where matters of foreign policy were concerned. It is not accidental that shortly before the upcoming presidential elections he fell in with the mood of the electorate and ceased to speak publicly of aims such as winning military superiority, halted his attacks on the

strategic arms limitation treaties, and stopped talking about a 'limited' nuclear war. Reagan has even tried to pose as a dedicated peace-maker, as a proponent of agreement with the Soviet Union. It seemed as though it had not been his lips from which came the philippic about the 'empire of evil' that should be consigned to the 'ash heap of history'.

As regards Reagan's foreign policies, they have, on the whole, proved to be singularly unsuccessful.

—What, would you say, accounts for this?

The paramount reason is that the US Administration's basic political guidelines had been from the outset in total conflict with the objective logic of historical development. Further, there is the sheer intransigence of the White House in clinging to these guidelines despite the mounting insistence in and outside the USA that it reconsider its course. The Reagan coterie is indeed up in the clouds, engages in wishful thinking, and claims major successes where in fact it suffers ignominious defeat.

It would like, for example, to portray as a triumph the deployment of new US intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. But this is a Pyrrhic victory: the appearance of these missiles, which brought the negotiations in Geneva to a standstill and created yet another source of a nuclear threat to Europe, did not give the USA the military result it looked for, namely, superiority over the USSR in intermediate-range nuclear systems in Europe. The political outcome has been a rise of tension in NATO itself: in the Old World nations many people are now coming round to the conclusion (which many more will soon see) that far from having been reinforced West European security has been undermined with the stationing of US missiles. For the first time in NATO's history that bloc's major decisions have been opposed by Europe's largest social democratic parties—that of West Germany and the British Labour Party.

The policy of 'sanctions' on East-West economic relations has made a muddle of Reaganism.¹ It is hurting relations between capitalist states more than their trade with the socialist world.

Another gamble that has discredited Reaganism is the undeclared war against Central American peoples. In that region the USA has brought into play practically its entire armoury of methods of pressure—from the economic blockade of Nicaragua to the invasion of Grenada. But what in fact damages America's prestige, in the eyes also of many Americans themselves, is this crude coercion, this use of colossal military strength against small nations whose striving for independence and progress has the support of practically the entire world community. The CIA mines that exploded off the coast of Nicaragua injured, in the first place, those who ordered laying them. Moreover, the USA has found itself with more complex relations than ever before with all the major Latin American states—Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela.

Or take the Middle East. What has taken place there during Reagan's presidency bears out very compellingly the fact that anti-Sovietism and abuse of power lead to a growth of international tension, to a dangerous escalation of local conflicts, to loss of life and to destruction, and ultimately to political setbacks for the USA. Reaganism has gone on the rocks in Lebanon and in that whole region.

—But lately there is talk about changes in US policy. What, in your opinion, is at the back of it?

To some extent the present US Administration realises that foreign policy has become its Achilles' heel. However, it evidently believes that all its problems are due

exclusively to its ineffective promotion of a policy that it continues to regard as basically sound. Hence the attempts to sweeten words without changing the substance of policy. But if a bellicose, anti-Soviet Saul suddenly turns into an amiable and compliant Paul, the reason for this is that anti-Sovietism had not worked and the heightened tension in the relations with the USSR had only caused widespread anxiety in the USA and in other countries besides.

Nevertheless, some optimists have seen Reagan's appeal for better relations with the USSR as a belated perception, so to speak, as an attempt at a serious reassessment of the political orientation. Regretfully, this is not the case. How can one believe this sudden turnabout in the White House's approach to relations with the USSR, to nuclear weapons, to the preservation of peace and easing of international tension when massive military programmes continue to be implemented to the accompaniment of talk about the need for Soviet-US cooperation and a deepening of the dialogue? These are the very same programmes that were only recently said to be indispensable in order to be prepared for 'limited', 'sustained', and even 'star' wars. Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, stressed: "Even if words of peace are sometimes heard from Washington, try as one might one cannot find the least sign of a readiness to support these words with practical deeds. Putting it differently, the fact that new words are spoken does not imply that a new policy is being pursued."²

There is also the emotional evocation of this American rhetoric. Even if the Reagan Administration were to cease entirely its villification of the Soviet Union, would that mean that we should at once forget all that had been said and done by it during the past three years? I have often had to say the following to people from the USA: for years you have been conducting a blatantly bellicose campaign against us and do you imagine that all you have to do to normalise relations between us is to sweeten your words, open a door or two, and give us a pair of smiles. This does not work in politics. Confidence is a highly important political category. It is easy to destroy and hard to rebuild. And there's nothing that can be done about it.

Reagan's policies have not given the USA the solutions it is seeking to its foreign policy problems. On the contrary, they have aggravated these problems and created some new ones. Little wonder that in the 1984 election campaign the question of war and peace is in the focus of the political debates. Very many Americans are worried and apprehensive about how the USA's relations with the external world are shaping out under the impact of the Reagan Administration's trigger-happy policies.

—This leads to a question which you probably have had to answer before: How did it happen that the capitalist world's strongest nation found itself burdened with such an incompetent, intellectually feeble, and inexperienced government?

—The key to the answer to the question is the word 'crisis'. Yes, the USA is in a prolonged and serious political crisis, part of which is a crisis of the executive power.

Let us recall some of the most recent incumbents of the White House, beginning with, say, Lyndon B. Johnson. Finding himself stuck in the mire of the Vietnam war, he had to pull out of the election race and be a one-term president for the first time in many years. Then came Richard M. Nixon, who was forced to resign. Then there was Jimmy Carter (another one-term president), whose incumbency ended with the inglorious 'Iranian rescue mission'.

Practically each of these administrations was rocked by scandals in the upper corridors of power. Nor is the present Administration an exception. Look how much smut has surfaced: from the affair of the presidential National Security Adviser Richard V. Allen, who was caught in a bribery scandal, to the affair of the US Information Agency Director Charles Wick, who landed in a mess over the taping of

telephone conversations with senior Administration officials (possibly, with the intention of subsequently compromising them). Scandals have involved cabinet members, the CIA Director, and members of the White House staff.

These are only the external signs of the deep-going vices eroding the USA. Outwardly, this looks like a crisis of the institution of executive power. But if the roots are bared, it will be seen to be a crisis of the entire political system of the USA. Is it normal that less than half the people eligible to vote go to the polls, and that the votes of 25 per cent of them decide the nation's political destiny? Is it normal that the outcome of the election race depends on money, which gives access to the media? Is it normal that the political struggle itself is increasingly becoming a circus, a show?

As we observe this picture we in the Soviet Union do not by any means gloat. When such things happen in a country that bears a large share of the responsibility for the preservation of peace they can only give rise to anxiety. In the nuclear age it is preferable that even the enemy should be intelligent, level-headed, and incapable of doing absurd things. Shortsightedness and impulsiveness in politics are dangerous not only to the USA. They can have serious consequences for other nations, in fact for the whole world.

A long-standing tradition in US political life is that in hard times it is more profitable and snug to play safe by moving to the right and showing toughness. For some reason the US ruling circles regard this attitude as more patriotic, although in the nuclear age it can bring the nation the worst of calamities. For some reason they regard this attitude as more realistic, although today it is the greatest of delusions to hope to ensure security by means of an arms race and the use of force.

—What is your assessment of the present state of Soviet-US relations and their significance to international processes?

It would be a mistake to examine all developments in the world through the prism of Soviet-US relations, but it would be hard, of course, to overestimate their significance to humanity. It is as clear as clear can be that while an improvement of relations between Moscow and Washington is unquestionably not a panacea for all evils, uncurbed hostility between them can be disastrous for all civilisation.

The present state of Soviet-US relations may be defined as follows: the US government has done all it could to complicate these relations, and they are now down to their lowest ebb in many years. It would be a gross error to attribute this deterioration basically to Reagan's hostile rhetoric, as is done by some people in the West, for in the background there are much more tangible and sinister phenomena. In military-strategic terms this is the unparalleled arms race started by the USA and accompanied by an extremely dangerous 'modernisation' of military doctrines and concepts. In political terms these are the total rupture with the principles and practice of peaceful coexistence and the revival of the aggressive guidelines of cold war times aimed at undermining and destroying the socialist system. In terms of trade and economic relations this is for all practical purposes a switch to 'economic warfare'. Lastly, the US Administration's ideological course betrays the intentions of its architects and clouds the relations between the two countries.

The USA is responsible for the suspension of almost all talks on limiting armaments, the reduction of economic relations to a bare minimum, the cessation of cultural exchanges, the violation of the agreement on direct air communication, and the halt to many programmes for scientific cooperation. An atmosphere has been created encouraging criminal attacks on Soviet representatives. All this, it must be acknowledged, has been done in quick succession.

The reckless, frankly militarist, 'power' policies of the USA on the world scene are most directly affecting the state of Soviet-US relations. In turn, the cooling and aggravation of these relations are mirrored negatively in the entire system of

international relations. In short, Soviet-US relations are now in their most complex and dangerous state of the past period of over 20 years. Never since 1962, i.e., since the 'Cuban crisis', has Washington brought them to such a perilous point. The situation is now more serious than it has ever been. There are mountains of nuclear weapons with qualitatively new characteristics. All this is making peace more fragile than it has been for a very long time. Special note must be made of how very adversely the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe has affected Soviet-US relations.

—What is your assessment of the significance of that step?

It has now become quite clear how shamelessly the USA has been deceiving its own allies and, with them, the whole of world public opinion. It will be recalled that in Washington they argued that deployment would ensure the success of negotiations from 'positions of strength'. Today everybody understands that the USSR will not let anybody talk to it in that sort of language. It has elected to do the only correct thing in the circumstances: to cease pointless negotiations and take the appropriate countermeasures to restore the tilted military-strategic equilibrium. What has now come to pass is what we have long been warning the USA and the NATO circles as a whole about—a new spiral of the arms race has begun in Europe and there has been a further rise of international tension. I should imagine that today many of the Europeans supporting the NATO 'dual decision' are beginning to understand this.

—But the US Administration is still trying to blame the aggravated situation on the Soviet Union and pushing ahead with its campaign proclaiming the existence of a 'Soviet threat'.

Indeed, this campaign is being continued with redoubled force, even though it is accompanied by attempts to carry on more subtle propaganda that in some cases can take in even discerning people. The US ruling circles have long been conducting psychological warfare against socialism which they are diversifying in terms of ways and means. Its aims in the USA itself are to frighten ordinary Americans and compel them to put up submissively with whatever the Administration chooses to do.

The so-called 'Soviet threat' is one of the favourite gambits of the White House. References to it are used to justify the most irresponsible actions. Why is a large US naval flotilla concentrated off Lebanon? 'Because of the Soviet threat'. Why was tiny Grenada invaded? Of course, to repulse the 'Soviet threat'. What makes the USA conduct many-months' long exercises around Nicaragua, deploy missiles in Europe, and dispatch 'rapid deployment forces' to the Indian Ocean and the Pacific? The 'Soviet threat' again.

—What, would you say, are the main lessons of the history of Soviet-US relations and what are the prospects for these relations in the future?

In speaking of lessons of the past, I should like to make one general observation. The years of normal relations, particularly of alliance in the struggle against the enemy during the Second World War, have always been salutary and beneficial to both countries, while neither of our countries, neither of our peoples have benefited from eruptions of confrontation—they have suffered damage. This is, I would say, an incontrovertible fact. It compellingly reaffirms the benefits of peaceful coexistence, the universality of the fact that peace and cooperation are mutually advantageous, while war and hostility are dangerous to everybody. The past half-century of Soviet-US relations brings home the understanding that the only possible norms of association in our complex world are the following.

First, no attempt should be made to 'reshape' the other side in one's own image and likeness—this is abortive and dangerous.

Second, to seek to have good relations with the other side it is not at all necessary to like that other side. Politics are not a love-affair, in which a person is impelled by attraction and emotions, but a serious and difficult business.

Third and last, whether we like each other or not, both countries have to live on one and the same planet. And it is only together that they can live or perish—this, I would say, must be the starting point for policy-making.

The central conclusion is thus that given all the distinctions between them peaceful coexistence of the two nations is not only possible but vital to themselves and to the world at large.

Speaking of prospects, there have been many Soviet initiatives aimed at normalising relations with the USA. They cover all the main areas, including and above all those that have to do with preventing a nuclear war.

But in the USA a wall of silence is put around Soviet proposals. The present US Administration does not want American public opinion to know what the Soviet stand actually is. What normal elector, having learned the truth, would back the astronomical outlays on weapons that hold out the threat of a nuclear holocaust, outlays that on top of everything prejudice the allocations for social needs?

If in the USA they make up their minds that it is better to pursue a policy leading away from the threat of a nuclear war, they will find the USSR a serious and conscientious partner, prepared, in the quest for mutually acceptable settlements, to take far-reaching steps in the field of disarmament. It is vital that in Washington they should draw lessons from the almost four decades of a futile arms race: as we encounter the USA's attempts to achieve military superiority we respond with further efforts to strengthen our defences. This has been the case before and, as the Soviet leaders have repeatedly warned, this will continue to be the case if the USA does not abandon its plans for increasing its military capability.

—What is your vision of global development? Can people deliver themselves from the constant threat to peace and what must be done to that end?

Of course, the USA now has its most anti-Soviet and most warlike government of the past half-century. The policies and actions of this government are creating a serious threat to peace and are the cause of the present deterioration of international relations. But one should look further. There are other factors that must be taken into account if the prospects for development are to be correctly assessed.

The first of these is, I would say, the growing strength, prestige, and influence of the socialist community. At the cost of great effort and sacrifice the Soviet Union has achieved military-strategic parity with the USA—and a very durable parity at that. There is nothing Washington can do to smash that parity. The Soviet Union is closely following everything affecting its own security and that of its allies.

Another important factor of politics is the anti-war movement. There has been an anti-war movement before, but in terms of size it cannot come anywhere near to what it is like today. A very significant point is that the social and professional strata that have never participated in the anti-war struggle are now becoming active in it. For example, physicians who have traditionally been a very conservative professional group in the West. An ever-larger role is played in the movement by religious circles, including, if one is to speak of the USA, circles of the Catholic Church. The anti-nuclear movement has been joined even by many former generals and admirals, some of whom went or were forced into retirement because they were outspoken about their opposition to war.

Coupled with imperialism's adventurist policies, nuclear weapons have created an unprecedented threat to humanity. And it is perhaps inevitable that the magnitude of

this threat has induced resistance from unprecedentedly large forces acting to preserve life on earth. I believe that the present anti-nuclear movement is precisely that entirely new phenomenon that will go on developing and exercising a steadily growing influence on the political climate and situation in the world.

The anti-nuclear movement—and it now forms the backbone of the anti-war forces—made itself felt on the national scene in the USA during the 1982 and 1984 election campaigns, in the mass demonstrations, in the broad campaign demanding a freeze on nuclear arsenals, and much else. One gets the impression that in the USA, too, there are signs that the socio-political climate is about to change. This is a striking and very important result of the further vitalisation of the struggle for peace.

In short, while they are sinister developments, the aggravation of tension and the escalation of the arms race are not the entire picture of the world today. Despite the intrigues and savage counter-assaults of the bellicose circles, the idea of detente has not been uprooted. The material fabric of relations between states created by it is, as it has proven to be, extremely viable. This is seen with particular clarity in Europe. A gleam of hope in the clouded atmosphere has come from the successful Madrid meeting of representatives of states that participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and from the fact that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building, Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe has begun its deliberations.

Experience teaches that despite the tense situation today, countries with different social systems can settle differences and reach mutually acceptable agreements. For this there is a dependable and time-tested foundation—the principles of peaceful coexistence. As has often been the case in the past, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, of the USA in the first place, will sooner or later have to acknowledge (as was done in 1972) the imperative need for these principles not only in words but also in practice. This will also signal the need for bringing one's foreign policy course into line with the realities of the world today to benefit all nations—of the West and of the East—who want to be sure of their future.

Antonio Gramsci defined the best combination of pessimism and optimism in the human character as pessimism of the intellect and optimism of the will. In other words, it is important to be awake to the existence of dangers and negative factors but, at the same time, have the desire, courage, and determination to surmount them, to create a better world. Regrettably, the opposite happens when people close their eyes to the difficulties of the times and at critical moments keep aloof, fall into despair, or sit on the fence. But I should like to believe that in the present critical moment of history the majority will consist of people with the kind of character Gramsci spoke of.

Many people are now asking themselves the perennial question: 'What is to be done?' First—to resist the dangerous development of events, to campaign for an improvement of the situation. By and large, it is known precisely how peace can be saved and reinforced. Those proposals that have already been made suffice for the time being—such as a freeze on the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the USA, talks on averting an arms race in outer space, and the banning of chemical weapons. It is important that these and other helpful initiatives should be at last translated into reality. For their settlement many problems of disarmament require not complicated negotiations but only the political will. We have enough of that.

