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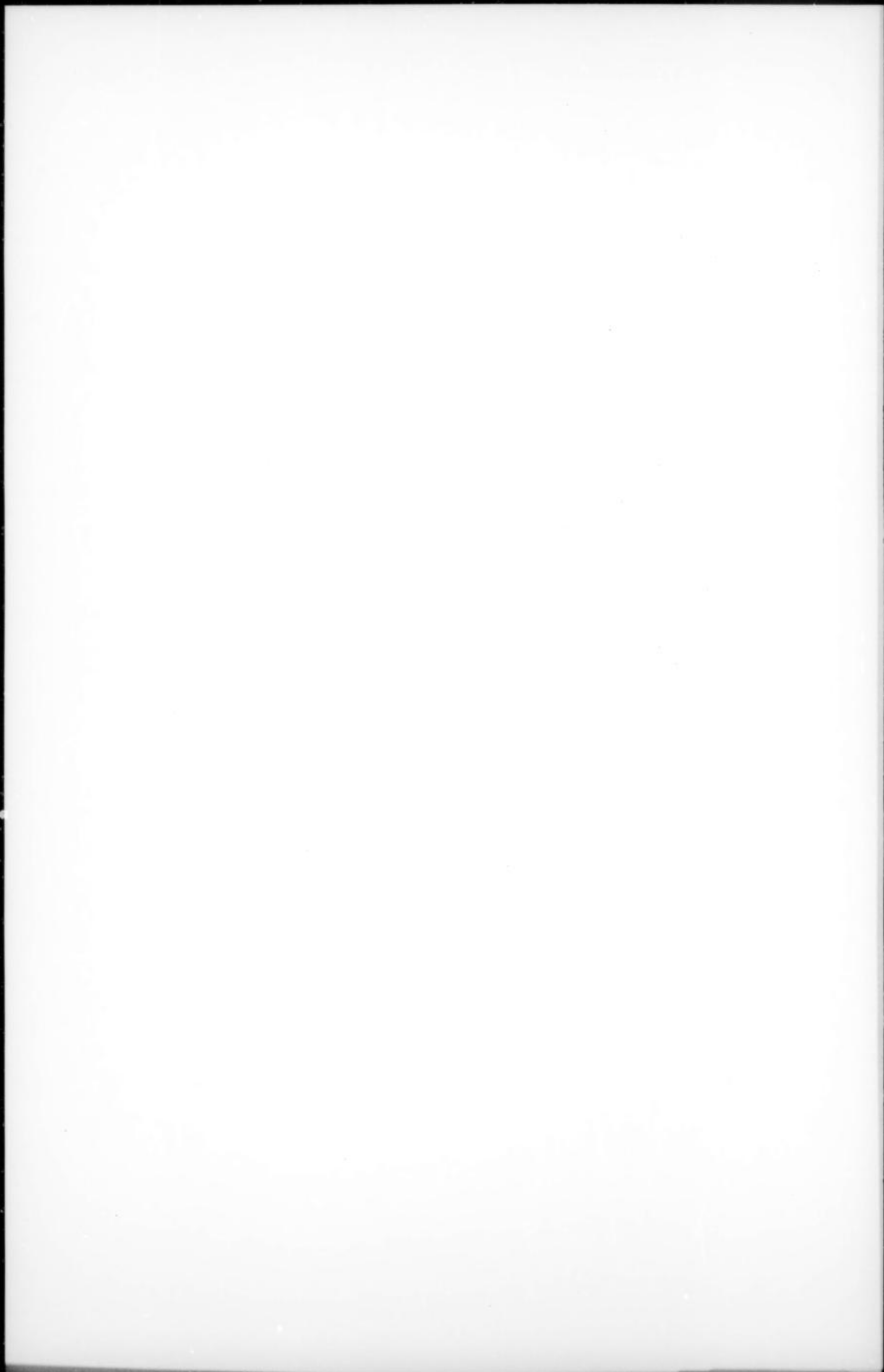
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features

Existing Socialism: Reliable Bulwark of Peace

Boris Ponomarev – CC Political
Bureau alternate member, CC Secretary,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

COOPERATION between the communist and workers' parties of the countries of existing socialism is a factor of great historical and political importance. We are witnessing the formation of a new, socialist civilisation, which increasingly determines the main line of world development in our day.

In the 20th century, historical progress is very rapid. Two world wars have been fought and socialist revolutions carried out in many countries of the world in the lifetime of a single generation, which was involved in the Great October Revolution, the greatest turning-point in world history. We have witnessed the formation of the world's first socialist society, whose viability even in its earliest period amazed the world, and which has paved the way for realising the age-old aspirations of the working people everywhere on the Earth.

Lenin once said that either the new society would stand its ground, or it would have to face decades of horrible bloodshed under a whiteguard terror.¹ The new society stood its ground in that early period, as it did again two decades later, in the fight against fascism, which threatened all the peoples either with destruction or slavery.

After the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, the peoples of many countries got down to building their own socialist future. The Soviet Union ceased to be the only socialist country. The emergence of the world socialist system signified the second most important turning-point in world history after the October Revolution.

Since then the countries of the socialist community have travelled a long and distinguished way. Their successes in building the new society are a contribution to the common internationalist cause of the whole communist movement, the cause of social progress of the whole of mankind.

It is very fortunate for mankind that a socialist community does exist on the Earth. The states and peoples within it have set themselves a task that is unprecedented in scope: to rid mankind of world wars. Even in the present highly dangerous and tense international situation, the socialist countries are doing everything that is necessary and possible to attain that goal. Visual evidence of this comes from the June 1984 Moscow economic summit of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which countered the monstrous military programmes and aggressive policy of imperialism with a programme of peaceful economic construction over the decades ahead, thereby demonstrating to the whole world confidence in their own strength, in the superiority of socialism as a social system, in the inevitable triumph of its humanistic ideals, and in its urge to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The long-term economic strategy collectively worked out at the CMEA summit provides fresh confirmation that the socialist states sincerely yearn for peace and are orienting their economy towards peaceful development. That is the main outcome of

the summit, and it is in sharp contrast with the results of the London meeting of the seven capitalist countries and NATO's activity.

Responding to the militaristic challenge of imperialism, the Moscow summit declared with a sense of responsibility: 'No world problems, including the historical contest between socialism and capitalism, can be solved the military way.'²

That is an approach which meets the interests of all the peoples and of mankind as a whole. The socialist community has been doing its utmost to ensure peace, while solidifying its brotherhood, acting in cohesion, with serried ranks, and carrying high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The fraternal countries' solidarity and mutual support, their socialist internationalism is a great *material force* in present-day progress. The correct and full use of that force dooms yet another 'crusade' of imperialism against communism to failure, as it has repeatedly done in the past.

The world revolutionary process is now passing through a phase in which our revolution 'has proved the rule that the strength of a revolution, the vigour of its assault, its energy, determination, its victory and its triumph intensify the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The more victorious we are, the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite and the more determined their onslaught'.³ It goes without saying that the forces of the revolution are now immensely more powerful than they were in 1920, when Lenin said that. Together with the socialist community, they are confidently demonstrating their capacity to frustrate the imperialist counter-offensive policy, which is harming the whole of mankind.

The December 1983 resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet declared to the whole world that 'the Soviet Union does not encroach on the security of any country, whether in the West or in the East. It wants to live in peace with all the countries and to practice the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems. The Soviet state's supreme organ of power expresses the confidence that reason can and must safeguard mankind from a nuclear catastrophe'.

The CPSU leadership has acted vigorously and purposefully in putting forward and backing with resolve and initiative a programme for pulling out of the dangerous situation which has been created by the US Administration and NATO. This is expressed above all in the speeches and interviews of Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and of other members of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, in the Soviet government's declarations and in other statements of principle on foreign-policy problems. The authoritative statements by the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries and the leading party and government workers are of great importance. These are major acts of policy helping to rend the bourgeois propaganda curtain and to unmask those who falsify the international policy of socialism.

The CPSU has continued to act with ever greater vigour in the international arena. Since the February 1984 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the CPSU CC and the Soviet government have emphasised the continuity and firmness of their fundamental line and have made a number of new and important proposals. The programme of struggle for peace in the changing conditions has been amplified and elaborated. Of especial significance in this context is the Soviet government's statement containing a concrete proposal to start Soviet-US negotiations to avert the militarisation of space. This problem is now acquiring key importance because, if the arms race spilled over into space, it would undermine the prospects of arms limitation and reduction generally.

All of this shows that the USSR and the other socialist countries are firmly maintaining the initiative and that the authority of socialism in world affairs is very high. Over the past several months, Moscow and the other capitals of the socialist community countries have been visited by statesmen from every part of the world, including the heads of NATO countries and others allied with the United States

(FRG, Italy, Great Britain, Spain, France, Australia), of neutral and non-aligned countries, and representatives both of ruling and of opposition parties. This shows that leaders in many countries of the West are aware of the fact that no major international problem can be solved without a consideration of the legitimate interests of the socialist countries.

Our leadership's attentive and concerned attitude to messages from public figures and organisations, as seen from Konstantin Chernenko's replies to the leaders of the Socialist International, to Petra Kelly, who heads the Greens, to the US scientists Richard Garwin and Carl Sagan, and others, arouses great response throughout the world.

Its significance is all the greater in view of the fact that bourgeois propaganda has tried very hard to make public opinion (and not only in the West) believe that the policy of the USSR and of the whole socialist community is unjustifiably 'rigid'. It claims that Reagan's 'peace' calls, of which there is now, at the height of the presidential campaign, a virtual torrent from the White House, are allegedly being 'stonewalled' in Moscow. That is a cynical political ploy by means of which the United States would like to camouflage its own actually aggressive line.

The socialist countries' principled approach and consistency in resolutely standing up for the foundations of international security, for their legitimate interests in the international arena, and for their revolutionary gains *are dictated both by the objective situation at the present stage, and by the nature of the challenge which the US ruling circles have issued to socialism.*

What is the substance of the present US policy?

First. The 'crusade' which Reagan announced two years ago is more than mere rhetoric. It reflects the actual policy, the line of confrontation and stepping up the arms race. The US Administration is doing the bidding of the military-industrial complex in seeking to channel the class contest in the international arena into a course of military rivalry. This poses a threat not only to our country, against which the edge of the militaristic strategy is directed, not only to the other socialist countries, but also to the other progressive, democratic states, to all the peoples, to all the countries, and ultimately to the existence of civilisation itself.

Second. The United States has gone forward from *planning* the measures to attain military superiority to *practical action* in realising the corresponding programmes. The start of the deployment of US missiles in Western Europe is a most important, though far from the only element of a policy which is essentially tantamount to stepping up the material preparations for a world war.

The Reagan Administration expects to complete, by the end of the present decade, a stage of rearmament that is highly important in quantitative and, especially, in *qualitative* terms. Almost \$1.8 trillion is to be spent for these purposes only in the next five years (1984-1988). Nearly \$10 billion has been appropriated for the development and deployment of new strategic offensive weapons systems, the buildup of a large-scale anti-missile defence system, anti-satellite weapons, etc., over the next year.