To urge the Soviet Union to join in a dialogue is tantamount to pushing one's way through an open door. The USSR is always prepared to discuss and settle such a cardinal problem as the cessation of the nuclear arms race. But this must entail talks that are fair and square and not talks used to deceive public opinion and provide a cover for war preparations. For precisely that reason we regard measures leading to the withdrawal of deployed US missiles as the foundation for the resumption of talks on achieving understandings to free Europe from nuclear weapons. In this case, as

the socialist countries have proclaimed, steps will be taken to annul the counter-measures that have started.³

History has conferred a tremendous responsibility on our generation. Never has humanity been so seriously menaced. But never before has humankind had so much strength, determination, and capabilities for averting this danger.

This material is a record of a talk in which the eminent Soviet scholar answered *WMR*'s questions.

¹ Reaganism is now the accepted term for the entire spectrum of policies pursued by the present US Administration. I always have reservations about using it. There is in it the implication that a generally less than bright policy pursued by bigots has been placed on a pedestal.

² *Pravda*, April 9, 1984.

³ *Pravda*, June 16, 1984.

The Vicious Circle of a Capitalist Orientation

Ajoy Roy – CC Secretary, Communist
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The solution of the agrarian problem is a matter of key importance to many newly-free countries of Asia and Africa. Impressive achievements have been registered where social progress is being made; there problems of agriculture are settled in the interest of the rural working people, and the strategy of a radical reshaping of the life of society includes agrarian reforms. Not so in a number of backward, underdeveloped, capitalist-oriented Afro-Asian countries. Imperialist propaganda keeps on advertising the potentialities of capitalism's 'modernised variants' and 'successful evolution models', including those applied in agriculture. The following article depicts the situation in Bangladesh.

THE agrarian problems of our country cannot be viewed in isolation from capitalist development processes in the economy as a whole, from the nature, genesis and national peculiarities of capitalism.

During the colonial period, the Bangladesh economy was an agricultural appendage to the metropolitan economy. At the turn of the century, despite imperialist resistance, bourgeois relations began to shape up in our country, if slowly. The domestic capitalist class was in an embryonic state. However, a petty bourgeoisie was taking form at a quickening pace. The founding of Pakistan (1947), of which Bangladesh was part, did not alter the character of the economy. In addition to neocolonial imperialist exploitation there was exploitation of a colonial type on the part of the ruling classes, that is, the big bourgeoisie and landlords of West Pakistani origin. West Pakistani big business dominated the home market, controlled industry and banking and exploited our raw material resources.

The scene began to change in the sixties, when the upcoming bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie of Bangladesh first articulated their demands, in particular the demand for autonomy. The rulers tried to brush them off by throwing them some crumbs, minor concessions that in no way ended discrimination against them.

After independence (1971), major organised industries like jute, textile and sugar, as well as other industries abandoned by Pakistani owners were nationalised. The state assumed control of foreign trade, banking and insurance. On the other hand, it encouraged the rise of a section of newly rich, mostly commission agents and middlemen operating between the state and the private sectors. The newly rich swelled the ranks of the bourgeois class that had taken shape at earlier stages and wielded considerable influence by the mid-seventies. The 1975 coup and the assassination of the President of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were followed by a wide denationalisation of industry, banking and other fields. It is still on. State patronisation of the domestic bourgeoisie is aimed at strengthening it.

But in spite of numerous attempts to stimulate bourgeois relations from above, capitalism is still weak in Bangladesh. Only five or six per cent of GDR comes from the industrial sector, which encompasses fairly large enterprises (employing 230 workers or more). The bourgeois class, mainly engaged in trade, is disinclined to invest in industry although it has been offered ample facilities for the purpose. Moreover, its members are patronised by the state machinery, with the emergence of bureaucratic capital as a result.

The development of bourgeois relations in breadth and depth is limited. Capitalism in our country is still weak and dependent. The paucity of resources and an extremely low purchasing capacity are further obstacles to rapid capitalist development.

With such an initial basis for capitalist development, it would be naive to expect any major advances in agriculture. The experience of many countries suggests that incentives for the growth of this sector come from the more developed capitalist structures of the non-agricultural sector. But in this case the government is bound to stumble at each step as it tries to pave the way for capitalism in agriculture. Objectively, this development as a whole is being held back by the character of production relations in agriculture, as we are going to show.

Archaic Forms of Exploitation

To begin with, we shall have to refute ideologues who still proceed from the assumption that the experience of evolution of agrarian relations dating from the epoch of formation of capitalist society can be repeated. Nor is Bangladesh among the few newly-free countries where agricultural capitalism developed at a fairly fast pace and was generally restricted to 'enclaves'.

This is not to say that no changes occurred in agriculture. Market relations in our country began to develop while it was still under British rule, and involved production for export. But while the worst forms of feudal exploitation (*zamindari*) were abolished in the middle of this century, remnants of the feudal system persist, primarily in the shape of sharecropping and money-lending.

We have very contradictory data on the extent of tenancy operations. Some government sources claim that less than one-fifth of the total land is under tenancy. Other sources set the size of such land at 24 per cent. In certain areas about one-third of the rented land is cultivated by tenant farmers.

Two main types of tenancy are found in Bangladesh today. These are sharecropping, a system under which the actual produce and in some cases certain inputs are shared by the landlord and tenant roughly on a 50 per cent basis, and fixed-rent tenancy, under which the tenant pays the landowner a fixed amount of rent in cash or in kind at the beginning of the season or after harvest, irrespective of output. The rural rich have a stake in preserving semi-feudal tenancy relations. They thrive on widespread unemployment, underemployment and the lack of alternative job opportunities outside agriculture. Again, many small tenants have excess family labour, and so the landowner finds it more profitable to rent out a part of his holding to someone with excess labour rather than to hire additional wage labour. In other words, tenancy relations tend to perpetuate patriarchal, feudal forms of exploitation.

The existence of sharecropping is also a cause of loss in production. Surveys of some areas have shown that the tenant farmer uses more inputs and produces more on his own land than on rented land.

Another form of feudal exploitation persisting in rural Bangladesh is money-lending. Poor farmers and sharecroppers have little access to institutional credit supplied by the government or cooperative banks. In fact, there is an inverse relationship between the size of a farm and the possibility of obtaining a loan, and this forces the farmer to rely on money-lenders who often charge an exorbitant rate of interest amounting to 100 per cent or more. Credit is also supplied on onerous terms by surplus farmers, traders and other wealthy villagers. Out of 326 loans granted in an area of the country, 40 per cent involved mortgage of land, 24 per cent was granted against obligatory sale of produce after harvest and 20 per cent, against obligatory supply of labour.¹

Often it is the landlord who supplies loans to tenants recoverable at the time of harvest with interest. Atiqur Rahman has found that in some areas of the Mymensingh and Comilla districts 46 per cent of tenants obtained loans from their landlords, and there were 66 per cent among tenants who borrowed from some source.² And the rich lend not only from their surplus but often take institutional credit.

The non-institutional credit market thus operates basically as a supplement to share tenancy. It diverts resources from productive channels, for the greater portion of such loans is used for consumption purposes by poor peasants in a lean period. Besides, money-lenders occasionally use institutional credit for extracting surplus from the actual producers.

The Mechanism of Stagnant Development

In analysing evolution processes in agriculture, one must take account of two peculiarities. These are, firstly, the generally stagnant and backward state of agriculture, and secondly, cultivation on small, parcelled-out lands. In this context it is important to ascertain how far the concentration of land, the employment of wage labour and production for the market are indicative of capitalist transformation.

Over the past three decades the production of rice, the basic food grain of the country, has been growing at the rate of 2.2 per cent a year of which 0.9 per cent came from acreage expansion and 1.3 per cent, from increased productivity of land. But as the population grew in the same period at the rate of 2.6 per cent, per capital production of food grains declined even after the abolition of British rule. Mahbub Hussain, a Bangladesh expert, notes that between 1964/65 and 1977/78 the growth rate of all crops averaged a mere 0.91 per cent.³ Given the present system of land tenure, there is little chance of increasing production even through greater use of intensive labour.

Indeed, while most farm holdings are already very small there is a secular trend to fragment them into still smaller plots. The latest agricultural census (1977) shows that even holdings under 0.5 acre (about 2,000 sq.m.) are divided into two or three segments. The larger the land, the more likely it is to be parcelled out among family members. The prevailing law of inheritance is one of the causes of such fragmentation, but this phenomenon must be viewed against the background of the overall state of agriculture in which feudal relations are still strong and cultivation is carried on by traditional methods.

On the other hand, there is a process of land concentration. According to a survey made in the late seventies, about 29 per cent of rural families owned no land other than the homestead; about half of the families owned up to 0.5 acre besides the homestead and could be considered nearly landless. At the other end 2.7 per cent of rural families owned 10 acres or more each and controlled nearly one-fourth of the

total land. Another category of big proprietors (8.5 per cent) owned more than 15 acres (nearly half of the cultivated land).

Inequality is also evident in the distribution of draught animals. The 1977 agricultural census set the proportion of farms owning work animals at 84 per cent. But this average does not give a proper picture, for many small farms own only one animal whereas two are the minimum needed for cultivation.

In addition to the extremely inequitable distribution of land, and hence inequality in property, there is the fact that big landowners use both tenant and wage labour. The labour market is supplied mainly by households owning less than two acres. They add up to 75 per cent of the total.⁴ The majority of wage earners are employed seasonally or as sharecroppers. The composition of the workforce is exemplified by the following table (per cent):

Area of Survey	Crop cultivation period	Family workers	Permanently hired workers	Generally hired workers
Mymensingh	1973/74	59.2	12.3	28.5
Dinajpur	1973/74	69.4	15.0	15.6
Comilla	1974/75	56.1	6.5	37.4
Barisal	1979/80	71.4	—	28.6
Dhaka	1978/79	56.7	—	43.3
Chittagong	1978/79	77.6	—	22.4

Sources: Mahbub Hussain, 'Farm Size, Tenancy and Land Productivity'; *Centre for Social Studies*, Report on Barisal Area III Project; A. R. Khan, *Employment, Income and Mobilisation of Local Resources: A Study of Two Bangladesh Villages*.

It will be seen that the proportion of permanently employed rural proletarians is very small and that family workers predominate. This is due to the prevalence of diverse types of share tenancy. Wage labour is used mainly on large farms.

The question arises: How is the surplus created by tenants and agricultural workers used in view of the fact that households owning less than five acres have no investible surplus? It is only families owning 7.5 acres or more that have it.

Micro-studies and general observations invite the conclusion that the rent received from tenants constitutes an important source of surplus for big landowners. These utilise most of the rent for purchasing land, providing new loans to poor farmers, building homes and holding social ceremonies. A much smaller part of the rent is capitalised and returns to agriculture in the form of new investments. We do not believe that this utilisation of surplus can be seen, any more than the concentration of landed property noted earlier or the growing incomes of surplus farmers, as indicators of proportionate growth of productive capital in agriculture. On the contrary, the prevailing system helps the rural rich extract surplus from poor farmers in the form of rent a large portion of which they use for financing the deficit of the poor and thereby creating conditions for further exploitation.

The proportion of cultivators who have no surplus to sell on the market is estimated to vary between five and 20 per cent. But according to some Bangladesh economists, some 30 or 40 per cent of the paddy harvest is sold on the market. Mention is made of even 50 per cent.

It should be remembered, however, that in many cases there is a separation of the producer from the seller. Because of the prevalence of semi-feudal sharecropping, the connecting link between the tenant and the market is the middleman. Besides, wage labour is partly paid in kind. To this end use is made of part of the surplus produced by the tenant and alienated by the landowner in the form of rent and

capable of becoming a commodity on the market. Thus the amount that is sold is smaller than may seem at first sight.

Now for a summary. We have established that, firstly, capitalist production relations are not yet the main form in Bangladesh agriculture and are developing slowly. There is a preponderance of small farms and feudal structures and relations. The low level of capitalist development in the economy as a whole is a big hurdle to their abolition. Secondly, while polarisation and concentration in land holding have been going on, this is not to say that the emerging large holdings are capitalist. Thirdly, stagnation is a feature of our agriculture. There is also the almost complete lack of up-to-date machinery. The use of intensive methods is not effective enough as yet.

Social Effects of the 'Green Revolution'

Ever since the mid-sixties, steps have been taken in Bangladesh to accomplish a 'green revolution', that is, to proceed to the utilisation of highly productive seed, irrigation and fertiliser. Intensive methods were introduced with state support. True, advocates of agrarian capitalism were occasionally disillusioned. Experience showed that while small and medium tenants readily use fertiliser, large farms occasionally prefer old methods because they have no incentive to use new ones.

Irrigation, the kingpin of the technology of the 'green revolution', is a different matter. Big farmers are plainly in the lead in this respect. With government or cooperative credits they have purchased pumps and other equipment. Where artificial irrigation is used the gap between small and large farms has widened more than three times over. In cooperatives set up for the purchase of irrigation facilities, the rural rich hold a dominant position.

The above phenomena are a logical product of the orientation chosen by the government from the outset. The main thrust of the 'green revolution' was to create a class of surplus farmers who would dominate rural life and serve as the mainstay of the ruling classes in the countryside. Even since independence, particularly since the mid-seventies, the government's agricultural policy has catered to surplus farmers. This is essentially the same class policy as is being pursued in industry and other economic fields. In these spheres too, the government offers various incentives to further the growth of a domestic capitalist class.

Of late the government has at the instance of the World Bank taken steps to promote the growth of surplus farmers in a more direct way. The state now shows greater vigour in selling irrigation equipment on easy terms to private users owning 10 acres or more. It calculates that increased productivity on their farms will help in gradually eliminating archaic forms of tenancy, foster their development on capitalist lines and encourage wide use of wage labour. What the effect of this policy will be in practice is difficult to say at the moment. But already landowners have taken to lending water. This means reproducing another form of the traditional debt bondage on a 'modern' basis. Debtors are hit hardest of all in periods of drought.

Under the pressure of the World Bank the government has handed over to the private sector the distribution of chemical fertilisers and insecticides supplied by multinational corporations like Ciba-Geigy. This provides multinationals with a further opportunity to tighten control over our agriculture with the backing of domestic fertiliser dealers, to say nothing of the fact that this measure is strengthening the position of the rich with whom the dealers are often linked. Also at the insistence of the World Bank, subsidies for the purchase of fertiliser and irrigation facilities have been cut, a measure which affects primarily poor farmers. Such are the inexorable laws of capitalist economic management. The policy of privatising inputs is being vigorously pursued.

From the foregoing it is clear that government policy has undergone no fundamental change throughout the past period (except the brief period of three

years after independence when possibilities of a different policy emerged but failed to crystallise due to contradictions inherent in the situation). The result of the chosen socio-economic orientation is that polarisation between rich and poor has increased and the positions of the rural rich have been strengthened. The category of rural rich comprises the landlords and surplus farmers as well as money-lenders and businessmen controlling the produce market at local and higher levels. Often one and the same family or even person represents several forms of exploitation. This is generally typical of landlords, surplus farmers and money-lenders.

False 'Models'

The agricultural development model before the present policy farmers in Bangladesh is the experience of South Korea, Taiwan and partly the Philippines. But they ignore the fundamental difference in conditions, which in our case are comparable to those obtaining in many Afro-Asian countries. Also ignored is the fact that the massive financial and other aid rendered to South Korea and Taiwan by Washington is aimed above all else at keeping them as US neocolonies. In other words, priority is given to geopolitical considerations, which dominate all others, including those relating to the abolition of some of the more objectionable conservative structures in these countries' agriculture. Nor are accumulation rates there comparable to those prevailing in Bangladesh.

Taking a broader view of the problem outside the framework of a bourgeois technocratic approach and looking critically into the much-advertised 'model' of growth in South Korea and Taiwan, we realise that their crisis-stricken economy, their lopsided and dependent development, the ruthless exploitation of their toiling peasantry and working class, and last but not least, the anti-popular, repressive nature of their pro-US puppet dictatorships are certainly no model worth emulating. Such a model cannot bear the fruit that today's policy-makers expect.

The progressive and patriotic forces of Bangladesh are aware that in our conditions anaemic capitalist development means staying dependent. A weak bourgeoisie, far from taking steps for development independent of imperialist domination, is opening the country wide to multinationals and helping strengthen reactionary compradore, bureaucratic capital.

In the field of agriculture this bourgeoisie is incapable of reforms making for the rapid growth of capitalist relations. It fears that such reforms may induce the poor and landless to be more active, that it will be impossible to contain the oppressed and the whole situation may become difficult for it. So the ruling classes prefer to follow a status quo policy or to introduce reforms within very narrow limits. The overall result is the persistence of remnants of feudal relations, economic backwardness, and stagnant capitalist development.

In conclusion we should like to stress that the attempt to develop capitalism in agriculture has failed to solve the problems of the latter, not to speak of the social problems of the peasantry. Hence a low rate of accumulation, repercussions of the crisis of the imperialist economy, deteriorating terms of trade, increasing neocolonial exploitation, the prevalence of remnants of feudalism, and the preservation of the reactionary nature of the dominant exploiting classes described above, which are closely linked with the bureaucracy and the rulers and stand in the way of all reform. All these facts show that capitalism cannot remedy the situation in agriculture.