Third. Washington's cynical meddling in the internal affairs of sovereign states, its attempts to stamp out revolutionary and liberation movements by means of sanctions, blockades and interventions, and its stake on state terrorism are the instruments of its imperial strategy. 'Power pressure' in every direction has become the main instrument of its hegemonistic plans. This is also indicated by the step-up of US activity in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and on the Asian continent generally, the attempts to play the 'China card', etc. The unprecedented toughening up of its line with respect to Latin America, Central America in the first place, carries the same message. The United States is organising and supporting armed intervention against Nicaragua and is on the brink of direct involvement in that intervention.

Open support is being given to all the reactionary regimes and aggressors: Israel, which is tormenting the Arab lands; South Africa, which is attacking its neighbours;

the Salvadoran junta, which is fighting its own people; the Honduran rulers, who have converted their country into a bridgehead for aggression against Nicaragua and the bandits operating in Afghanistan. The Pentagon has rattled its weapons in the Persian Gulf area, and has been using the Iran-Iraq war for its own strategic purposes.

The emergence of new hotbeds of conflict, and the fanning of old ones, together with the danger of their developing into a world-wide conflagration, is the result of that policy, which has already led to the *loss of tens of thousands of lives*.

Fourth. The United States has violated a number of highly essential and effective agreements with the USSR (starting with the 1972 'Principles of Mutual Relations'). It has torpedoed many fundamentally important treaties signed with the USSR, including SALT-2. No matter how deftly US spokesmen manoeuvre and engage in verbal tight-rope walking, they cannot conceal the fact that the United States refuses to undertake any commitments on limiting the arms race or banning the first use of nuclear weapons, and force generally in inter-state relations.

Fifth. Our class adversary is very well aware that socialism, the socialist community, is the main obstacle in the way of its reactionary schemes. That is why efforts to undermine existing socialism, to divide the socialist countries, and to range them against each other—an old and well-known technique—are assuming ever more refined and brazen forms.

Finally, **sixth.** The NATO Council's recent Washington session and the London meeting of the Big Seven showed that under US pressure the imperialist states are following in the wake of the United States, despite the economic and political contradictions between them.

The socialist countries' line in the face of this new and possibly the most dangerous challenge from imperialism over the past decades has been formulated at meetings of their party and state leaders. It is above all *firmness* in defending the political and military-strategic positions of socialism. It is, simultaneously, well-coordinated and *vigorous initiative* aimed to attain practical results in checking the arms race and reviving the detente.

The facts over the past few months indicate that *processes working against Reagan's line* are under way in the world. In the most general terms, these processes could be characterised as follows:

In the United States itself, Reagan's line of exacerbating relations with the USSR and other socialist countries is meeting with ever more tangible opposition. The Democratic Party and its presidential candidate have come out against that line, especially on the arms race and confrontation with the Soviet Union. Ferment is brewing even in the Republican Party.

In the recent period, resistance is also being felt in the Congress. However timidly, it has tried to do something to dampen the Pentagon's appetites: it has cut back appropriations for the MX missiles, it has withheld funds for starting the production of binary chemical weapons, and it has put some limitations on the large-scale testing of anti-satellite weapons.

In the United States, there is a growing chorus of demand that the president should take more than token steps that could lead to an improvement of Soviet-American relations.

Although US business on the whole supports the anti-social programmes of the White House, that cannot be said about the attitude of the business world to its foreign policy. A meeting of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council held this year is indicative in this respect. Many of the influential spokesmen for US business attending it came out for the restoration of confidence between the USSR and the United States and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation. Nor is that only a matter of commercial interest. The runaway arms race, which is used to justify the anti-Soviet policy, has produced a huge budget deficit (nearly \$200 billion), so posing the threat of a credit and financial collapse, economists and

businessmen say.

Prominent public figures in the United States, world-famed scientists and broad circles of scientific opinion have been levelling ever more definite criticism at Reagan's foreign policy line, especially his plans for the militarisation of space.

Public opinion polls in the United States also show that the negative attitude to the policy of confrontation and militarism is deeply rooted in the country.

Furthermore, *in Western Europe there is a growing urge to keep a distance on Reagan's self-seeking and adventurist line.* That is also being felt within NATO. There is a growing comprehension in the most diverse circles that the United States regards Western Europe as a 'bridgehead', as a theatre of military operations, in the course of which the United States is prepared to sacrifice it. And many in Europe have drawn the right conclusion: the only way to ensure security is to reject Washington's strategy. This is indicated by facts like Holland's postponement of its final decision on missile deployment, and the resolution of the parliament of Denmark on its non-participation in funding the buildup of an infrastructure for the missile deployment in West European countries; and the refusal of the governments of Greece and Spain fully to accede to the documents of the latest session of the NATO Council. Even some avowed supporters of pro-US policy have on occasion admitted that Washington does not want to reckon with their national and state interests, thereby harming their security.

Prominent political leaders in the capitalist countries, even those within the Atlantic Alliance, can be heard declaring that they do not believe in any aggressive intentions on the Soviet Union's part. Isn't that eloquent recognition of the fact that NATO does not exist for some kind of defence against a mythical 'Soviet threat'? Why then, one may well ask, have such a wild arms race and spend such fantastic amounts of money on it?

The marked positive shift in the anti-war activity of social democracy also deserves attention. There has been a marked growth of *anti-missile sentiment* in its midst. Some influential social democratic parties (for instance, the West German, Greek, Swedish, Finnish and Austrian, and British and Australian Labour) have ever more often and insistently put forward proposals cutting across the US line and in some respects echoing the socialist countries' foreign policy proposals. Most of the socialist and social democratic parties in Western Europe (excluding the French, Portuguese and several others) are opposed to Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, although they tend to vacillate on the main issue: the need to have these missiles withdrawn as the prerequisite for the resumption of the Soviet-American negotiations.