It is also utopian to pin hopes of the 'miraculous' recipes of repeating the 'successful' capitalist growth model invented by the neocolonialists for oppressed peoples. Only a policy wedded to a radical restructuring of society, a break with dependence on imperialism, a democratic agrarian reform providing for the distribution of land and the organisation of state-backed cooperative farming, a break-up of the present power structure in the rural economy and the creation of a new one backed by the landless and toiling peasantry can lead the country out of the present impasse. In

short, it is only non-capitalist development oriented towards socialism that can solve the problems of present-day Bangladesh agriculture.

¹ See *Barisal Study*, 1980.

² See Atiqur Rahman, 'Usury Capital and Credit Relations in Bangladesh Agriculture: Some Implications for Capital Formation and Capitalistic Growth', in *The Bangladesh Development Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1979.

³ See Mahbub Hussain, 'Food Grain Production in Bangladesh: Performance, Potential and Constraints', in *The Bangladesh Development Studies*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1980.

⁴ Mahbub Hussain, 'Farm Size, Tenancy and Land Productivity', in *The Bangladesh Development Studies*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1977.

The Communist Alternative

Noé Gertel – Member of the National Commission for the Legalisation of the Brazilian Communist Party

BRAZIL is now going through a difficult period of a steadily widening struggle for the restoration of democracy. In this situation the political resolution of the National Meeting of Communists, held in January 1984, is the action programme for the Marxists-Leninists.

This important document, published under a separate cover, is entitled 'A Democratic Alternative to the Brazilian Crisis'.¹ It is the product of a broad discussion and polemic that was conducted since May 1981, when the theses for a debate of the question of the legalisation of the Brazilian Communist Party were published. In fact, it represents the collective view of tens of thousands of patriots, who identify themselves with the revolutionary and democratic traditions dating back to March 25, 1922.²

In the foreword, Giocondo Dias, leader of the Brazilian Communists, notes: "We do not regard the 'Democratic Alternative' complete and perfect. That is not the case at all. It is no more than a first attempt to draw upon critical thought (academic and non-academic) with the purpose of understanding the deep-going changes that have taken place during the past twenty years and draw close to the nation's rich and diversified reality. Only the basic lines which we, the Communists, regard as definitive have been analysed."³

One of the main conclusions in this document is that present-day realities and historical experience indicate that the road to ending the existing regime can be opened only by the struggle of the people themselves. This struggle is now developing in a favourable situation and is characterised by a steady numerical growth of the social and political forces demanding full democratisation.

In our society changes are linked intimately to the processes taking place on the international scene. Events such as, for instance, the triumph of the revolutions in the countries of Indochina generate sanguine hopes and open up new prospects for the working people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, erode the USA's predominant positions in the capitalist world, and further debilitate imperialism. The anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchal, and anti-monopoly tendencies relying on broad democratic movements are growing stronger also on our continent, which is steadily becoming an active zone of confrontation between the forces of social progress and reaction. The Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua, which has marked its fifth

anniversary, is being consolidated. The people's war is widening in El Salvador against the puppet regime propped up by US bayonets.

The dictatorships in South Cone countries are having to surrender their positions under the impact of these processes and as a result of the exacerbation of domestic contradictions. Considerable headway has been made by democratic forces in Bolivia and Argentina. There is inexorably growing resistance by the working people to the reactionary regimes in Uruguay and Chile.

Many of the Latin American nations are fighting for a new international economic order, against imperialism's neo-colonialist policies. Statements critical of the USA are heard more and more often from Latin American capitals. Washington's policies, aimed at tightening the bondage of the countries of the region, are being openly denounced by spokesmen of some governments (including Brazil) and of business and financial circles. The USA's Latin American policy is in deep crisis, while the shows of strength, such as the treacherous invasion of Grenada and the aggression against Nicaragua, are only a reflection of that policy's hollowness.

The Reagan Administration's attempt to contain the revolutionary movement, block the aspirations of the developing nations, put an end to detente, and enter into open confrontation with the socialist world are a deadly threat to the human race. That is why the problem of war and peace has now become central for the peoples of the world.

A further signal of alarm for all democrats and anti-imperialists was the statement of May 9, 1984, in which the master of the White House brazenly recounted the USA's hegemonistic ambitions in Latin America and reiterated that the USA was prepared to use military force to crush liberation movements. In this situation we feel that it is our sacred duty to redouble our efforts to mobilise large sections of public opinion in order to cut short the aggressive designs of North American imperialism.⁴

The 'Democratic Alternative' of the Brazilian Communists offers a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present socio-economic crisis.

The document says that this is a crisis which is growing more and more all-embracing and complex as a result of a combination of structural factors: mounting exploitation of the working people, dependence, extreme concentration of incomes and property, monopolisation of production, integration of the latifundia in the capitalist system, uneven regional development, and the financial and economic policies of a government subservient to the interests of big capital.

A few statistics will suffice to characterise the situation. Brazil with its 120 million people now has a external debt of 100 billion dollars. This is a dismal record. The GNP has been diminishing for several years running. In 1983 it dropped by another 5 per cent.⁵ That same year the inflation rate was 212 per cent.⁶ The cruzeiro is steadily depreciating. Of the nation's production capacities 30 per cent are idle. Investments in industry, which have been cut back drastically since the mid-1970s, have now ended almost altogether. The number of small, middle, and even large private businesses going bankrupt is growing.

Looking for a way out of the crisis, the government appealed for aid to the International Monetary Fund. But the financial-economic measures put into effect on its recommendation since the close of 1980 have only aggravated the situation, irrevocably sending the Brazilian economy into decline and ultimately holding out the threat of national disaster. The present regime is shifting most of the burden of the crisis to the working people. Its policies are undercutting national ventures (public and private), favouring the accumulation of parasitical incomes, and promoting the growth of the profits of export monopolies and of the holders of large blocks of shares. All this is reducing the domestic demand and thus fostering the transfer of incomes abroad. In the long run the nation's sovereignty suffers and it becomes more dependent upon foreign capital.

The crisis is dramatically affecting the social sphere, too. The changes that have

taken place in society's structure over the past 20 years have only made more glaring the contrasts between a small privileged group and the huge mass of working people.

Unemployment has reached unprecedented proportions. The number of jobless totalled 10,500,000 in 1983.⁷ Living standards are falling steeply in towns and rural communities—food, housing, education, medical services, and so on present harassing problems.

The military dictatorship set up in April 1964 is cracking. The ruling classes can no longer govern in the old way, by means of coercion and repression, while the people no longer wish to live in the old way. Under pressure from the progressive forces, the government has had to make concessions, to move in the direction of partial liberalisation. But the ruling class continues to go to all lengths to retain the levers of state power and resist the genuine democratisation demanded by the overwhelming majority of the nation.

How do the Communists, in their 'Democratic Alternative', propose to resolve the deep structural crisis?

The only solution is to radically restructure the socio-political system. It is becoming increasingly clearer that capitalism cannot suggest a solution to such cardinal problems as ensuring peace, freedom, the right to work, and a life of dignity. Everywhere people are demanding economic planning, democracy, national autonomy, and a new international economic order.

The struggle for socialism is now no longer the cause solely of the working class and the Communists. Growing numbers of working people, many parties, and various political and social movements see socialism as their goal. In Brazil this struggle is acquiring the concrete form of actions to restore democracy, end the country's dependence on imperialism, North American imperialism in the first place, and break the power of the monopolies and landowners. Precisely they, as the chief exploiters and oppressors not only of the people but also of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, are preventing the working people from becoming the makers of the process of national rejuvenation and liberation. The present crisis can be surmounted provided short work is made of the alliance of the external and domestic reactionary forces, who are the principal obstacle to progress. This reactionary coalition must be smashed and the way paved to anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, and anti-landowner economic, social, and political changes.

Such is the democratic national way out of the crisis suggested by the Brazilian Communists, a way out that will open the road to socialism. To put it into effect there must be a democratic regime of masses that would guarantee to citizens the opportunity of expressing their views and aspirations through a network of grassroots organisations—trade unions, workers' commissions, associations, etc., and also political and public institutions, parties and groups, that could resolve their specific problems and also major national problems such as, for example, the administration of society and supervision of the work of the state apparatus. The struggle for a state capable of uprooting the traditions of authoritarians, elitism, and social injustice is the basic condition for drawing millions of working people into the revolutionary process. The need for winning and extending political democracy stems from the very nature of the immediate and end goals of the working class.

However, the movement for true popular rule cannot develop and be successful without the active and conscious participation of the people, without the creation of a broad anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, anti-landowner, democratic, national bloc, the axis of which must consist of the working class. The Brazilian Communists consider that it is the task of the proletariat to ensure solid unity among all the forces opposed to US imperialism and its local servitors. The utmost use must be made of inter-imperialist rivalry and of the contradictions among the ruling classes, and it is vital to take into account the interests of those sections of the bourgeoisie that champion the very idea of a democratic regime, and to settle appropriately

disagreements and divergences between members of the bloc. Further, it is important that the working class should preserve its identity, its political, ideological, and organisational independence, which is the guarantee of the cohesion and consistency of this coalition. We re-emphasise that only the hegemony of the proletariat will make the transition to socialism possible, and regard it as necessary at all levels and in all directions of the struggle, permeating and embracing society's social structure, and inseparable from the leading and guiding role of the communist party. Hence, alongside the unification of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard is the cardinal condition for rallying patriotic, national forces around the working class.

The democratic alternative provides for political, economic, and social initiatives that can be put into effect within the new judicial and constitutional order. We believe that the most effective step in this direction would be a national constituent assembly elected as a result of a free expression of will. This assembly, which would be sovereign in its decisions, would draw up a Constitution that would reflect present-day social reality and open the road for pressing socio-economic reforms.

At the same time, without losing sight of the long-term prospect, the Brazilian Communists suggest a wide-ranging programme of the following immediate steps.

In the political sphere. As preliminary measures aimed at reshaping the realities of our society, in which the masses are denied the possibility of taking part in decision-making, it is necessary: to abolish anti-democratic laws, the national security law in the first place, and replace them with new laws based on the principles of democracy and defence of the nation's sovereignty; recognise full freedom of party and political organisation of all schools of thought, as well as freedom of religious worship, artistic work, scientific research, information, the press, and pedagogical activity; guarantee human rights, especially to the unpropertied sections of the population, orphans, and Indians; guarantee the right to strike and collective bargaining between wage-workers and employers, political pluralism, the unhindered activity and autonomy of trade unions, and the right of working people to organise at the place of work and set up a national trade union federation; abolish the judicial inequality of women and all forms of racial and ethnic discrimination. Further, we insist that all key executive and legislative posts should be filled by election by direct, secret, and universal ballot (that this right should be extended to soldiers and illiterate people).

In the economic field. The present 'economic model' must be renounced as speedily as possible and, in the interests of the nation, some anti-monopoly measures must be urgently put into effect. The bulk of the investments (as well as their stimulation by the state) must be channelled into those areas of economic activity that help to enlarge the domestic market and create jobs. Assistance should be extended only to national and not multinational ventures. There must be a basic overhaul of tax policy with the aim of increasing the deductions from profit on capital.

A solution must be found for the extremely acute problem of the foreign debt, the reasons for which lie in the social irresponsibility of those who now determine the regime's economic policy, and also in the brigand character of the centralised transactions of international finance capital. The terms of the external debt must be reconsidered: a moratorium should be put on the repayment of the debt and on the payment of interest rates as long as the crisis persists; debts should be rescheduled; interest rates must be fixed and freed from speculative operations tending to raise them.

All this must be carried out with account of national interests and in the context of the struggle for a new economic order. Brazil is capable of carrying out its commitments. Also, we believe that these objectives will be real only when Brazil has a government enjoying broad support, prestige, and strength, and able to stand up to the machinations of imperialism's financial system, in other words, when it has a government that expresses the will of the majority of the people.

In the social sphere. Social measures can be effective only if the people themselves

participate in charting and carrying them out. It is only the organised participation of different strata of the population in all aspects of socio-political activity that will guarantee society the genuine pluralism vital for stable and progressive democracy. Proceeding from these prospects, we are proposing a series of steps envisaging a revision of wages in accordance with the actual rise of the cost of living and of labour productivity; a reorganisation of the system of social insurance and the enlistment of the people into administering this system through the trade unions; the establishment of control over prices, chiefly on food, rents, medicines, and transport.

In the field of foreign policy the proposals of the Communists boil down chiefly to giving Brazil a more active and independent role in the world. This means making a tangible contribution to the security of nations and to disarmament, supporting constructive initiatives aimed at preserving and consolidating world peace, consistently urging the establishment of a new international economic order, and promoting diplomatic, commercial, and cultural relations with all countries. Brazil's foreign policy should be guided by the principles of non-alignment, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, condemnation of all destabilising and subversive actions, and the settlement of outstanding issues by negotiation. This is a policy with a clearly pronounced anti-colonialist and anti-racist accent.

The Communists are well aware that the development of the revolutionary process depends on the preservation of peace in the world. In keeping with the basic interests of the working class we are fighting for universal peace and democracy, which is a vital condition creating, alongside other aspects of our activities, the possibility for a transition to radical changes by non-violent means.

A truly democratic system in Brazil is inconceivable without the legislative recognition of the right of the Communists to have their own organisation on the basis of equality and equal responsibility with all other parties.

The road traversed by the Communists over the past few years is evidence of their viability, maturity, and deep roots in society. This is due to the progress that has been made in studying Marxist-Leninist theory and in researching Brazilian realities, and to the ability to apply Leninist principles and methods of political work creatively, with account of our own traditions. These were perceptibly enriched after the debates of 1956-1957, the result of which was the Declaration approved in March 1958. Let us recall that it noted that the conscious and organised struggle of the masses was the main motive force of the Brazilian revolution at all its stages, stressed the great significance of democracy as the foundation of the party's policies, and spelled out the general line in keeping with national conditions and the changes that had taken place. An emphatic dissociation from putchist and sectarian views helped to combat dogmatism.

On the whole, the balance sheet of Communist participation in the social and political battles in Brazil is favourable despite the enormous difficulties that invariably stood in our way. This was not an easy, setback-free account. During the many years of the BCP's existence we have known shortcomings and twists. But a quality of the Marxists-Leninists is that they are able to check their activity against social practice and weed out their weaknesses.

One of the central tasks of the Communists today is to secure the party's legislation. There is no doubt that this will be achieved as a result of the many-sided energetic activity conducted jointly with the masses, with the working class in the first place.

In the 'Democratic Alternative' the Brazilian Marxists-Leninists reaffirm their fidelity to the ideals of the working class, to the cause of socialism, national independence, democracy, and world peace. While tangibly and actively participating in the nation's life, they insist on the Brazilian Communist Party being accorded all legitimate rights. This is an indispensable condition for the establishment

of a truly democratic state that would reject imperialist dictation and bring its people freedom, a dignified life, and prosperity.

¹ *Uma Alternativa Democrática Para a Crise Brasileira*, Sao Paulo, 1984.

² The day on which the Brazilian Communist Party was founded.—Ed.

³ *Uma Alternativa Democrática Para a Crise Brasileira*, pp. 12-13.

⁴ The stand of the Brazilian Communists on these problems is considered in some detail in: Giocondo Dias,

“ ‘Big Stick’ Policy Doomed”. *WMR*, No. 2, 1983.—Ed.

⁵ *Uma Alternativa Democrática Para a Crise Brasileira*, p. 144.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁷ *Ibid.*

In the Face of Aggression Lebanon's Communist Press in the Fight Against the Israeli-US-NATO Invaders

Rafic Samhoun — CC Political Bureau
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WILD psychological warfare against our country's national liberation movement is being carried on to back the aggressive policy of the United States and its satraps in the Middle East, with the Israeli and then also the direct US-NATO intervention in Lebanon being one of its most blatant manifestations. Imperialist-zionist propaganda has led many people in Lebanon itself and in the world beyond to take a false view of the events in the region—temporarily, at any rate.

Diverse methods are being used for that purpose.

First, there are the thoroughly-orchestrated statements by the political and military leaders of Lebanon's right-wing forces and by Israeli and US leaders. There was a round-the-clock flood of such 'official' reports designed to mislead the Lebanese.

Here is an example. Long before Tel-Aviv's large-scale attack on our country in June 1982, spokesmen for the zionist state's rulers repeatedly made public claims that something like a third, if not a half, of Lebanon's population regarded Israel as their saviour and were prepared to 'welcome' the entry of its troops. The Western mass media were quick to pick up this blatant lie, which they spread about for months before the Israeli aggression. Tel Aviv's invention was also supported by the regime then in power in Beirut, whose mass media sought to inflame a hostile attitude toward Syria, towards the Palestinians and towards the Arab national liberation movement.

Second, there was the fanning of denominational and regional contradictions, of strife between the communities and of isolationist tendencies. Indicatively, this campaign to build up internal conflicts in Lebanon peaked just before the start of the Israeli aggression.

Third, there was much praise for a Lebanon dismembered on denominational and communal lines which was to serve as the 'free world's dagger' at the throat of the progressive forces in the region and of the whole Arab nation. Hordes of Christian 'missionaries', historians and right-wing politologists were recruited to advertise the plan. Moreover, after the 1975-1976 civil war, the Lebanese ultra-rightists set up a 'Lebanese League' to popularise the project in other states. It is hardly a coincidence

that in structure, forms and techniques it is reminiscent of the World Zionist Organisation.