Many authoritative statesmen in the non-socialist world have been ever more actively taking constructive initiatives cutting across Washington's stand. The most vivid example is the joint declaration by the leaders of six states on four continents signed by President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu of Greece, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado of Mexico, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Prime Minister Olof Palme of Sweden. The declaration contains a call for a halt to the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, with a subsequent considerable reduction in nuclear forces without delay. This first step is to be followed by a programme for arms reduction that could ultimately lead to general and complete disarmament.

The Pacific line in the aggressive policy of US imperialism is a source of growing alarm in the Asian countries. In that area, the United States has built up a chain of military bases and strong points, it has sited nuclear weapons, it has taken the line of reviving and bolstering Japanese militarism, and it is building up a military Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle. US Secretary of State George Shultz recently toured Southeast Asia, and, according to *The New York Times*, he returned clearly irritated by the sharp criticism he was forced to hear on the policy of supplying US

weapons to China.

Finally, *the anti-war movement is once again gathering momentum* following some decline early this year. *Its effectiveness and activity are growing.* This was vividly manifested in the Easter marches in April, in the May Day demonstrations and—most expressively—in the many-thousand-strong demonstrations of protest over Reagan's June trip to Europe. Success in the elections to the European Parliament went mainly to those parties which centred their electoral campaign on the issues of detente and peace, and took an active stand against the US missiles.

What happened in Holland testifies to the real potentialities of the anti-war movement. After all, the decision taken by the government and the parliament of that country is an evident result of the extra-parliamentary struggle, of the active mass resistance. It exemplifies the effectiveness of the anti-war-struggle.

Under the influence of all that, and also out of electoral considerations, *the White House has been forced in the last few months to modify its tactics and to indulge in 'peace-loving' demagoguery.*

The change of rhetoric does, of course, also mean something, because it is definite evidence of the effectiveness of the socialist community's foreign-policy line and of the effectiveness of the anti-war movement. But one cannot help seeing the far-reaching schemes of Reagan and those who nod assent and imitate him in Western Europe. First, the 'peace-loving' rhetoric is designed to cover up the continuing arms race, the step-up of military programmes, and the use of the policy of force, and to conceal the fact that the US Administration's militaristic, adventurist line remains unchanged. Second, Reagan seeks to neutralise his rivals from the Democratic Party and to shed his established image of a 'war president'. Third, the US Administration hopes that this will confuse the anti-war movement. Finally, fourth, by their talk of 'Moscow's intransigence', about a 'Soviet threat', about 'immoral and godless communism', etc., Reagan and his team intend to give the propaganda psychological warfare spiral a new twist. It is no accident at all that simultaneously with the intensified 'peace' demagoguery, the signal was also given for starting new anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns, such as that on international terrorism, over Afghanistan and Kampuchea, Cuba and Nicaragua, and so on.

There should be no illusions about this so-called 'peace counter-offensive' by the US and NATO men reflecting some kind of changes in actual policy. But then it is not right to close one's eyes to the fact that it is capable of misleading some people. Some are inclined to think that behind this rhetoric there is a need to see a readiness for some kind of concrete acts, for negotiations without preconditions and reservations.

There is a powerful means for refuting any such misconceptions and for exposing the whole of the US approach to negotiations. It is the package of the socialist countries' proposals, their whole programme of measures capable of ending the arms race and removing international tensions. The US Administration has all these proposals on the table before it. But it has either dragged its feet with the replies, or has said 'no', or yet again has reacted with 'initiatives' that are absolutely unacceptable because they are aimed to break up the principle of equality and equal security.

Let us recall the following:

the NATO countries have rejected the proposal to undertake a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons;

the United States has rejected out of hand a freeze on the nuclear arsenals which was proposed not only by the socialist countries but also in the well-known address by the six states;

the United States has refused to resume negotiations on the full prohibition of nuclear weapons tests under the pretext that the matter of control is not fully worked out;

NATO, and the United States in the first place, have hedged their proposals on

chemical weapons with conditions for control which effectively make agreement impossible;

NATO, and the United States in the first place, have sabotaged the proposal to conclude a treaty on the non-resort to force between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. For all the attempts to advertise Reagan's Dublin speech as marking a shift in the US position, it does not say a single word about the US attitude to the idea of signing a relevant treaty. However, the Western countries are finding it ever harder to brush off the proposal. There is growing discontent in the NATO countries over the fact that the United States has failed to display a readiness to conduct a constructive line at Stockholm. Meanwhile, Washington's representatives have continued to engage in sophistry, asserting that the socialist countries' proposal is 'declarative'. In that case, the UN Charter could also be said to be declarative. The USSR has pursued a clear-cut line in connection with the Stockholm Conference: it has advocated the simultaneous and parallel examination of major political confidence measures and technical military measures but, of course, not of an intelligence character.

How has the United States responded to the USSR's proposal for negotiations on space with a designation of their time and venue? There is good reason why this Soviet initiative produced a broad and concerned response throughout the world. But the United States has effectively rejected the proposal by resorting to a hypocritical ploy: it pretended to agree to a meeting of delegations from the two sides, but only for the purpose of discussing various aspects of strategic arms limitation and reduction and limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe on US terms.

But what would acceptance of such an approach signify? Let us bear in mind that the United States is not halting its planned deployment of missiles in Europe and has no intention of doing so. The US Administration has done nothing to change its 'zero' and 'interim' options. Nothing but the verbal shell has changed.

In these conditions, the resumption of the talks on limiting strategic weapons and nuclear weapons in Europe would do nothing to reduce the danger of a nuclear threat and would hold out no promise of an agreement being achieved.

In the present situation, the USSR and the CPSU have displayed a maximum of restraint. The response has been commensurate in volume and character to the threat posed by the US actions. "As for the Soviet Union," Konstantin Chernenko has emphasised, "we seek no superiority for ourselves. If we saw any sign of real concern on the US side for reaching mutually acceptable solutions, we would not be found wanting."⁴

Can the dangerous trend in world developments be reversed, can the world's slide to a nuclear catastrophe be halted? The CPSU and the fraternal parties give a positive answer to that question.

Our optimism in this respect is not for show, it is not declarative. It is based on an understanding of the tremendous potentialities at the disposal of forces of peace, which are capable of frustrating the plans of the bellicose circles of imperialism.

There is the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and their defence capability and economic might.

There is the new anti-war movement which is unprecedentedly massive and unparalleled in social diversity.

There are the anti-imperialist forces of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the non-aligned movement confronting the aggressive and neocolonialist line of imperialism.

There is the communist movement, the most consistent and organised part of the world working class and democratic movement.

There are, finally, the realistically-minded groups and leaders in the capitalist countries.

The existence of such forces warrants the conclusion that the course of world

developments can be changed for the better by a conjunction of the socialist states' foreign-policy line, which expresses the most profound aspirations of the peoples, with the will and energies of all the other peace-loving forces.

But if this is to be done, the deep and constantly growing alarm of millions of people over the aggressive line of imperialism should be transformed into concrete action of unprecedented scope and strength. Setting in motion the vast and truly inexhaustible anti-war potential of the peoples means creating an insuperable barrier in the way of the US-NATO nuclear plans.

The situation should not be artificially dramatised, but then the increased nuclear threat should not be minimised either. Millions of people should know that mankind is threatened with a nuclear carnage, a 'nuclear winter' and other disastrous consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. This is indicated by the results of studies made by prominent scientists, physicians and other specialists. If a nuclear war were to break out, it would mean the destruction of human civilisation.

The truth of this is increasingly getting through to men's minds and is inducing them to vigorous action. There is growing mistrust of and indignation with Washington's policy, and this is promoted by the convincing and well-argued explanation of the issues which increasingly agitate people, but which are being brazenly distorted by bourgeois propaganda, namely: who is responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations, what are the prerequisites for their resumption, what is the meaning of the socialist countries' counter-measures, what are the actual positions of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation on nuclear and chemical disarmament, prevention of the militarisation of space, and reduction of conventional armaments.

By means of their vast propaganda machine, the ruling circles of the United States and other NATO countries are trying in every possible way to prevent the masses from realising the true causes for the deterioration of the international situation and the growth of a nuclear threat, and to impede the spread of the anti-war movement or to send it off on a false course. These purposes are served, in particular, by the attempts either to hush up or distort the lessons of the Second World War.

The 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism is to be marked in the forthcoming period. The aggressive imperialist circles would like to use the anniversary to vindicate their policy. That should not be allowed to happen. The moral potential of the peoples' historical memory is very great, and it is an important asset of the contemporary anti-war movement. New generations of men throughout the world must know the truth about Hitlerite fascism, which started the war under the banner of a struggle to 'eradicate communism', they must know about the Soviet Union's crucial role, and about the contribution made by all the anti-fascist and patriotic forces to the peoples' liberation from the nazi tyranny. *The truth about the Second World War must become an effective weapon in the struggle against the preparation of a new war.*

The struggle against revanchist tendencies is a sharp issue; these tendencies are now being given a new ring and are being fitted into the context of the 'crusade'. The decision of the Council of the West European Union to lift the remaining restrictions on the FRG's development of any types of conventional weapons makes revanchism an even greater danger.

The new wave in the campaign over the imaginary violations of human rights in the socialist countries must be resolutely rebuffed. It is in the interests of the cause of peace not to leave unanswered the slanderous attacks by the pseudo-champions of human rights, to carry on a vigorous struggle, to intensify the exposure of the violations of human rights in the capitalist countries, to do this in concrete terms, with the naming of the victims of arbitrary acts and repression, including fighters for peace, to show the responsibility of imperialism for the genocide, apartheid, racism, and the massive use of violence against human beings, and to expose the demagogic rhetoric of those who have themselves raised terrorism to the rank of state policy,

while simultaneously declaring both liberation movements and even support for these movements to be 'terrorism'.

One important aspect needs to be emphasised: the problems of war and peace, as, incidentally, all the other global problems as well, do not exist on their own and cannot be separated from the world social contradictions and the development of the class struggle. It is already evident that the fresh upturn in the working class movement and of the massive social protest in the capitalist countries in a way meshes with the anti-war struggle. It is a fact, for instance, that the huge growth in the US national debt, which has been caused by military expenditures, is ever more noticeably impinging not only on the Americans themselves, but also on the West European partners of the United States and, of course, on the developing countries, which have found themselves in financial bondage. Hence the legitimate and ever more pronounced resistance to Washington's attempts to get others to carry the burden of the arms race.

The popular masses of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are a major force in the world-wide anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle. The crisis in the relations between these countries and the industrialised capitalist states has been growing, and here again the arms race is having a most immediate effect: by absorbing immense intellectual and material resources, it further deepens the gulf between the rich and the poor countries.

No amount of declarative statements, like the one adopted by the Seven conference in London, can conceal the fact that the West, together with Japan, is trying to subject the developing countries to its domination and to continue the savage exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies. In doing so, the United States and its allies make use of every possible instrument—economic, political and just recently ever more actively military instruments as well. 'Dollar diplomacy' and 'gunboat diplomacy' may be said to go hand in hand. A full-scale programme is being implemented in the United States to develop new military means of fighting the national liberation movements, the so-called 'special task forces'. The joint command of these forces set up earlier this year has been directed to carry out joint special operations by all the arms of the US armed forces designed for the suppression of liberation movements in any region. That measure poses a very great danger to these movements, and its true meaning must be shown.