Fourth, numerous local and foreign information centres were switched on to spread subversive propaganda and slanderous inventions. Among them were, for instance, the Phalangist 'Voice of Lebanon' and 'Voice of Free Lebanon' radio stations, the Israel radio, Radio Monte Carlo (whose correspondent in Beirut was in close touch with the command of the right-wing Christian armed contingents) and the radio station of the separatists operating in the south.

Fifth, the differences and difficulties which arose within the ranks of the fighters against the plans of Israel and its allies were used swiftly and for all they were worth; subversive actions by military and propaganda services aimed to destabilise the situation and stoke up local conflicts in the areas controlled by the national-patriotic forces were co-ordinated. It was claimed that the Lebanese problem could not be solved without the help of foreign, i.e., Israeli troops, which would hopefully put an end to the violence and bloodshed.

Consequently, at the various stages of developments in Lebanon, the national-patriotic forces' armed and political struggle against the Israeli aggressors, who had the support of world imperialism, was closely meshed with the struggle in the sphere of information. The national-patriotic organisations were faced with the task of constantly and swiftly exposing and frustrating the numerous enemy attempts to spread a feeling of despair and hopelessness among the Lebanese, to scare them and to force them to flee from blockaded Beirut, the south of the country and other occupied areas. The slander and rumours being disseminated for the purpose of causing a panic, weakening the will to struggle among those who opposed the occupation, and getting the people to believe that resistance to Israel and its allies was tantamount to suicide had to be refuted. Success here largely depended on skilled, well-organised and purposeful counter-propaganda.

Let us see how this task was tackled within the framework of the sharp ideological contest in the course of which the Communists and their allies had to beat back the enemy onslaught behind a powerful mass-media barrage.

It was clear to the Lebanese Communists from the very outset that the United States was playing a double game: on the one hand, Washington sought to arrogate to itself the exclusive right to 'settle' the crisis in Lebanon and the Middle East generally under the pretext of its 'concern' to ensure 'peace and stability' in the region; on the other it wanted to speed up the realisation of the accords President Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Begin had reached on establishing joint control over Lebanon to turn it into a bridgehead for striking out at various contingents of the Arab national liberation movement.

Prominent leaders of the Communist Party, our country's patriotic organisations and progressive journalists presented arguments on the pages of the communist and other patriotic periodicals to show that the US plan for a 'settlement' of the Lebanese crisis and the Middle East problem as a whole posed a grave danger to peace, and that it was a bad mistake to consign the future of the Middle East to those who had staged the Camp David deal and turned a number of countries in the region into a bridgehead for the imperialist rapid deployment force and a launching pad for aggression against the freedom-loving Arab states.

Shortly before Israel's attack, the LCP organ *Al-Nida* carried several documents of our party's leadership. On the strength of an in-depth analysis of the shaping situation, they warned of the imminent tragedy. The reactionary forces, said an LCP CC statement, would soon call on Tel Aviv for help, and this would be followed by a massive Israeli invasion. The invaders would drive all the way to Beirut and install their own man in the post of president of the republic. This, the Communists warned, would bring about a sharp change in the situation and ultimately the signing of a political and military accord between Israel and Lebanon, with all the dangerous

consequences that this entails for Syria, the Arab people of Palestine and other peoples of the Middle East.

The communist and national-patriotic press tirelessly exposed the plan which Washington's special envoy Philip Habib tried, by hook or by crook, to impose on our peoples. As he shuttled between Beirut and Tel Aviv, he strove to create the illusion of 'mutual understanding', 'affection' and 'reconciliation' between the Arab states and Israel, and called on the Lebanese and all other Arabs to put their trust in the Reagan Administration. Let us note that in Beirut he held forth on 'peace', and in Tel Aviv engaged in intensive military consultations and whipped up the aggressors.

The Communists' apprehensions proved to be well-founded. On June 6, 1982, Tel Aviv launched an operation cynically code-named 'Peace for Galilee'. With the support of its air force, its armoured columns invaded Lebanon. Reporting the invasion, the next-morning's *Al-Nida* frontpaged the following headline: 'Habib Mission Result: Israeli Intervention'. It also carried the earliest reports of the fighting under the caption: 'Heroic Resistance to the US-Israeli Aggression'.

An extremely difficult task faced our party and the other patriotic forces. In the highly tense conditions of the aggression, which were compounded by attacks from internal reaction, it was necessary to mobilise the people to resist the enemy and to use every opportunity to inform world opinion about the new crime committed by imperialism and zionism.

Let us note that Israel's government and military command made no effort at all to conceal the violence and havoc wreaked by Israeli troops on our soil. On the contrary, they made available to their own and foreign services the most extensive data in an effort to emphasise the 'scope of the operation' and to present it as 'the final blow' that would allegedly enable the zionists to realise their great dream of taking over the territory of Lebanon, whose rivers and mountains are mentioned in the Judaic holy writ.

However, as far as the invaders were concerned, this psychological dream backfired. The blow-by-blow accounts of the military operations carried on by the aggressors with the use of the most modern US aircraft against a small people, the pictures of tanks crushing everything in their way, the ruins of homes and the devastated fields and orchards aroused indignation and revulsion all over the world.

The paradox was that the zionist and pro-zionist Western mass media unwittingly eased the Lebanese patriotic forces' task of telling the peoples about the savage intervention and convincing them that what was going on was a real war.

The patriotic mass media were able to concentrate on the other main lines. First, to explain that the beating back of the aggression directed not only against the Palestinian Resistance Movement, the Lebanese national-patriotic forces and the Syrian troops stationed in Lebanon, but also against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples as a whole was their common concern. Second, to show that the invasion was a component part of the US-Israeli plan, which had produced the Lebanon problem, and which was fraught with tremendous danger for the Arabs and for world peace, so that not only those who were immediately affected by that danger but also all the other peace-loving peoples should do their utmost to thwart the criminal designs of imperialism and zionism. Third, to mobilise the people in defence of their country and to give them the confidence that they could defeat the invaders.

As the enemy occupied more territory, the national-patriotic organisations' mass media were faced with ever more difficult tasks. The interruptions in the telephone and telegraph communications and the supply of electric power, the shortages of newsprint, means of transportation and fuel and other technical snags which arose during the siege of Beirut forced several printing works to close down. So the impossible had to be done, and in that trying period our party sent its best and most experienced men to work on the newspapers, journals and radio. Some members of the LCP CC led by a Political Bureau member were on duty in the editorial offices

round the clock to organise and coordinate their activity. The revolutionary will proved to be stronger than the circumstances.

Feats of valour were displayed not only on the field of battle against an enemy armed to the teeth. They were also performed by the fighters of the ideological front. Under the shelling, bombing and missile fire, they risked their lives to do their duty as patriotic journalists. Even when the Israeli tanks broke through to the suburbs of Beirut and blocked its Western parts, reports of the fighting in the occupied areas continued to come in. They told of the courage of those who were defending the Lebanese capital and who continued the struggle in the enemy rear. Much space on the pages of the progressive press was given to letters from fighters in the frontlines written during lulls in the fighting, and their simple words, coming from their very hearts, testified to their overwhelming desire to win at any price.

It is indicative that Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi writers, poets, artists and correspondents worked shoulder to shoulder with the Lebanese journalists, and they were seen in the trenches, on the firing positions and among the smoking ruins in the fiercely shelled districts where death lurked on every hand.

Credit is also due to the socialist countries' correspondents of newspapers, news agencies, radio and television. With their dedication and high sense of internationalist responsibility, they did much to report the truth of the events on Lebanese soil as fully and swiftly as possible. Their interviews were organised in the most diverse spots so as to prevent the Israeli agents from getting wind of them.

Here is a fact which indicates the general surge of patriotism in the republic. Even members of the press who did not dare openly voice their sympathies for the Left in the 'ordinary' periods of the Lebanese crisis, now hastened to offer their services in an effort to mobilise the people: they made and put up placards and streamers in the streets, turned out leaflets and shot documentary films of the Lebanese struggle.

It is impossible to give a full depiction of the arduous conditions in which the *Al-Nida* staff had to work in Beirut. The half-ruined city, the population suffering from hunger and disease, the streets blocked with debris, waste and trash, together with the constant bombings and incessant shooting by Phalangist snipers were all enough reason to cause despair and hopelessness. Many journalists lost hearth and home, and others sent members of their families, along secret routes, away from the diseased city so as to dedicate themselves entirely to their journalistic work. In spite of everything, the publication of *Al-Nida* continued. The Israeli press repeatedly carried reports that *Al-Nida* had been closed down, but that was only wishful thinking. Throughout the whole period the newspaper failed to appear only on one occasion, when the Phalangists arrested the entire staff, but our men were released the following day under public pressure, and within twenty-four hours the newspaper was once again addressing itself to the people.

Al-Nida readers were hardly aware of the heavy price that had to be paid to print every item on its pages, and how much courage it took its correspondents to get in every report or photograph from the south or from the suburbs of Beirut. They spent hours in the trenches of the Khaldia Triangle on the outskirts of the city, which front on the sea, during the fierce fighting against the Israeli tanks and the beating back of attacks by naval patrol boats and air raids. They wended their way back to the editorial offices to type out their reports for the coming issue.

Dr. Hussein Mroueh was a pillar of courage for all the patriotic journalists to emulate. Communist, well-known writer and scholar who has done much in educating Lebanese and Arab intellectuals, he daily made his way to the frontlines, despite his old age, to put heart into the fighters and address their meetings held in the trenches to the whine of Israeli pirate jets and the roar of exploding bombs. *Al-Nida* carried Dr. Mroueh's daily column in which he gave his impressions of the fighting.

Al-Nida did not confine itself to carrying military reports. An aide of the party, and a true friend and tutor of its readers, it told the Lebanese of the true state of affairs

and spoke of the problems facing our tormented homeland. It also gave the inhabitants practical advice. One of its issues carried a report about a man who used makeshift devices to keep himself supplied with water and electricity. Another report described the joint efforts of the inhabitants of one quarter who got hold of a pump, installed it on a tank-truck and kept it moving from house to house to supply water even to the upper floors. These may seem like trifles, but in those conditions they helped the population to remain steadfast.

Many items told of those who daily gave succour and support to the wounded and the sick, rescued people buried in the ruins, protected children during the shellings, and mounted duty at the civil defence posts set up by the national-patriotic forces. When a house was wrecked or set on fire in a bombing raid, dozens of young men and women, working as volunteers in the rescue service, at once rushed in to put out the flames and take away those who were still alive. That was also reported in the paper.

One could safely say that in the quarter-century of *Al-Nida's* existence its best items were produced in this period of fiery popular war against the invaders, and many of its reports and sketches about life in besieged Beirut had the impact of journalism of the highest standard.

Progressive Lebanese journalists, who shared the people's struggle and suffering, themselves suffered heavy losses. We pay homage to the memory of Jihad Rizk, a department head at *Al-Nida*. He was not far from the editorial offices, when he saw a hand-granade hurled by an enemy agent, and he covered it up with his own body to save the lives of those around him. We shall never forget Comrade Kassem, who fell in action while defending the editorial offices. We shall always remember Bahij Joumaa, a volunteer circulator of the newspaper, who was killed by a hired assassin.

When considering the activity of the Lebanese communist press, it is important to emphasise that, following the sharp drop in the publication of periodicals in the country, it provided a national rostrum for patriotically-minded writers and poets, not all of whom fully shared the political line of our press. But the common struggle in defence of our country and the interests of the dispossessed and downtrodden united writers and poets with the Communists and led to the establishment of strong creative bonds between them.

It was no accident at all that Lebanese and Palestinian writers, musicians and journalists were kept together with workers and peasants in the Ansar concentration camp, which the Israelis set up in the south of Lebanon. In November 1983, following the ceaseless uprisings by the prisoners, the growth of resistance in the occupied areas and the protest campaigns mounted throughout the world against the crimes of zionism, Tel Aviv was forced to release the inmates of Ansar.

The aggressors' invasion of Beirut, which led to the massacre of innocent civilians in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila, the occupation of the capital by Israeli and 'multinational' contingents, and the pullout of the armed units of the Palestine Resistance Movement, dealt a heavy blow at the national-patriotic forces.

On May 17 of last year, Washington and Tel Aviv exchanged joyous messages over the signing of the Lebanese-Israeli 'peace accord'. At the time, the ruling circles of the United States and Israel seemed to think that they had managed to breach the Arab ranks yet once again and to add another link to the Camp David chain. But the US-Israeli-Phalangist bloc had been too hasty in celebrating its triumph. It was up to the Lebanese resistance to have the last say. The undermining of all the foundations of life on the territories occupied by the Zionist militarists, the intense fanning of religious and communal conflicts, the incarceration of our young people in concentration camps with the prospect of torture and death, and the subordination of the country's politics and economics to Tel Aviv's interests, *Al-Nida* wrote soon after the conclusion of the accord, that kind of 'normalisation' of relations with the expansionist racist state is being resolutely rejected by the Lebanese people.

Clippings from *Al-Nida*, leaflets and placards with the call 'To Arms!' were passed

on from hand to hand in the mountain areas, in the Bekaa Valley and in the war-torn towns and villages of the south. The Lebanese responded with a powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement. A skilled combination of active military operations and a wide mobilisation-and-explanation campaign became a crucial factor behind the success of the national-patriotic forces.

Among the main events in Lebanon in the first half of this year are the defeat of the Israeli interventionists and the establishment of control by the resistance over the areas occupied by them from the start of the aggression, the courage of the fighters in beating back attacks by the navy and air force of the United States and France, the February popular uprising in west Beirut, the hasty evacuation of the US marines to their warships, the withdrawal of the troops of the other NATO powers ('multinational force'), the failure of the Phalangist take-over plans, and finally, the cancellation of the enslaving agreement with Israel and the formation of a national unity government headed by Rashid Karami. The significance of our people's historic victory, which was scored thanks to its heroism and firm stand of Syria, the Palestinian revolutionary forces and the support of our true friends led by the Soviet Union goes well beyond the framework of Lebanon and has an influence on the whole of the Middle East.

At the same time, the LCP is well aware that a great many difficulties still lie on the way to a complete settlement of the crisis. An armada of US warships is still in Lebanese territorial waters. Tel Aviv keeps openly talking about the need to establish a direct protectorate over south Lebanon. The LCP CC Memorandum of May 9, 1984, said that the Israeli government's 'scorched earth' policy, which it has borrowed from the nazis and which it is conducting in the occupied territories, is designed to isolate the south of Lebanon and the western part of the Bekaa Valley from the rest of the country, to drive out the local population, to undermine the economy and create the prerequisites for annexation. Reaction in Lebanon itself also has visions of revanche and is trying to frustrate the early successes of the new government in tackling internal problems.

In these conditions, the communist press believes that its duty is to give active support to the struggle for the objectives set by the LCP. Among them are, in particular, effective assistance to the south Lebanese in their action against the Israeli occupation. All the efforts of the state and the society need to be mustered in order to force Israel to withdraw its troops from Lebanon unconditionally. Lebanon must remain sovereign and Arab. Its inter-Arab ties, especially those with fraternal Syria, must be strengthened, as also its relations with all the progressive forces of the world, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Political denominationalism within the state must be ended. Radical socio-economic and political reforms must be put through, and this can be done only by establishing a broad national-democratic front with the participation of all the patriotically-minded parties, youth, women's and trade union organisations, movements and political leaders.

The experience of the communist press in our country in extremely trying conditions has shown once again the abiding value of Lenin's well-known definition of the newspaper as a collective propagandist, agitator and organiser. It has acted as an effective instrument in the moulding of patriotism, in providing ideological back-up in the struggle against external and internal reaction, and in uniting the forces for victory. Depending on the situation in the country, the tasks set before the press, the subject-matter, forms and methods of presentation tended to change, but its main and characteristic feature continued to be the same: clarity and firmness of political position determined by its class, Marxist-Leninist, world view, an implacable attitude to the enemy, close ties with broad masses of the people, optimism and an unflinching faith in victory. The experience gained in this most agonising period of our people's history is an invaluable asset, and we are fully resolved to cherish and multiply it.

Artists in Struggle Using the Weapon of Satire

Herluf Bidstrup – Danish cartoonist,
International Lenin Peace Prize winner

The art of Herluf Bidstrup, the Danish satirical artist, public figure and peace fighter, has attracted people of many countries for decades. Bidstrup owes his popularity to the essence of his work, which is Danish in character yet has a truly international, humanistic quality and touches on burning issues of today's world, responding in expressive and readily comprehensible form to problems agitating people.

In continuing its discussion of the role of artists in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, *WMR* asked Herluf Bidstrup to contribute by telling readers about the road he has travelled.

One evening in 1936, I chanced to pick up a live broadcast of a further speech by Hitler. The era of television had to come yet but I 'saw' the speaker very well and decided to draw him right away. I portrayed him as my imagination suggested—as a hysterical, grimacing man attacked by fits of anti-Soviet paranoia. The result was a series of cartoons of the Führer which I published in *Kulturkampen*, an anti-fascist magazine, under the general title 'Drawings by Bidstrup. Captions by Adolf Hitler'. In that way people came to know me as a cartoonist.