Latin America provides the example of how the aggressive interventionist US policy generates a powerful anti-American tide. The first consultative meeting of anti-imperialist organisations of countries in Central America and the Caribbean was held in Havana this year. It issued a militant anti-imperialist document, a joint communique resolutely condemning Washington's aggressive line in the region and voicing the firm conviction that the struggle for independence is inseparable from the struggle for peace.

A meeting of South American communist parties was held in Buenos Aires in early July to discuss joint action to resist the whole of Reagan's policy in Latin America, and especially in Central America. There is good ground to assert that a new development of the mass anti-war and anti-imperialist movement is beginning on the continent.

There is growing resistance to the aggressive militaristic policy of the United States and Israel in the Middle East, one of the hottest spots on the globe. This resistance, says a statement issued by a meeting of Arab communist parties last June, is increasingly merging with the international anti-war movement.

How to set in motion the great anti-war potential of the peoples of Asia is now an especially pressing question. An important impetus in this direction could come from a major forum of social forces in the area, and a proposal to hold one was made at the Sixth Congress of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and Africa in Algiers. The forum could discuss both the constructive ideas of the non-aligned

movement, and the well-known proposals and initiatives of Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, Democratic People's Korea and the USSR. There are, of course, great difficulties in the way, and it will take time to surmount them. But the goal is clear: the voice of the Asian peoples should also be fully heard in demanding the removal of the threat of war.

Meanwhile, Soviet public bodies are taking an active part in various conferences and other anti-war measures and explaining the truth about the socialist countries' policy, and will continue to do so in the future.

The communist movement has a special and indispensable role in the peoples' anti-war struggle. With the nuclear threat impending over mankind, the Communists, always active fighters against oppression and man's exploitation by man, have been advanced by life itself to the forefront of the struggle to preserve civilisation and the human right to life. With their profound understanding of the true causes and springs of the war danger, they have given a clear and precise definition of the goals of the anti-war struggle, bringing a spirit of optimism and militancy into the anti-war movement, and advocating dialogue and cooperation of all the peace-loving forces, irrespective of world view and political convictions.

The communist movement's loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the strengthening of its ranks is an important pledge of success in fulfilling the tasks before it. That is being insistently dictated by the increased threat of a nuclear war, by the strategy of the 'crusade' launched by US imperialism, by the consolidation of the right-wing forces, which have started a coordination drive on the working people's living standards and social rights, and by the need for more active and effective solidarity with existing socialism and with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Experience brings home with fresh force that the need for the broadest cohesion of all the forces on an anti-war basis does not make any less pressing the task of the Communists' internationalist solidarity in the light of the class principles which determine the independent face of the communist movement. Let us bear in mind that such solidarity proves to be most effective when the communist parties of the non-socialist part of the world act in utmost unity with the fraternal parties of the socialist community.

The fact that the anti-war struggle has come to the forefront of the Communists' activity does not minimise the importance of the class struggle and does not lower the role of anti-monopoly alliances and their more vigorous action. Indeed, these lines in the work of the fraternal parties of the non-socialist part of the world support and solidify each other. What is more, the anti-war struggle is itself essentially a struggle against the most aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism, against the 'war party' within the international bourgeoisie. Consequently, it, too, has an objective social, class underpinning.

It goes without saying that the Communists' own initiatives and joint measures do not in any sense fence them off from the other political and social forces which are or can become their allies in the struggle for peace and social progress. Fraternal party meetings have always given a powerful impetus to broad and constructive dialogue and cooperation of diverse peace and anti-imperialist trends, which preserve their full identity and independence. Their calls have always been addressed to the peoples and to mankind as a whole.

The participants in the latest meeting of CC Secretaries of the socialist countries' fraternal parties on international and ideological questions (Prague, July 1984) came out for stronger solidarity and cooperation of all the communist and workers' parties. They voiced a readiness for active political dialogue and cooperation with the socialist and social democratic parties, and with the various socio-political forces within the ranks of the anti-war and anti-missile movement for the purpose of seeking ways leading to a constructive solution of the acute problems of war and peace, of ways to

end the arms race, the nuclear arms race in the first place.

The building, development and perfection of the actually existing socialist society is obviously of tremendous and even crucial importance for world politics and for the future of mankind as a whole. The 26th Congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU CC have theoretically substantiated and approved a concrete programme for improving the developed socialist society in our country. It ranges over every aspect of life in our society, from the development of the productive forces to ideology.

This programme is being consistently translated into life. There is evidence of greater order, discipline and organisation, and a higher sense of responsibility among our cadres. Without relaxing its attention to these factors, the party has gone on to *qualitative changes* which require a renewal of the production assets on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology, a radical improvement of the system of management and administration, a restructuring of the economic mechanism, an improvement of the political and ideological superstructure, and a development of social relations.

In this age of the scientific and technical revolution and with the present level of the contest between the two world social systems, this way makes it possible: (a) to build up an economic potential worthy of socialism at the end of the 20th century; (b) to ensure living standards for the peoples of the socialist countries, and a level of education and culture for the masses up to the highest standards of modern civilisation; (c) to have due defence capability for safeguarding the socialist gains and protecting peaceful construction in our countries, and to provide reliable service to the cause of saving the whole world from nuclear war; (d) to ensure a steady growth of the political authority and influence of socialism on world politics; and (e) to enhance the attractive power of socialism in the consciousness of all the peoples, something that will yield the crucial preponderance in the battle between socialism and capitalism for the minds of men.

Those are the standards underlying the CPSU's activity in perfecting the Soviet society.

Each of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries is engaged in solving the most complicated problems in the construction and development of socialism in its specific national conditions and within the framework of the community. That is, in fact, a concrete embodiment of the great patriotic and internationalist mission of the ruling communist parties.

The Prague meeting of the CC Secretaries of the socialist countries' fraternal parties on international and ideological questions showed how important it is just now for the socialist world to take a common approach in tackling the key problems of the international situation. How is this approach characterised? We feel that it comprises the following main elements.

There is the need consistently and firmly to conduct a jointly elaborated policy in the international arena along every line—on the diplomatic, ideological and propaganda fronts—which is dictated by the situation, the danger of the imperialist challenge, and the need to ensure favourable international conditions for the development and perfection of the socialist system. Hence the growing role of the socialist countries' *cohesion*, of the cohesion of our fraternal parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

There is the constant *activity* in implementing the agreed foreign-policy line and the use of the whole arsenal of political and propaganda instruments at the disposal of parties and countries of the socialist community.

There is the *initiative in the search* for practical forms of cooperation with various progressive social forces, and the arrangement of dialogue and cooperation with them for the purpose of improving the moral and political climate in the world.

Finally, there is the *organic connection* between internal and international activity.

The effectiveness of the socialist countries' efforts in the ideological struggle in the international arena ultimately and largely also depends on how successfully things progress in each individual socialist country and in the community as a whole.

The CPSU and its leadership are convinced that imperialism can be halted in its attempt to settle the historical dispute with socialism through a nuclear war, and its sinister conspiracy against mankind can be scrapped through the joint efforts of the socialist community countries, the other peace-loving states and all the peoples of the Earth. Socialism and peace are indivisible.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 323.

² *Pravda*, June 16, 1984.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 450.

⁴ *Pravda*, June 5, 1984.

The Power of Creative Marxism-Leninism

Grisha Filipov – CC Political Bureau member, Bulgarian CP, Chairman, Council of Ministers of Bulgaria

THE socialist revolution in the People's Republic of Bulgaria triumphed four decades ago, a brief period which in the thirteen centuries of our country's history is unparalleled in scope, imaginative endeavour and epoch-making gains. 'Bulgaria is now confidently advancing in the leading column of the countries blazing mankind's trail to communism, the realm of freedom,' says Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP CC and Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria.¹

Our own historical experience and that of the other socialist countries has confirmed that the great revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin is the solid scientific and ideological basis of all the theoretical and practical efforts in building the new society. The Bulgarian CP is boundlessly loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and has always been guided by it in acting in the light of the general uniformities of social development at every stage in the struggle against capitalism and the building of socialism.

Our party's strength lies in its view of the Marxist-Leninist theory as a guide to action, an ever living doctrine which is developed and enriched in the historical process and the accumulation of world-wide revolutionary experience.

Our way shows that the BCP has in practice mastered the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socialism and the skill to make the system work up to high economic, political and social indicators and to reckon with their specific manifestations in Bulgarian conditions. We are profoundly aware that Engels was right when he said that socialism is not something that is out and dried, but that it is subject to constant change the transformations. We are aware that the advance to communism means creative effort by the peoples and the communist parties, a process to which each country makes a contribution of its own, enriching the common theoretical treasure-store and the practical gains of the international working class and communist movements.

More than nine decades ago, the Bulgarian Communist Party raised high the banner of scientific socialism and began to lead the proletariat along the way of implacable class struggle; since then it has matured and established itself as the

political vanguard of the working class and the leader of all the working people.

Our revolution has always been a socialist one and has repeated the basic lines of the Great October Socialist Revolution; it is an embodiment of the general uniformities of the transition from capitalism to socialism and a creative application and further development of the principles of the proletarian struggle in Bulgaria's conditions.

Lenin's idea of a united front, formed through united action by the Communists and the healthy forces of the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Alliance² was realised in practice under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov. The party united all the anti-fascists, set up the Patriotic Front, and under its banner organised and led to victory the armed struggle against capitalism, the fascist monarchy and reaction. The Soviet Army's offensive in the Balkans created in 1944 an exceptionally favourable situation for the Patriotic Front's takeover of power. The victory of the September 9 Revolution was a specific instance of the concrete embodiment of Marxism-Leninism and the further creative development of the theory of proletarian struggle in our country's concrete conditions. That was expressed above all in the BCP's elaboration of the proposition that, in definite conditions, the socialist power—the dictatorship of the proletariat—can assume the form of people's democracy. The revolution ushered in a new epoch in the history of the Bulgarian state, the epoch of great economic, political, social, cultural and moral transformations on the way to socialism and communism.

The April 1956 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC condemned the personality cult, which is alien to socialism, re-established Lenin's principles and norms of party life, took fundamentally new political decisions on the country's further development and so marked a turning point in the history of our party and people. That plenary meeting inaugurated the party's April Line, the line of creative Marxism-Leninism and the economic and socio-political strategy for further building socialist society in Bulgaria.

The new people's state received a hard legacy from the past: poverty, age-old backwardness, an embryonic industry, and small and scattered private farms with primitive production techniques—such was the face of Bulgaria before September 9, 1944.

In the four decades, our country has advanced from the wooden plough to electronics, from a state of semi-destitution to social and spiritual emancipation and the flowering of the individual. It has scored great successes in building the material and technical basis of socialism, improving social relations, transforming the society's social-class structure, changing the people's way of life, raising the people's wellbeing and enhancing the spiritual growth of the nation. In a short period, Bulgaria has achieved that which in different conditions it took other countries centuries to achieve.

The party's economic policy has been focused—especially since the April 1956 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC—on the shaping of a modern material and technical basis for the new society to ensure accelerated and efficient development of the productive forces, and bring about a substantial change in the relations of production. Throughout the whole post-war period, Bulgaria's economic growth rates have been among the highest in the world, and its socio-economic progress has continued to be dynamic and stable even in the past decade, despite the very difficult economic situation.