The choice of the subject of the first series of cartoons was not accidental. Anti-fascism ran in my blood, thanks above all to my father, a progressive. Until 1914 he has been absolutely sure that the Social Democrats would stave off a world war. But when the German Social Democrats voted for military credits he was greatly disappointed and became a staunch follower of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. From the October Revolution onwards, my parents were invariably sympathetic to the Soviet Union. And so my problem was not to make a political choice but to find a way of expressing it.

My experience with *Kulturkampen* prompted me to try to become a newspaper cartoonist, all the more since my drawings had not gone unnoticed. I got offers from the biggest conservative bourgeois daily, *Berlingske Tidende*, and the social democratic paper, *Socialdemokraten*. In the end I accepted the latter's offer since it came from a paper which, unlike its conservative counterpart, was committed to a markedly anti-fascist position at the time expressing itself in, among other things, condemnation of General Franco's coup.

The main targets of my political satire in those days were Mussolini, Franco, Goering and Goebbels. As for Hitler, I was never allowed to portray him in *Socialdemokraten*, for the Third Reich was next door to Denmark and this frightened the Social Democratic leadership. To be able to satirise events in Germany, I had to use the device of drawing 'Frau Germany'. However, she always turned out to be so unlikable that the German Embassy soon made an official protest. That was when I realised how very difficult it is to express one's opinion in a country whose bourgeoisie plums itself on 'democratic freedom of speech'. Thus I was drawn to political satire even before the war although it was chiefly my humorous drawings that earned me popularity.

When war broke out and the nazis overran Denmark the opportunities of publishing political cartoons were reduced to a minimum. I had to be careful and so took refuge in allegories because the editors dreaded anything that might insult the occupation authorities.

In the end I established contact with the outlawed Communist Party and began to

draw for it. My cartoons, which generally ridiculed collaborationists, were printed in large editions and circulated in the form of postcards. The receipts were contributed to the party's fund to help it carry on its work. Although I disguised my 'hand' the authorities soon guessed who drew the cartoons. This drove me underground.

The war was still at its height when I reached agreement with the Communists that after the liberation of Denmark I would become a permanent contributor to their paper. And the very first issue of *Land og Folk* published legally carried a political cartoon of mine. I was at long last on the staff of a paper in whose offices I felt at home.

To be sure, my quitting *Socialdemokraten* told on my income, for I was its most well-paid staff member. But then *Land og Folk* offered me something infinitely more important, namely, freedom to express my opinion. I was prompted by both political and artistic considerations. I felt that unless I could freely express my thoughts through my drawings I would inevitably degrade as an artist.

For many years past, my drawings and cartoons have appeared on the second page of *Land og Folk* almost daily. It would be impossible to bring back to mind all the national and international problems that I reacted to with my art. In the early years after liberation I drew cartoons of collaborationists; subsequently my satire became a weapon against the 'Marshall Plan', the cold war, NATO, militarism, the arms race, the crimes of imperialism and reaction in the Middle East and Africa, in Vietnam and Chile. I always spearheaded my criticism against reactionary parties and politicians who deceived the working people by means of money and demagoguery.

The purpose of satire is to tell the truth. I never distort reality but grotesquely exaggerate details to enhance the emotional impact of my cartoons. Besides, I do my best not only to portray this or that politician but to reveal the meaning of his policy. Captions play an important part and I seldom begin a drawing before preparing a brief commentary, always making a point of brevity and accuracy. These, then, are the main 'secrets' of my work.

Small wonder that the many thousands of cartoons I had contributed to *Land og Folk* cost me my popularity in bourgeois circles. At first 'respectable' papers shed crocodile tears over the fact that a noted Danish humorist found himself in 'communist shackles' which were 'robbing' him of his talent. Afterwards they preferred to boycott and ignore me. All over the country, annual albums of my drawings were hidden under the counter and all bourgeois publishers shut me out, with the result that I lost many contracts as a book illustrator. Even my fellow artists showed greater solidarity with the bourgeois press than with me. The boycott lasted so long that many Danes who did not read *Land og Folk* came to believe that Bidstrup the cartoonist was dead.

To give a better idea of the atmosphere around me, here is a little sentimental story. Many years ago, a teacher of my daughter, who was studying at a Copenhagen school for arts and crafts, was invited to visit the Soviet Union.

"Tell me," she asked my daughter on coming back, "is there an artist named Bidstrup in your family?"

"Of course, he's my father."

"It's strange how well they know him in Uzbekistan and other places where I went. Why, didn't he die years ago?"

"No, he's alive and going strong."

It follows that even my daughter's teacher had long since struck my name off the list of the living.

The attacks levelled against me were simply acts of class vengeance. I never spared my opponents and so could not very well expect them to thank me.

Be that as it may, the important thing for all communist artists and their colleagues who think differently is not to accentuate their personal wellbeing but to vigorously use their brush, pencil or chisel against the madmen who hourly threaten the world

with a devastating nuclear war. I subscribe to the manner in which the Soviet Union is trying to stop the reckless arms race that is going full speed ahead and may lead to the destruction of the planet. In the name of preserving life and culture on earth, I support Soviet policy; I trust it and hope the socialist countries are able to prevent the world from drifting to disaster.

Topical Notes Who is Eroding the Olympic Spirit?

IN the year of the Olympic Games, which is a major international sports festival exemplifying the ideals of peace and friendship among nations, the Reagan Administration has taken another step towards plunging the world into cold war by putting a mine under the Olympic movement.

The Olympic Charter defines the aims of that movement as follows: promoting the physical and moral qualities of amateur sports; bringing up young people by means of sports in a spirit of understanding and friendship and thereby helping to create a better and more peaceful world; world-wide dissemination of Olympic principles that foster good will on the part of the peoples; unity of the athletes of all countries at the Olympic Games, a magnificent festival held once in four years.

The content of these lines, which describe the Olympic spirit in a nutshell, is entirely in keeping with the interests of peace and progress. Embodying peaceful competitions and cooperation in fair play between athletes of different countries the Olympic Games reinforce the faith of millions of people that the nations of the world can and should live without war and anxiety.

Precisely for that reason the Olympic spirit and the Games themselves, in which that spirit is expressed, have become the target of attacks by the reactionary circles of the imperialist states, notably of the USA. They are going to all lengths to emasculate the Olympic Games of their noble spirit and turn them into an arena of the cold war.

Attempts of this kind were made in 1980, when the first ever Olympic Games were held in a socialist country. Hospitality throwing its doors open to athletes of the whole world and to all people desiring unity and the further development of the Olympic movement the Soviet Union created at the Moscow Olympics an atmosphere of friendliness, cordiality, and good fellowship. But the forces of imperialism and reaction launched an anti-Soviet campaign to boycott and disrupt the Games, cynically using them for their political purposes. In this context, Lloyd Cutler, a White House aide, declared at the time: 'There is no way the Soviets can portray either that the whole world is coming to Moscow and supports the Soviet positions.'¹

Similar efforts have been made this time, with the difference that to the cold war atmosphere and anti-Sovietism was added the danger that the very essence of the Games would be distorted and undermined.

The commercialism underlying the organisation and preparations for the Los Angeles Olympiad created serious problems and led, in particular, to a violation of the Charter where it speaks of the Olympic flame. The conversion of this symbol of peace into a commodity meant not only that mercantilism had triumphed but also that the conscience of people was depraved, that this was a profanation of the significance of the ceremony involving the flame, which should be passed from hand to hand by young people of different nations as a baton of friendship, mutual understanding, and good will.

In Greece, the home of the Olympic Games, the actions of the Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee sparked a protest movement demanding the observance of the Olympic Charter and the defence of Olympic principles. This movement was joined by mass organisations, teachers, literary and art workers, and almost the whole of Greece's sports world headed by Olympic athletes, by past and present champions. Representatives of many countries attended the international conference in defence of Olympic ideals that was held in ancient Olympia. Because of the Greeks' protests and indignation, the Olympic flame was not carried across Greek territory.

Even more serious problems were created by the US government, which, in fanning anti-Soviet and anti-socialist feeling in the USA and refusing to guarantee the safety of the teams of the USSR and other socialist countries, compelled them to refrain from participating in the Olympic Games.

President Reagan tried to shift the responsibility for what happened to the Soviet Union, to prove that the National Olympic Committee of the USSR passed its decision out of purely political considerations. But the facts tell a different story.

Long before the Olympic Games opened, a campaign was started in the USA to prevent Soviet athletes from taking part in the contests. Reactionary circles unfolded strident propaganda whose burden was that the Russians should not be permitted on American soil. Both chambers of the legislature of California decreed that no Soviet athletes would be permitted on the territory of the state. The management of the stadiums where Soviet teams were to take part in the basketball, volleyball, and grass hockey contests announced that they would be barred from these stadiums, while the authorities refused to guarantee the safety of the teams.²

As time passed it became increasingly clear what the reactionary quarters in the USA were planning. Uniting with the purpose of preventing the Soviet Union from taking part in Olympiad-84, 160 right-extremist terrorist groups (including nazi, zionist, and anti-socialist elements of all stripe) began plotting provocations against athletes from socialist countries and conducting virulent propaganda against them.

Encouraged by intelligence agencies, they threatened athletes from socialist countries with physical violence.³ D. Balsiger, a ringleader of this terrorist riff-raff, held a televised press conference at which he spoke of planned demonstrations, acts of subversion, the luring of 'defectors', and other more 'impressive' operations.⁴ Inflammatory statements came also from people holding important official office, who fuelled anti-Soviet and anti-communist sentiments and did all they could to aggravate the situation on the eve of the Games.

In special questionnaires sent to socialist countries by American agencies, it was demanded that members of Olympic teams should answer, no more and no less, whether they were Communists. In reply to protests, the Chairman of the Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee declared that this question was not within his terms of reference and that it had to be referred to the FBI. The latter said its actions were motivated by 'national security interests'. A US entry visa was denied even to a ranking official of the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports of the USSR Council of Ministers who was to go there in accordance with the terms of the Olympic Charter to prepare for the arrival of the Soviet delegation in Los Angeles and inspect the arrangements that had been made for the Soviet team.

All these actions were a gross violation of the Charter, which says that the Olympic identity card is all that is needed for entry into the country of the host city.

The Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee held a special sitting to consider the protests of the Soviet Olympic Committee against breaches of the Charter and the dangerous situation that had been created in Los Angeles for the entire Soviet team. These protests were found to be valid and justified.

However, because of the US government's reluctance to take the appropriate measures and the fanning of an atmosphere of hostility and hate for Soviet athletes,

the Soviet Olympic Committee had to decide on non-participation in the Games. The same decision was passed by the Olympic Committees of practically all the other socialist and some non-socialist countries.

Their hypocrisy knowing no bounds, the imperialist propaganda media sought to absolve the US Administration of all blame and prove that this was 'Moscow's response' to the US boycott of the 1980 Olympics. But facts are stubborn, and even many American commentators have had to acknowledge their government's indisputable 'service' in eroding the Olympic Games.

Indicative in this respect is an article by Thomas Boswell, an analyst writing in *The Washington Post*. Noting that the Olympic Games had been 'politicised' first by Carter and then by Reagan, he wrote: 'Thanks, Ronald Reagan. Hope you enjoyed your simplistic "evil empire" cracks. Hope you got a kick out of watching the Russians squirm at the thought of visiting a Los Angeles Olympics full of anti-Soviet protesters.' Regarding the assertions of the White House that the USA is a 'free society' and that the government cannot control the activities of anti-Soviet organisations, who are free to do as they please, the analyst noted: 'Nonsense. My fist's freedom ends where your nose begins. In preparing for the Olympics . . . the United States treated the Soviet Union as an unequal, almost an illegitimate, nation. In effect, it tacitly allowed its most strident anti-communist groups to become a fist brandished in the Russians' faces.' And he reasonably pointed out: 'What they (the Soviet Union) mean is that a great nation does not take its athletes into a setting where they are targets and public relations pawns of their foe.'

Summing up, he wrote: 'It's sad to watch your country mousetrap itself into a whopper of an international gaffe. . . . Two US presidents apparently acted from narrow ideological bias rather than from a realistic sense of international strategy and management.'⁵ In order to mute protests against this foolish policy, Reagan declared that the USA would abide by the Olympic Charter. But at the same time he assured the ring-leaders of the 'ban the Russians' campaigns of his sympathy for their actions. In the light of this there is no doubt whatever that the president's statement is no more than yet another attempt to deceive public opinion.

In terms of sports, the Los Angeles Games are badly hurt as a result of the policy of the US reactionary circles who barred athletes of many countries from the contests. In the view of the DPA agency (FRG), the 23rd Olympics are no more than 'half-baked Games'.⁶ The agency estimated that absent from them would be 51 per cent of the present world champions in Olympic fields of sport. The weight-lifters, for example, do not include a single medallist of the last world championships. More than half of the track and field medallists of the last world championship in Helsinki are not participating. Spectators at Los Angeles will not have the opportunity of seeing many medallists of the last few world championships: 41 per cent of the swimmers (including divers and water polo teams), 53 per cent of the gymnasts, 50 per cent of the boxers, 72 per cent of the wrestlers, 83 per cent of the pentathletes, 54 per cent of the rowers, and 63 per cent of the cyclists, to mention some. Such are the fruits of the discriminatory practices of the US authorities, who did all they could to create unbearable conditions at the Olympic Games for athletes of countries that the reactionary forces of the USA do not like.

The hypocrisy of the Washington Administration, which is allegedly concerned about reinforcing Olympic ideals, is underscored also by the fact that Reagan himself had not only supported the boycott of the 1980 Olympics long before it was known that they would be held in Los Angeles. What defence of the Olympic spirit can the USA speak of?

It is thus quite obvious who is undermining the Olympic spirit.

At the close of the Olympic Games in Moscow the President of the International Olympic Committee Juan Antonio Samaranch declared that they had strengthened the Olympic movement and contributed to peace and friendship among nations.

Obviously, the same results cannot be produced by this year's Olympic Games, to which the imperialist forces have imparted an entirely different character.

Nikos Georgopoulos

Balkan Games champion, member of the Presidium of
the Greek Movement for Physical Culture and Sports

¹ *Time*, June 9, 1980, p. 46.

² *Odighitis*, November 13, 1983.

³ *Eleftherotypia*, February 18, 1984.

⁴ *Rizospastis*, May 13, 1984.

⁵ *International Herald Tribune*, May 14, 1984.

⁶ *Unsere Zeit*, June 6, 1984.

the book scene

American Internationalists in Siberia

Joseph P. Morray, *Project Kuzbas. American Workers in Siberia (1921-1926)*, International Publishers, New York, 1983, 191 pp.

The ideologists and propagandists of US imperialism boast that the American public is exhaustively informed. In fact, a leading US newspaper, *The New York Times* proclaims on its masthead that it publishes 'all the news fit to print'. However, here, as in capitalist society generally, there is an awesome gap between word and deed. Nowhere is this more evident than in the matters pertaining to information about the world of socialism, especially the Soviet Union. For 66 years the accent has been on the negative. Distortion has been, and is more so today, the name of the game.

The burial of history is also widely practised in the USA. It is largely owing to this that for millions of Americans the war against fascism on the most decisive front, the Soviet, has been the 'Unknown War'. As for the grim early years of the young Soviet Republic and the role played by progressive Americans in assisting it—they are merely a blank in the minds of the mass of Americans today.

Thus it is no surprise that, as Morray notes in his introduction to his extremely informative book, 'few Americans now living have ever heard of the "Kuzbas Colony", that is, the autonomous industrial colony in the Kuznetsk Basin' in Siberia (p. 4). And Morray adds: 'With the Reagan Administration threatening to go over the brink of "cold war" to nuclear holocaust, while seeking to isolate Americans from friendly contact with the Soviet people, it seems particularly important to explore the history of this initiative from an earlier time' (p. 4).

Indeed it is. And nothing demonstrates this more than the book-itself. As an experienced and able historian, Morray did painstaking research. Facts, events are all carefully assembled, analysed and placed in their historical context. But Morray did

much more than that: he breathed life into the documents he pored over. This is because he understood 'that here was much drama, political and human, in his early collaboration between American and Soviet people'. The result is we are not only informed of this long-buried exciting and uplifting drama which took place in Western Siberia in 1921-1926. *We are there!*

In many respects this is a novel as well as a history. In giving this vivid and moving account of internationalist solidarity on the part mainly of American workers and technicians, Morray not only introduces us to heroes and heroines, largely unknown, He develops them as flesh and blood characters.

What kind of heroes and heroines were these 'colonists' in the world's first socialist states, which had just fought off the intervention of capitalist powers, including the USA, as well as its own White Guard counter-revolution, and was now in the midst of a bitter struggle with hunger, typhus, dysentery, illiteracy, and backwardness? They were people engaged in persistent, challenging, and plain everyday work.

The political and human significance of this heroism cannot leave as unmoved. We know how the ruling class of the USA regarded the October Revolution and the hysterical campaign of slander it waged against it. But little is known of the profound impact the Ten Days That Shook the World had upon progressive-minded Americans. For example, some 25,000 Americans registered with the Society for Technical Aid, expressing their willingness to help develop the young Soviet state. Among them was the US electrical engineer Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz.

In a letter to Lenin in February 1922, Steinmetz hailed the October Revolution and declared his 'admiration of the wonderful work of social and industrial regeneration which Russia is accomplishing under such terrible difficulties' (p. 86). Accepting membership of the Advisory Committee of the Kuzbas colony, Steinmetz expressed the principle which guided the overwhelming majority of those who participated in this project: 'Everybody taking interest in the enterprise knows or should know that it is the creation of a better world in which he is taking part, but that he goes out into a field where he must expect hardships and disappointments, where he must organise and create' (p. 147). Steinmetz dismissed with contempt the opportunistic and fainthearted. 'There are always a few people' who seek a 'safe berth . . . and then get disappointed and come back and throw mud, after they have met the reality' (ibid.). Steinmetz could well have been speaking of today's motley crew of 'disillusioned radicals', renegades, dissidents, who find their 'haven' in the decaying world of the nuclear barbarians. Then as today the US big business press sought out the disgruntled few, whose embellished complaints served as 'valuable' material in the campaign directed by the government from Washington to discredit the Soviet government in the eyes of the American people with the aim of keeping Americans from responding, with instinctive feelings of sympathy and humanity, to the great revolution in Russia.

The Kuzbas project becomes all the more impressive when one considers that 400 people, largely Americans, who constituted the backbone of this international work brigade, had to face and overcome the hardships resulting from extremely primitive conditions, a severe climate, the difficulties of adapting to a strange land pioneering in a country which itself was pioneering the path to a new world and facing the first fierce winds of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Morray does not romanticise this venture, although he recognises and treats with respect and affection the revolutionary, humanistic romanticism which inspired the participants in this early display of international solidarity. Indeed, as he makes clear, it was his realisation of its great significance in these times when the Reagan Administration has brought US-USSR relations to their lowest and most dangerous level that led him to recreate this important bit of history involving the two countries.

The Kuzbas project had to contend with political problems. Many of the leaders and members of the colony belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World. The

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founding and organisation of the colony coincided with a sharp turn to the right in the top leadership of that militant organisation, which once played an important role in US labour struggles. The General Executive Board adopted a harshly anti-Soviet resolution and, of course, this hardly created a favourable climate for either recruiting volunteers or political clarity on the part of many honest and sincere IWW members participating in this unique venture. Morray deals with these problems with a historian's sense of time and never allows them to overshadow the epic scope of the Kuzbas project and the valuable contributions towards its success made by the overwhelming majority of these dedicated workers. Out of their intimate experience with what it takes to build socialism, many joined the Communist Party of the USA and quite a few became so attached to their adopted land that they remained after the contract period and married Soviet citizens.

Morray contributes a new dimension of our view of Big Bill Hayward, the legendary US labour leader who has compelled to leave his country by the McCarthyism of his day. Part of his remains, like those of John Reed, lie at the Kremlin wall in Moscow's Red Square.¹ Together with Herbert S. Calvert, a fellow American and a member of the IWW, and Sebald Rutgers, a Dutch engineer and a founding member of Communist International, Hayward was an initiator and organiser of the Kuzbas project. Hayward, who had joined the Communist Party of the USA, helped considerably in countering the anti-Sovietism of the IWW top leadership.

American Communists, of course, played a very important role in the project, notwithstanding the fact that their party still had to contend with internal problems in the process of its formation as well as with the effects of the vicious Palmer Raids,² led by the then young, later notorious J. Edgar Hoover.

Morray shows the broad support this historic venture into US-USSR cooperation enjoyed. Many of the participants, especially engineers and technicians who gave of their valuable time, were not politically motivated. Rejecting the Reaganism of that time, they embraced the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

But Project Kusbaz was, above all, a workers' project. Morray particularly pays tribute to US miners, who gave unsparingly of themselves and shared their technical skills with their fellow Soviet miners in the coal pits of Kemerovo.

While he correctly focuses particularly on the role of US workers and technicians in the Kuzbas Project, Morray treats it for what it was: *a joint US-Soviet venture*. Lenin recognised immediately its political as well as practical significance and played a direct role in working out the agreement³ and its realisation, though illness prevented him from following it up to its conclusion.

Morray includes in his appendix the text of the historic agreement, which set up the Industrial Autonomous Colony Kuzbas. With the foresight that was one of the hallmarks of his genius, Lenin wisely included a pledge that only such workers would be recruited who 'are able and willing to endure the hardships and privations that are unavoidably connected with the reconstruction of industry in a rather backward country, emerging from years of war and counter-revolution' (p. 182). On Lenin's suggestion, also included was a point that proved to be very important in the development of the colony: 'The members of the Unit pledge themselves, in case of misunderstanding, or conflict, that they will accept as final the decision of the highest Soviet authority in Russia' (ibid.).

What is Kemerovo, a town of only 10,000 when the Americans arrived, like today? Morray visited it. He saw a large modern city, which has a population of almost half a million people and is a major Soviet industrial centre. Incidentally, the coal mines of Kemerovo played a very significant role in supplying fuel for Soviet industry during the Great Patriotic War against fascism. Morray was warmly welcomed: 'The memory of the Colony lives in a permanent display in the local historical museum, in

plaques on buildings, in the names of streets, in a monument to Sebald Rutgers, the founder who became Director of the Colony, in schoolroom history lessons, in commemorative articles in newspapers and magazines, and in research, lectures, and publications at the university of Kemerovo' (p. 5).

Murray fittingly dedicates his book to the late Jessica Smith, who devoted most of her adult life to working and struggling for US-USSR friendship. It was Jessica Smith, for many years editor of the *New World Review*, who helped interest Murray in writing this very important and timely book.

The bourgeois press has so distorted everything pertaining to Soviet life, including the history of Soviet-US relations, that it has given many Americans the false impression that these two countries with sharply differing social systems are natural and inevitable enemies. The Reagan Administration, representing as it does the most aggressive, most adventurist sections of monopoly capital in the US, is embarked on a course that carries this false assumption to its most irrational and suicidal conclusion: nuclear annihilation of civilised life. Its actions make it look like a pyromaniac amid powder-kegs.

By bringing to light facts about cooperation between American workers and the then young Soviet Republic, facts that have been shrouded in darkness all too long, Murray stresses how very important it is to promote friendly relations between two great countries—in the interests of their peoples and of world peace.

Mike Davidson
American journalist

¹ Haywood died in Moscow in 1928. After the cremation, part of the ashes were buried at the Kremlin wall, and the rest, according to the terms of the will of the deceased, were taken to Chicago, USA.—Ed.

² On the night of January 2, 1920, at the direction of US Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, agents of the Department of Justice and the local police struck in 70 US cities, arresting an estimated 10,000 workers. Mass deportation followed.—Ed.

³ This agreement between the Council of Labour and Defence of the RSFSR and the organising group of American workers (the Rutgers group) was signed on October 20, 1921. Facilities, including some in the Kuznetsk Coal Basin, were turned over to the group. The Industrial Autonomous Colony Kuzbas became a functioning unit subordinated to the Council of Labour and Defence. The colony's leadership counted on 2,800 skilled workers and technicians coming from the USA and bringing with them a certain amount of equipment, materials and food. The Soviet government allocated 300,000 dollars for the purchase of machinery and other equipment abroad. But for a number of reasons, not least the rabidly anti-Soviet policies in the USA, not more than 400 Americans arrived in the Kuzbas.—Ed.

Binding Lessons of the Past

Der Zimmermann Krause und die Nazis. Aufzeichnungen (The Carpenter Krause and the Nazis. Notes), Frankfurt on the Main, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1983, 119 pp.

The history of German fascism has been investigated in sufficient detail. Nevertheless, it still arouses interest, which stems not so much from a desire to ascertain further details of the 'rise and fall' of the Third Reich as from the need—realised by a large body of democratic opinion—to rule out the very possibility of a recurrence of nazi crimes and to serve warning against the real danger of a revival of the brown plague. Indeed, while fascism has suffered a crushing defeat, its ideology still feeds on anti-communism and hatred for socialism while continuing to sponge on

the problems of bourgeois society. Neonazism, like its predecessor, takes advantage of people's insecurity and dissatisfaction under capitalism to offer them a durable 'order' to be established by a 'strong man'.

Neonazism distances itself for tactical considerations from the 'excesses' of nazism but has inherited the latter's poisonous substance and, to a notable extent, its methods of manipulating public opinion. It makes a special effort to recruit supporters among the politically misled section of Western youth, who fall for 'anti-capitalist' demagoguery and the catchword of restoring 'order'.

Hence the relevance of exposing the ideology and practices of fascism, of revealing its kinship with neonazism. This is the purpose of the book.

The author, Fritz Krause, does not see his task in reproducing the panorama of fascist Germany or in making an in-depth analysis of it. He simply tells how he lived and worked, and how his fate shaped up before and after Hitler's rise to power. An ordinary worker endowed, however, with the keen political insight of a Communist (he joined the party in 1922), Krause detected the fascist danger before many of those around him; what is more, he came to realise the need to resist fascism and did so together with fellow-Communists.

The nazi system of tracking down, isolating and destroying political opponents dealt the Communist Party telling blows. Many German Communists lost their lives or found themselves in prison or concentration camp while others were separated from one another. Krause was first mobilised to build military installations and then called up. After the defeat of fascism he joined again in the activity of the Communist Party and continued working as a carpenter until retirement.

The unassuming and even down-to-earth manner of Krause's narrative makes his recollections a peculiar historical record which owes its impact on today's reader to having been put on paper by an ordinary working man whose experiences and style are well familiar to most people. However, the simplicity of his style has nothing to do with simplism, for he approaches the events described by him from an explicit class standpoint making it possible to assess them correctly.

Bitter experience convinced Krause of the need for working class unity, which never materialised in the Weimar Republic. Germany's Communists championed joint efforts with the Social Democrats to organise effective resistance to fascism. Shortly before the Reichstag elections in November 1932, Krause writes, Wilhelm Pieck, one of the DKP leaders, addressed an election rally. 'War and fascism,' Pieck said, 'threaten to destroy you—you must set up a united front. Act at once or it will be too late. It's five minutes to twelve!' At the branch level, members of the two parties of the working class united in some cases to fight the workers' common enemy. Not so at the leadership level. 'The SDP leaders turned down the DKP leadership's repeated proposals to form a united front in the struggle against fascism, a refusal which subsequently had to be paid dearly for' (p. 20). This sad experience is not a thing of the past alone. It reminds present-day generations of the imperative need to unite all democratic and peace-loving forces, primarily against the danger of nuclear war threatening humanity.

The recollections also link up with our times where the author speaks of the nazi methods of hoodwinking the politically unsophisticated masses. The nazis admittedly stopped at no lie, for their principle was to lie and hope that people would believe at least some of their lies. They called their organisation the National Socialist Workers' Party of Germany yet were the worst enemies of both the workers and socialism. However, there is no denying that they showed a measure of adroitness in propaganda. 'They posed at once as radicals, nationalists and revolutionaries. At their meetings they blamed the Versailles Treaty and the Jews for Germany's troubles. . . . People who could not do their own thinking were taken in by this. The nazis always had something for everyone. When speaking to workers, they "defended" their interests. And when their audience was made up of employers they

defended the employers' point of view, needless to say. It made no difference to them whom they addressed . . . ' (p. 33).

The Communists, showing up this demagogy, warned against the fatal consequences of allowing the fascists to take over; but many people 'were unable to realise the gravity of the situation. They regarded our warnings as exaggerated and considered that it would not come to the worst' (p. 44). It was not long before the Communists were proved right by the terror which Hitler's fascists launched against all democratic forces in the wake of the Reichstag fire (February 1933) and then by the Second World War, which fascism started.

This part of the recollections induces the reader to stop and think about the present situation, with bourgeois propaganda representing the mortal danger threatening the FRG and the whole of Western Europe in the shape of US Pershing and cruise missiles as a safeguard against the same 'Soviet threat' which German fascism repeatedly invoked to cover up its plans for aggression. Once again reality is distorted to prevent people from seeing those responsible for the approaching disaster.

Krause's recollections open the eyes of young West Germans to what Bonn's official historians conceal from them or only reveal in part. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the fascist takeover, a new 'Hitler wave', including the much-advertised forged 'diary' of the nazi leader, swept through West German bourgeois literature. Most publications try to exonerate fascism. They mention its crimes in passing, if at all. This deliberate falsification of history is dangerous because it both rehabilitates yesterday's fascism and justifies today's. On this background, the Preface points out with good reason, 'Fritz Krause's recollections can have a salutary effect against the prevailing falsehood about the past, against trash in glossy binding that is made out more and more often to be literature in keeping with the spirit of our times'.

Dieter Wenzel

Retribution for Treason

Mohammed Hasanein Heikal, *Kharif al-ghadab* (Autumn of Fury), Beirut, Sharikat al-matbouat li al-tawzia wa al-nashr, 1983, 565 pp.

On October 10, 1981 the cortege attending the funeral of Anwar Sadat set out from the Cairo Central Military Hospital. It was guarded by troops and security forces. The route to the mausoleum, built on the President's instructions during his lifetime, was heavily patrolled by troops and police. The tenants of the houses in the vicinity of the mausoleum had been evacuated for a time.

However, the extraordinary precautions taken by the authorities proved unnecessary. The streets of the capital, which during the funeral of Gamal Abdel Nasser had been thronged with more than five million people, looked as usual—a tell-tale sign of the Egyptians' attitude to the man who had distanced himself from the legacy of his outstanding predecessor to please international and domestic reaction. The coffin of the 'father of a united family' was only followed by a small group of members of the top political leadership and big bourgeoisie plus official foreign delegations.

Many books have been written about Sadat's political career, rule and ignominious

end. One of the most noteworthy of them is unquestionably Heikal's *Autumn of Fury*. When its first part was reprinted in the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahaly* and the authorities banned further publication, a storm of public protest broke out. There are many reasons for this interest in the book. First among them is the relevance of the problems raised, the rehabilitation of certain aspects of Nasser's policy rejected by Sadat, the Egyptians' desire for a better knowledge of the recent past as a possible means of answering present-day questions, the abundance of sensational facts, and lastly, the author's personality. A prominent analyst with vast connections, Heikal was for years in the highest echelon of power as an associate of Nasser and then of Sadat and had access to highly confidential information. All this enabled him to present a panorama of Egyptian public life, disclose the secret springs of anti-Arab deals and expose Sadat as a scheming politician.

Each of the six parts of the book may be described as a paragraph of an indictment summing up the criminal policies of the regime under Sadat: slavish submission to the US diktat, surrender to Israel, a dislocated economy dominated by foreign capital, political terror, social inequality and corruption.

Special attention is devoted to the evolution of relations between Egypt, the USA and Israel during and after the October war of 1973. Heikal denounces the cowardice and indecision shown by Sadat, who was in command of the Egyptian army and frustrated its successful offensive at the beginning of the conflict. The reader learns that Sadat did not really seek victory in the war against Israel because he was afraid of angering Washington. This explains the vigorous 'consultations' that went on between the United States and Egypt from the early days of the war. Sadat admitted afterwards that even in those days the purpose of his talks with the Americans was not a fair Middle East settlement but Egypt's rupture with the socialist countries and alliance with the USA. General Saad el-Din al-Shazly, former chief of the Egyptian General Staff, has rightly described Sadat's behaviour in those days as the 'greatest crime'. The October events were something of a starting point in the evolution of the Sadat regime. Previously, despite many contradictory aspects and zigzags, Cairo's policy had retained many features inherited from the Nasser period. But after October the goals and principles of the revolution of July 1952 were jettisoned.

The sequel was not surprising. In January 1974 Egypt and Israel signed a separate agreement on the disengagement of troops and in September 1975 they came to terms on refraining from hostilities against each other. Both documents, which virtually cancelled all the commitments to fight the aggressor made by Egypt earlier, ignore key aspects of a Middle East settlement, such as the pull-out of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories overrun by them in 1967 or the guaranteeing of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. In March 1976 Cairo unilaterally denounced the Egyptian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

Once he had begun to betray the interests of the Arab peoples and Egypt, Sadat neither could, nor wanted to stop. His 1977 visit to Israeli-occupied Jerusalem was followed by the signing of the Camp David accords and then the Egyptian-Israeli 'peace treaty' based on them. Contrary to the assurances of Sadat and the US Administration, this treaty did not bring peace to the region but greatly aggravated the situation.

Egypt's desertion from the Arab people's common front encouraged Israeli expansionism and gave the USA a chance to pursue its long-standing Middle East plans more actively. Events there show only too well that Washington is out to disunite the Arab peoples, suppress their resistance to the Israeli aggressor and undermine cooperation between the Arabs and their natural allies, the socialist community countries. The end purpose is to weaken the anti-imperialist forces in the region, set up reactionary regimes obedient to the USA and ultimately bring the region under US control. The Sadat regime, having servilely sacrificed the fundamental interests of the Arab peoples, including the Egyptians, to the

hegemonist ambitions of its overseas patrons and Israel, became a direct accomplice of the United States and one of the main pillars of Washington's anti-communist policy in the region, being even ready, if necessary, 'to intervene in flash points of the African continent' (p. 542).

Heikal depicts the formation of Sadat as a personality and gives many facts of his life that had been withheld in the past, such as his collaboration with nazi Germany's intelligence service during World War II. Contributing his share to psychoanalysis, a pursuit now fashionable among bourgeois authors, Heikal sees the roots of the evil in Sadat's allegedly innate vanity, ambition and hypocrisy, saying that from childhood he had been obsessed by an irresistible longing to become a 'bright star'. Heikal seems to forget that the President expressed the interests of the reactionary compradore bourgeoisie closely linked with foreign capital and fearing every progressive trend in the country or the region like death. Sadat's extreme anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, which he injected into foreign policy, were the chief basis on which Cairo established close ties with Tel Aviv and Washington.

There is a detailed description of the ruinous consequences of the economic policy known as *infitah*, or open-door policy. Egypt 'was flooded with Arab and Western investments, which destroyed the existing structure of Egyptian society' (p. 212). The public sector was reduced and made subservient to the interests of private enterprise. The economy found itself in full dependence on transnationals, the IMF and the World Bank. There emerged a powerful sector of businessmen who had enriched themselves through speculation and were anxious to grab as much and as fast as possible, to use the author's expression. Before 1970 Egypt exported about 40 per cent of its sugar output; today it is compelled to meet 30 per cent of its demand for sugar by importing it. From 1974 to 1980, imports increased as follows: textiles, twice; cosmetics, three times; cars, 14 times; expensive food products, 18 times over. The foreign debt grew 11 times over in ten years, exceeding 22 billion dollars. The deformation of the economic structure added to the acuteness of social contradictions. The rich became richer and the poor poorer, Heikal writes. Massive unemployment led to 'an outflow of manpower involving not only specialists but carpenters, building workers, electricians, smelters and other skilled workers as well as peasants' (p. 216).

The family of the head of state joined with a will in plundering the country. On taking office, Sadat told his relatives that he had nothing against 'anybody engaging in commercial activity' (p. 393). His cynical hint did not go unheeded. His brother Ismat excelled in shady deals that earned him a fortune worth many millions.

A sizable section of the book concerns the resistance of large population groups to Sadat's anti-popular, treasonable policy. Opposition made itself felt even among the nationalist-minded bourgeoisie. The President's anti-Arab policy was rejected even by adherents of religious trends whom he regarded as his reliable backers.

The disaffection on the rise everywhere translated into major popular actions in January 1977. The regime's savage repressive measures added fuel to the flames. The Egyptians' patience was at an end. The bursts of tommygun fire aimed at Sadat during the military parade on October 6, 1981 in Cairo put a logical end to his inglorious career.

While Heikal sharply condemns the Sadat regime, his own radicalism should not be overestimated. He does not really put forward any constructive alternative to 'Sadat's legacy' although he criticises it. He questions neither the capitalist development of the ARE, nor the need to maintain 'special relations' with the USA, nor the US role in the region. He defends the interests of the bourgeoisie whose diverse alignments seek in the final analysis durable capitalist relations for all that they differ seriously among themselves at times. The author of *Autumn of Fury* would like the ARE to become a sub-empire of the Arab world pursuing a 'rational' policy according to the 'geographical and historical constants of Egypt' (p. 556). To this end he considers it

necessary, unlike the former President, to sever or at least 'loosen' relations with Israel, strengthen ties with the Arab world and carry on a policy less dependent on the USA while maintaining a close alliance with it. As for home policy, Heikal advocates partial liberal reforms provided they do not go beyond easing social contrasts somewhat and averting an upturn in the class struggle.

Despite the author's position, his book is an event in contemporary political literature on Egypt. Sadat is no more but his legacy still largely determines the policy of the present regime. Contrary to the author's will, the reader cannot but stop to think about the dire consequences which anti-communism and anti-Sovietism elevated to the rank of official policy have for the country.

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surveys, information and mail

Pages of History On the Threshold of August 1914: Warning Lessons

THE First World War was started by imperialism seventy years ago, in August 1914. Today, the international policy of imperialism is not more sensible or less dangerous than it was in 1914. The growing aggressiveness of US imperialism has created an extremely dangerous situation in the world. The danger of war has never been greater in the whole of history: human civilisation and life itself are under threat. That being so, the tragedy of 1914 holds some especially instructive and meaningful lessons for our own day. Sharp attention to them is being intensified by the fact that world war has not been a unique event in world history: the first was followed by the second. The memory of these two world wars cries out to prevent a third.

One of the lessons of the 1914-1918 war relates to the sinister role of adventurism in the policy of the aggressive imperialist circles. Now that actions can be judged with the benefit of historical hindsight and with a knowledge of their eventual results, it is perfectly obvious that the imperialist governments started the First World War in consequence of political and strategic miscalculations. The redivision of the world, colonies and spheres of influence, which had by then become overdue and so inevitable, could not be brought about otherwise than through a military clash between the imperialist powers, and for that the ruling circles had been preparing for years. But none of them had anticipated that the decisions they were taking

concerning the war would produce such disastrous consequences which were objectively predetermined by the nature of the economic and socio-political contradictions of imperialism. This is best shown by the following.

By the end of the 19th century, the shaping of the world imperialist system, the growth of militarism and the changes in the techniques of warfare caused by the emergence of new weapons and other military hardware had produced an interdependence between the European 'great' powers in which, as Engels predicted in 1887, 'anyone who acted first would have provoked a general world war'.¹ The ruling circles had, on the whole, a presentiment that such a clash would become world-wide, and were apprehensive of such a turn of events. Engels went on: 'Even so, a world conflagration still makes them somewhat fearful, because it is impossible to anticipate its consequences.'²

The imperialist governments' fear of a world conflict and of its consequences was, however, inhibited by their illusory belief that they could limit the coming war either in space, by localising it, or in time, by keeping it short.

The war plans framed by the imperialist powers' general staffs were shot through with the adventurist idea of fighting a short and victorious conflict. The German General Staff expected, for instance, that France could be routed in a matter of six to eight weeks, whereupon it would be possible to hurl the German armies against Russia. The US commander in Europe General John Joseph Pershing pinned his hopes, as the French politician Georges Clemenceau caustically remarked, on 'providential strategy that would enable them blissfully to start and end the war at a single stroke'.³

The adventurism in their decision to start a war, into which they were being inexorably dragged by their imperialist rivalries, was being stimulated and intensified by the unevenness of the arms race and the steady buildup of armaments in the individual countries. The German bourgeoisie, Lenin said, 'chose the moment it thought most favourable for war, making use of its latest improvements in military material and forestalling the rearmament already planned and decided upon by Russia and France'.⁴ But Kaiser Germany's hope of outstripping the others in the stockpiling of weapons and so winning the fight—and within a matter of weeks, at that—proved to be a flimsy one indeed: in scale, duration, devastation and outcome, the war made nonsense of all the schemes of the imperialist strategists.

It was, of course, no mere chance that the adventurist circles of imperialism had got hold of the key positions in ruling the destinies of world politics. The mentality of the ruling circles was determined by the nature of imperialism, the peculiarities of the contemporary international situation and the state of internal politics.

The miscalculations concerning the arrangement of forces in the world arena proved to be equally fatal. The German government planned a European-wide war in the hope of defeating France and Russia in an alliance with Austria-Hungary. That is precisely the kind of conflict it was provoking, labouring under the misapprehension that its main rival in the redivision of the world—British imperialism—would remain neutral and that the war would, therefore, be contained within the desired limits.

The British government connived at the starting of the war and also hoped to have it run along an acceptable course. Like the German politicians, it did not rule out the possibility of localising the war started by Austria-Hungary against Serbia, in the event tsarist Russia backed down in the face of the threat of war, as it had already done earlier in the Bosnia (1908-1909) and the Balkan (1912) crises. It also assumed that an Austrian-Serbian conflict would spread, but would still be confined to the participation of either Russia alone, or of Russia and Germany. When it became perfectly obvious that such assumptions had been upset by the course of events, the British government resorted to blackmail and tried to intimidate Germany with the prospect of an escalation of the war through its own intervention. The blackmail caused some panic in German ruling circles, but it did not have the desired effect. In

Germany's wake, the imperialist governments plunged the peoples into the war one by one, oblivious of the disastrous consequences of their criminal policies.

The imperialist circles' social and historical miscalculation was truly gigantic. They had planned the war not only for realising their imperial ambitions, but also, Lenin said, 'so as to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat'.⁵ Everyone now knows the outcome of that imperialist gamble, which cut across the objective requirements of mankind's progressive development: three empires—Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian—collapsed. The October Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia and gave the peoples' liberation struggle a powerful impetus, inaugurating the epoch of the collapse of capitalism. The Second World War drove home this lesson of history with even more irreversible defeats for imperialism.

The second lesson relates to the corrupting influence and insidiousness of the sophistry and lip-service to peace by means of which the imperialist circles lull the vigilance of the peoples in trying to justify their preparations for war.

Peace between the 'great' powers was maintained in Europe for more than forty years, from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 to August 1914, a fact that has been explained in the oddest ways.

It was said that peace had been promoted by the ties of kinship between the reigning royal families, but this merely obscured the fact that their dynastic rivalries had added inflammable material to world politics.

It was claimed that the 'spirit' of bourgeois democracy is a peaceful one, despite the fact that by the turn of the century an aggressive imperialism, like that of the Russian, German, Japanese and other monarchies, had ripened under the bourgeois-democratic guise in the United States, Britain and France. Without signifying any U-turn from war to peace, bourgeois democracy merely amplified the rhetoric designed to cover up the urges of the ruling classes for world domination with a barrage of talk about peace and national interests. During the presidential campaign of 1916, for instance, Woodrow Wilson vowed that he would not go to war, whereupon the United States went into the war in April 1917.

Some said that the development of international trade and economic ties ruled out war, so missing the point that under capitalism that was precisely the soil in which the seeds of conflict tended to germinate. How misleading that idea is in the imperialist epoch will be seen, for instance, from the fact that prior to the First World War, 67 per cent of Germany's exports went to the countries of the enemy Entente, and 80 per cent of its imports came from those countries.

However, among the contemporary 'doctrines of peace', two had the greatest ideological and political influence. The first was the 'armed peace' doctrine which boiled down to identifying national security with the stockpiling of weapons and military preparedness. It claimed that the growth of militarism and the material preparations for war constituted the foundation of peace. The second was that the balance of forces between the contending powers and their 'defence' alliances could prevent a clash between them and so ensure international security.

The First World War demonstrated the falsehood of both these doctrines, for the war developed precisely out of the 'armed peace' and the 'defence' blocs of the imperialist powers. Both proved to be a useless instrument in the hands of bourgeois politicians for maintaining international stability, which was undermined by the uneven development of the various components of the imperialist system. Indeed, the arsenals and the blocs merely made for greater international instability.

Present-day bourgeois historians are not oblivious to the latter point, either. They say that the uncertainty of allied commitments, the secret agreements, and the statesmen's differing views of the international situation produced the uncertainty which impelled the ruling circles to take the risk of war. The conclusion is that historical experience requires that this kind of uncertainty should be ruled out, if what was not done in 1914 is to be done today, namely, if 'war is to be deterred'. However,

the means they recommend for doing so are the same old and discredited ones: a buildup of military strength and the bolstering of the imperialist bloc. That is how history is being turned upside down, leaving the impression that the war broke out because the Entente and the Austro-German bloc were weak or because not enough weapons had been stockpiled.

The lessons of the First World War may be incorrectly interpreted also when the situation in which it broke out is mechanically identified with the present one, as it is done, for instance, in the idea of an 'equal responsibility of the blocs'. This is, in particular, speculation on the false associations with the truly identical guilt of the imperialists of all the countries for preparing the First World War, which was triggered off by German imperialism. These associations are false because the blocs of that period could provide a historical analogy only for NATO and the other present-day imperialist military alignments, because they all have a common socio-political nature. Indeed, they have more similarities than that.

There is a striking similarity even of detail in the thinking of the imperialist politicians then and now. The British Admiralty, seeking to get Parliament to make fresh appropriations for armaments, deliberately overstated its assessments of the strength of the German navy—a trick now being widely used by the Pentagon. Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz argued that a buildup of Germany's naval forces would close a 'dangerous zone of weakness'—today, the US Administration keeps talking about closing various 'windows of vulnerability'. Britain invented an 'expeditionary force' to provide military solutions for ongoing conflicts in world politics—today, the United States has a twin in its 'rapid deployment force'.⁶

Still, the analogy between the alignments of that period and NATO is not entirely complete. The Austro-German bloc and the Entente threatened each other with aggression, but the NATO countries are not threatened by anyone. The inventions about some kind of 'threat' are camouflage designed to vindicate the existence of that aggressive alliance, which does not contain any 'defence' element at all.

The idea that militarism and military alignments of the imperialist powers are designed to keep the 'peace' and guarantee 'defence' of the country is not just untenable and dangerous. The First World War exposed their capacity to mislead broad masses of people, and the propaganda of such ideas caused a specific mass psychosis—the 'defence mentality'—which infected all the imperialist countries. A bourgeois newspaper of the period justified the way the day after it was started as follows: 'We are entering upon a crusade because we have been forced to do so by the enemy.'⁷ The bourgeois press of the other countries said the same thing, and it managed to drive home the idea: the 'defence mentality' became the main ideological instrument for involving the masses in the imperialist bloodbath. The advocates of peace found themselves powerless in the face of the chauvinistic tide that swept the bulk of the population in the early days of the war. That happened, in particular, because the danger of such ideas was underestimated within the working class movement. In 1912, Hugo Haase asserted that 'it is impossible to cause any kind of chauvinism among the organised socialist workers of Germany'.⁸ But on August 4, 1914, in his capacity as chairman of the social democratic group in the Reichstag, he made public a declaration expressing acceptance of the military credits on the plea that Germany had to be 'defended' against 'tsarist Russia's attack'.

That page of history helps to clarify the primary importance for the defence of peace of Lenin's call to 'expose all the sophistries that are being advanced at the present time in justification of war'.⁹

Finally, here is yet another lesson from the First World War. It is that the peace forces of that period failed to find the means for preventing its outbreak. Nevertheless, a study of the experience of anti-war action in that period and especially of its assessment by Lenin helps to gain a deeper comprehension of the present realistic and effective way of averting war in our day.

The key aspect of that experience is that 'these means (to prevent war) are changed and *intensified* (sich ändern und *steigern*) depending on the aggravation of the class struggle, etc.'. ¹⁰

That was an amendment motioned by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg to the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress of the Socialist Parties (1907) on militarism and international conflicts. It was passed without the word 'intensified'. ¹¹

The amendment called for a constant search and use of effective means of fighting against war. It established their dependence on the nature of the political situation, the course of the class contest, and its acerbity, thereby rejecting, on the one hand, all inertia in defining the means for resisting war, and on the other, the voluntarist view that the declaration of war could allegedly be countered, regardless of the concrete situation, with the staging of a world-wide anti-war strike or an anti-war revolution.

But there is also another important aspect to that amendment. Considering that the working class movement lacked the strength to prevent the outbreak of an armed conflict for certain, the rightists within the socialist parties played down the usefulness of mass anti-war action and pinned their hopes on the imperialist governments' staying out of a world war. At the same time, the right-wing Social Democrats under-rated the anti-war potential and the anti-imperialist orientation of the proletarian class struggle. That approach was shown to be self-defeating when the pre-war crisis came to a head and when the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International met in plenary session on July 29 and 30, 1914. Many did not believe that a world-wide conflagration was about to break out. The representatives of the working class movement of Germany, France and Britain still pinned their hopes on the 'common sense' of the imperialist governments.

Historical practice has shown the fruitfulness of the approach stemming from Lenin's idea that everything should be done to develop the attack against imperialism and its aggressive urges. Lenin's idea of combating the war danger has now been amplified by the fundamental theoretical and political conclusion drawn by the Communists in the light of their objective and all-round consideration of the realities of the contemporary world: it is possible to avert another world war. We find that, in terms of effectiveness and strength, the means of preventing war now at the disposal of the peace forces stand no comparison with those they had in that earlier period. That is the result not just of changed circumstances. Such means have been acquired and created in the course of the class and anti-war struggles, revolutions, liberation movements and, of course, owing to the existence of the socialist system, the main bulwark of peace. They are being fortified in the course of present-day development.

The revolutionary and the reformist wings of the international working class movement acted together in defence of peace for a period of many years prior to the First World War. At the Stuttgart, Copenhagen (1910) and Basle (1912) congresses of the Second International, they managed to agree on joint action against militarism and war.

But when the world war loomed large, the right-wing Social Democrats revealed an incapacity to go on resisting it. In the critical period of July and August 1914, they recoiled from the anti-war struggle. What is more, they said that everything possible had been done to avert and put out a conflagration, and called for an end to the anti-war action on the plea that the working people had done their duty to history by voicing their mass protest against the war. This was followed by a policy of *Burgfrieden* ('civil peace') signifying abstention from the class struggle for the duration of the war. As a result, the masses in most countries were disoriented, the international working class movement was split, and the international solidarity of the working people and their parties, which was so necessary for combating the war, was lost.

Erroneous notions concerning the sources of the war danger and the nature of the war that had broken out were among the factors behind the switch from resistance to

the world bloodbath to its acceptance. Right-wing Socialists who found themselves in hostile camps were agreed that 'their' own government had nothing to do with the outbreak of war. They even continued to condemn the world war, but merely as an evil that had descended on the country from outside. Such condemnations went hand in hand with calls urging that 'whatever our view may be on the origin of the war, we must go through with it',¹² as Ramsay Macdonald, leader of Britain's Independent Labour Party, for instance, assured his constituents in August 1914. The attempts to present the imperialist war as a 'defensive' and a 'people's' war was the underlying theory of the social-chauvinism which infected most of the parties of the Second International.

There was yet another factor which hampered effective anti-war action by the working people throughout the pre-war period, and which had an especially negative effect on the crisis situation. Masses of workers were sure that their leaders knew how to resist the war. The answers given to this question tended to calm the working people. At the Basle Congress, for instance, the Social Democrats declared that the proletarians believed it to be a crime to shoot at each other, and called for the use of the whole energy of the working class to 'prevent the annihilation of the flower of all the peoples',¹³ etc. Such calls were positive in that they promoted the struggle of the international working class movement against the impending war, but they were not duly backed by the right-wing Social Democrats with concrete indications as to how the war could be prevented.

Socialists of all countries reaffirmed at each congress of the Second International, beginning with the Stuttgart Congress, their mutual duty to use the crisis caused by an imperialist war to accelerate the collapse of the capitalists' class domination, an approach which followed from the Marxist appraisals of the conditions of that epoch, and one which was borne out by practice. Under the leadership of Lenin's party, the working people of Russia pulled out from the imperialist bloodbath in a revolutionary way and paved the way for socialism, the system now serving as the mainstay of the forces which are convinced that there is a need to fight against a world war to prevent it from ever starting at all.

However, as subsequent events showed, the above-mentioned congress decisions were not regarded by most leaders of international social democracy as a programme for continuing the anti-war struggle, which, in the changed situation, merged with revolution. They regarded these as no more than a non-committal warning to the ruling class on the assumption that fear of the revolution and intimidation with the prospect of it could keep the imperialists out of war. When it did break out, the opportunist leaders of the Second International betrayed the ideals of proletarian internationalism. These historical facts show how important it is for the destinies of the world to overcome the negative trends and centrifugal forces within the anti-war movement itself.

Considering the experience of the struggle against the danger of the recent war, Lenin wrote in 1922: 'Examples from, say, pre-war German literature, and in particular, the example of the Basle Congress of 1912, should be used as especially concrete proof that the theoretical admissions that war is criminal, that socialists cannot condone war, etc., turn out to be empty phrases, because there is nothing concrete in them.'¹⁴ In the context of that lesson, Lenin stressed the need to help the masses work out 'a really vivid idea of how war may and will creep up on them and to help them to understand what kind of methods should be adopted to combat war'.¹⁵

In the light of Lenin's precepts, the peoples' historical memory of the circumstances in which the First World War broke out promotes the peace forces' present-day struggle against the danger of war, and for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

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¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 36, p. 531 (in Russian).

² Ibid.

³ G. Clemenceau, *Grandeurs et misères d'une victoire*, Paris, 1930, p. 59.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 28.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Referring to such coincidences in the policy of imperialism then and now, sober-minded bourgeois students of international relations draw the following conclusion in contrast to the above-mentioned attempts to justify the military buildup: 'We are caught on the same deadly treadmill . . . continued escalation will end in catastrophe unless that process is reversed' (*The New York Times*, May 28, 1984).

⁷ *Germania*, August 2, 1914.

⁸ *Internationales Jahrbuch für Politik und Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin, 1912, p. 757.

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 448.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. 41, p. 201.

¹¹ See *Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Stuttgart*, Berlin, 1907, p. 66.

¹² Quoted in: G. D. H. Cole, *Labour in War Time*, London, 1915, p. 31.

¹³ *Ausserordentlicher Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Basel*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 26-27.

¹⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 448.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 448, 449.

Communist Youth Leagues Brief Information*

THE GDR FREE GERMAN YOUTH LEAGUE (FDJ)

THE Free German Youth League (FDJ) is an autonomous united socialist mass organisation representing 2.3 million members, or over 75 per cent of the young people of the German Democratic Republic, in the 14-25 age group. As many as 75.7 per cent of League members are employed in the economic sphere and the rest are students and secondary school youth.

The FDJ was founded on March 7, 1946 on the basis of the anti-fascist youth committees formed in 1945, after the German people's liberation from fascism, and is carrying forward the finest traditions of the German working class youth movement which came into existence in the 1880s.

The League was formed as an alignment of the whole younger generation. It is a non-party organisation operating in line with key decisions of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), for the party's policy of peace, socialism and care of the people's wellbeing meets the ideals of youth and offers them vast opportunities. In turn, the party insists that its young members should take an active part in the affairs of the League. Twenty three per cent of holders of elective posts in the League and 12 per cent of its rank-and-file are full or candidate members of the SED.

At present the League is the recognised vanguard of the youth of the republic. It represents and defends their interests and rights. Thanks to the League's political unity and its role in the establishment of an anti-fascist, democratic system and in socialist construction, the fundamental rights and goals of the younger generation proclaimed by it in 1946 were achieved in the early years of existence of the GDR.

For 35 years now, the League has been taking a direct part in legislative activity and the exercise of state power in the republic. It has 40 deputies in the People's Chamber; 30,000 League deputies serve in local government bodies at all levels. The League is affiliated to the Democratic Bloc of Parties and Mass Organisations and is cooperating with them as well as with other organisations and leagues belonging to the National Front of the GDR.

Under the 1974 Law on Youth, which the FDJ helped draft, the League is entitled to submit to the heads of industrial enterprises or government agencies proposals relating to youth and to supervise their implementation. It has the right to recommend the awarding of any state decoration and itself awards medals and prizes for exemplary services to the youth and children's movement in the republic, signal achievements in the socialist emulation movement or the realisation of League members' own economic initiatives.

The League sees its principal task in educating young men and women as class-conscious socialists participating under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in the construction of a developed socialist society in the republic. It mobilises young workers and cooperative farmers to achieve optimal economic results, encourages secondary school youth, students and young scientists and scholars to achieve outstanding results in study and research, helps young servicemen maintain a high level of combat readiness, organises youth sports and tourism, acquaints young people with cultural values and helps them spend their free time usefully and interestingly.

The FDJ directs the efforts of youth towards solving major socio-economic problems. In 1983 it was patron of 103,311 economic enterprises, including the USSR-Western Europe gas pipeline, which 3,400 League members helped build. There are 42,349 youth teams totalling nearly 500,000 members.

A special responsibility of the League is the Ernst Thälmann Young Pioneers Organisation, whose two million members are school children in the 6-14 age group.

The FDJ was awarded four of the highest decorations of the GDR for its performance in the construction and advancement of socialism.

On the international scene the League steadfastly promotes the socialist foreign policy of peace and solidarity with peoples in struggle. It maintains relations with more than 400 youth and students' organisations of over 100 countries and has particularly close relations of friendship and cooperation with the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union and the youth organisations of other socialist community countries. The League is affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and International Union of Students (IUS). It played host in the republic's capital to the Third and Tenth World Festivals of Youth and Students. Berlin was also the venue of the 10th Assembly of the WFDY and the 13th Congress of the IUS.

The guiding organisational principle of the FDJ is democratic centralism. The League is based on 26,700 branches operating in factories, state farms, agricultural and handicraftsmen's cooperatives, secondary schools, higher educational institutions, government and economic departments, research centres, the armed forces and other spheres. The highest authority is the Congress held every four or five years. In between congresses the League activities are led by the Central Council, Bureau and Secretariat.

The FDJ and Young Pioneers Organisation have three publishing houses which bring out numerous books as well as 15 youth newspapers and magazines having a total circulation of over seven million. The national daily of the League, *Junge Welt*, is the second largest newspaper of the republic as to circulation. Both organisations are financed out of membership dues and earnings from publishing.

The FDJ banner has a blue field inscribed 'FDJ' on a background representing the rising sun. The salutation used by League members is *Freundschaft* (Friendship).

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF THE USE (YCL)

This is a Marxist-Leninist organisation operating under the guidance of the CPUSA. It was founded at a constituent congress (April 29–May 1, 1983), on the initiative of activists of the Young Workers' Liberation League (formed in 1970). The YCL now has over 1,000 members—young workers, unemployed youth (over 50 per cent of the membership), high-school youth and students. Many League members belong to racially and nationally oppressed minorities (Afro-Americans, Indians, Latin Americans, Asians and others). Applicants are admitted to the League from the age of 14. Sixty per cent of members are under the age of 25.

The goal of the League is to contribute to the struggle of the working class for peace and democracy, for the construction of a socialist society in the USA. It draws young people into the fight against monopoly domination and unemployment, for the equality of all members of society irrespective of sex, race, nationality or social status.

The YCL sees one of its main tasks in building the unity of the younger generation and establishing a broad youth front. Much was done in this respect during this year's election campaign. Communist youth advanced a platform for joint action to defeat Reagan and Reaganism. They called on young Americans to fight against the growing danger of nuclear war and the policy of confrontation, for a reduction of military spending, the creation of new jobs, the enforcement of civil rights, quality public education, social programmes that meet the people's needs, and curbs on corporate profits. While campaigning for the CPUSA candidates, League members also support other progressive candidates opposed to the policies of the present Administration. The League sponsors election rallies to which it invites Communist as well as Democratic and independent candidates. Numerous young people join in these actions.

The Young Communist League considers the defence of peace the most important task of today and is cooperating with other organisations in preparing for and carrying out major anti-war demonstrations. Its members play an important role in the nuclear freeze movement. They closely combine the struggle for peace with defence of the rights and interests of youth.

The League concerns itself with the education of youth in line with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and socialism and makes a special effort to work out proper ways and means of publicising these ideas among youth. It combines political education with social and recreational activities. Its branches organise dances, camping trips to the beach, picnics, meetings with actors, concerts of popular bands, sports events. They also set up independent interest groups.

Operating from positions of proletarian internationalism, the YCL combats anti-Sovietism, anti-communism and every manifestation of national exclusiveness. It takes part in campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Latin America, Namibia and South Africa, maintains extensive ties with democratic youth organisations of the world, primarily with those of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and is a member of the WFDY.

The League is organised on the principle of democratic centralism and its clubs are set up on the basis of neighbourhood, campus, high school and work place. A special concern of its clubs, or branches, is to defend the economic and political interests of youth in their area. The League now has 50 clubs in 20 states.

The highest authority of the YCL is the National Convention held every two years. In between conventions the work of the League is led by the National Committee and Executive Committee.

The League's national newspaper is *Dynamic*, which has a circulation of 19,000. Young Communists decided to raise this figure to 50,000 this year.

The financial sources of the YCL are monthly dues and fund-raising campaigns.

SUDANESE YOUTH LEAGUE (SYL)

The SYL is a mass organisation of young workers, peasants and intellectuals in the 18-25 age group.

It is operating under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Sudan (CPS) and is based on factories, clubs, various societies, urban neighbourhoods and villages. League branches are formed by party organisations. The highest authority of the League, the Central Secretariat, is operating underground in close contact with the CC Secretariat of the CPS. It coordinates the work of branches and maintains international relations.

The SYL was founded in 1952, during the rapid upsurge in the anti-colonial national liberation movement which began after World War II. It owes its rise to the CPS (founded in 1946), which worked steadfastly to organise all vital social forces in the struggle against British colonialism and for national liberation and social progress. The League sprang up as an independent mass popular organisation defending the right of youth to political and other public activity, and mobilising the younger generation to fight in common with the trade unions, peasant associations, the Women's League, the Union of Students and other revolutionary and democratic forces for progressive social changes and a better life.

The League accomplished much on these lines in the brief periods of democratic rule. It made a noteworthy contribution to the development of sports and national culture, built schools, conducted literacy classes, organised young people to build roads and canals and plant trees in cities. It also did much for the advancement of the health services. The medical aid posts set up by it in various parts of the country to render free aid are still functioning.

By the time the latest congress met (spring 1971), the SYL had over 70,000 members.

In the summer of that year the influence of counter-revolutionaries inside the regime increased and laws on democratic organisations were enacted. Their aim was to impose on these an opportunist leadership, rob their activity of a progressive content, put an end to their independence and merge them afterwards with alignments controlled by the ruling party, the Sudanese Socialist Union. This party formed an official youth organisation called the Youth Federation of the Sudan, whose leaders were appointed by the authorities. However, the Federation failed to win any backing among the people and has no branches either in the cities, or in rural areas.

Even when democracy was completely lacking, the SYL succeeded in organising active work using every legal opportunity. It enjoys strong influence. It helps unite youth and draws them into the popular movement against the regime, combats the mood of hopelessness and indifference being cultivated by the authorities and maintains a revolutionary morale, considering young people a reserve of the progressive movement in the country.

The League has branches in urban and rural communities across the country. Its members distribute among clubs tape recordings of lectures on political, social and literary subjects and circulate their periodical *Al-Shabiba* (Youth). They are active in sports and dramatic societies and unions of writers and artists.

The SYL plays an active role in the international youth movement from firm anti-imperialist positions. It supports international actions of solidarity with the peoples of Africa, the Arab East, Asia and Latin America and is firmly committed to peace. The League has been elected Vice-President of the WFDY. In spite of the harsh conditions imposed by the dictatorship, League delegations attended since the time of its formation all World Festivals of Youth and Students and strengthened its ties with youth organisations of other countries.

* For earlier instalments, see *WMR*, Nos. 4, 6 and 7, 1984.

Against Repression and Persecution Stop Persecution in Morocco

DISTURBING news has been arriving from Morocco for months. The regime has mounted a campaign of persecution against democrats and patriots. Many members of the Progress and Socialism Party (PSP) as well as sympathisers were put on trial in a number of localities.

The campaign came in the wake of actions by the disinherited against a hard life, growing prices, exploitation and oppression. The regime also cracked down on the progressive press, primarily the PSP newspaper, *Al-Bayane*. Ever since January 22, 1984, the paper has been rigorously censored or prohibited altogether from printing certain articles.

The charges preferred against arrested patriots are perfectly groundless. The judges lack all evidence of incitement to riots. Nevertheless, they stage trials and pass heavy sentences.

The people are outraged. *Al-Bayane* receives numerous letters and statements in support of the just cause of Morocco's Communists and other patriots.

All over the world, fighters for freedom and democracy identify themselves with the patriotic forces of Morocco. They demand an end to arbitrary trials, the release of innocent people and the abolition of the disgraceful ban on truthful information about the situation in our country.

Ali Joubelli

Diary

On the invitation of fraternal parties *WMR* representatives attended the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland.

On the invitation of the German Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party respectively representatives of the journal attended the festivals of the FRG communist newspaper *Unsere Zeit* and the newspaper of Polish Communists *Trybuna Ludu*.

In Memory of Enrico Berlinguer

ENRICO BERLINGUER, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, noted leader of the Italian and international communist and working class movement, has died at the age of 62 after a short illness.

The working class and other working people of Italy have lost in Enrico Berlinguer's person a tried and tested fighter for their vital interests, an ardent patriot, a champion of peace, democracy and social progress.

Enrico Berlinguer was born on May 25, 1922, at Sassari, the son of a lawyer. In 1937 he joined in the struggle of the country's progressive forces against fascism. He was arrested for his revolutionary activity. After the liberation of Italy from fascism Enrico Berlinguer was a member of the Secretariat of the Communist Youth League and directed the youth magazine *Vita migliore*. He became a member of the leadership of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in 1945 and served as its Chairman between 1950 and 1953. From 1951 to 1954 he was on the World Peace Council and subsequently on its Bureau.

Enrico Berlinguer was elected to the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party in 1946 and remained its member to the end of his life. In 1966 he was elected to the Political Bureau; in 1969 he became deputy General Secretary of the ICP and in March 1972, its General Secretary.

Together with Palmiro Togliatti and Luigi Longo, Enrico Berlinguer did much to make the ICP a mass party, a major national force fighting for the interests of the working class and other working people, for peace, democracy and socialism.

He also contributed in large measure to the defence of the working people's interests as a member of parliament.

The Statement released by the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the ICP on the occasion of Enrico Berlinguer's death notes that his activity 'was inspired by a consistent policy for unity seeking mutual understanding between the working class movement and other democratic and popular sectors of the nation'. In the sphere of international relations, he 'showed much initiative in favour of new relations between states geared to detente and a process of disarmament'.

Enrico Berlinguer won high prestige and respect at national and international level. He enjoyed great popularity as both a leader of Italy's Communists and a man known for his modesty and his sympathetic attitude to people.

The memory of Enrico Berlinguer, an outstanding son of the Italian people, will always be cherished by Communists, by fighters for freedom, democracy, peace and socialism.



Lenin addressing a worker's meeting

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