On the eve of this 40th anniversary, socialist Bulgaria has a material and technical base which is ten times greater than that of 1952. Today, two or three times more fixed assets are put on stream every year, as compared with what the country had in 1939. Last year, the national income per head was 9.2 times higher than the pre-war level. The qualitative changes in the structure and technical level of our production potential are highly important, and there has been a shift in the balance between

industrial and agricultural output: in 1939, the ratio was 34 to 66, and in 1983—84 to 16; in 1939, the ratio between industrial output in Group A and Group B³ was 23 to 77, and in 1983—62 to 38. Between 1971 and 1983, despite the growth in world prices for the basic fuels and raw and other materials, and the recent worsening of relations with the industrialised capitalist countries, Bulgaria's national income increased by roughly 130 per cent, and fixed assets by almost 170 per cent. We now have more higher-school students than we had secondary-school pupils before the war, and twice as many lecturers at institutions of higher learning than we had school-teachers in the old days. Once a backward agrarian country, Bulgaria has become a developed industrial-agrarian state.

The deep changes in our economy are most pronounced in the country's accelerated socialist industrialisation, with emphasis on the heavy industry, in accordance with one of the fundamental uniformities in building the new society. The development of industry, which has proceeded with the invaluable assistance of the Soviet Union and in fraternal friendship with other socialist countries, has been designed for a complex restructuring of the national economy in accordance with the latest scientific and technical achievements.

The party has made our industrialisation specifically Bulgarian, it took into account the potentialities of the international socialist division of labour, and the relatively small scale of our national economy. It has succeeded in effecting progressive changes in the structure of the national economy (especially in industry), in developing the concentration and specialisation of production, in considerably improving its organisation, and in creating the prerequisites for flexible manoeuvring by enterprises in accordance with the changing requirements of markets at home and abroad.

The BCP's creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory is exemplified by the fundamentally new theoretical propositions and practical approaches in the process of industrialisation. They show the power of creative Marxism-Leninism and the skilful application in concrete Bulgarian conditions of the Soviet Union's experience in building up its own large-scale modern industry.

Our party has always attached much importance to agriculture and has always given it special attention. Our agriculture has gone through a difficult but fruitful way of restructuring in kind and has now become a solid component part of our socialist national economy. The BCP's agrarian policy has also been shaped and conducted on the basis of a continuous and creative enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory and a study and use of Soviet experience in accordance with the concrete social, political, economic and ideological tasks of each stage of development. Over the past forty years, there have been two such main stages: first, the socialist restructuring of social relations in the countryside through the establishment and buildup of the cooperative system; and second, the industrialisation of agricultural production and its integration with industry.

The creative application of Lenin's cooperative plan in restructuring agriculture on socialist lines and creating forms of such restructuring—Cooperative Labour Farms—specific for Bulgaria's national and socio-economic conditions were the most characteristic aspect of the first stage. In 1948, Dimitrov mapped out the guidelines and tasks in this sphere, namely, gradual involvement of poor and middle peasants into cooperatives, development of machine-and-tractor stations, abolition of land tenancy, limitation and then total prohibition of its purchase and sale, and reduction and then abolition of ground rent by decision of the cooperatives themselves. The result was a practical solution of the landed-property problem in such a way that all the land remained in the use of the labouring peasants in perpetuity. Bulgaria followed the Soviet Union in bringing about the triumph of the new system and in establishing socialist relations of production in the countryside.

New forms of economic organisation—agro-industrial complexes—took shape at

the second stage. These modern and efficient socialist organisations have demonstrated their advantages by attaining a high degree of specialisation and concentration of production. The National Agro-Industrial Union, a totally new and voluntary economic association of agricultural industrial enterprises and research-and-production organisations, was set up in 1979 on the scale of the whole national agro-industrial complex.

The 10th Congress of the BCP (1971) adopted the Programme for Building a Developed Socialist Society in Bulgaria, whose objective is to create the necessary material and spiritual prerequisites for a gradual transition to the higher phase of the communist formation and to give socialism full scope for manifesting its potentialities and realising its advantages in every sphere of life. And, of course, also to attain a higher labour productivity, as compared with capitalism, for that is what Lenin saw as the most important element for the triumph of the new social system.⁴

The decisions of the 12th Congress of the BCP (1981) were a major milestone in the party's economic policy. It formulated the main socio-economic task: further all-round and ever fuller satisfaction of the people's growing material, spiritual and social requirements through the intensification of the national economy, consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism, and perfection of the socialist social relations.

The main line of Bulgaria's socio-economic development entails the intensification of material production, the non-production sphere and every other type of social activity, a process that in scale, depth of transformation and strength of influence can be compared only with socialist industrialisation.

The objective need for all-round intensification in every sphere springs from the scientific and technical revolution and also from a number of internal and external conditions of reproduction. These are, on the one hand, the impossibility of involving additional labour resources, the growing shortage of the principal types of raw materials and sources of energy, the rising world prices of fuels, energy and some types of raw and other materials, and on the other, Bulgaria's ever more active participation in the international division of labour. The objective conditions of economic development at the present stage demand above all highly efficient use of three factors of production: funds, the objects of labour, and living labour. Hence the need for a radical improvement of the socialist organisation of production and labour.

Social production in the means of production, on which the new system rests, gives great scope for accelerating scientific and technical progress and creating a material and technical basis that is adequate to the mature socialist society.

The BCP's present strategy in further developing the productive forces is an organic blend of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the great potentialities of social relations under socialism. The complex mechanisation and automation of production, the introduction of electronics and cybernetics into technological processes and control, the mass introduction of Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience, and the full use of the reserves available in all the industries and at every enterprise now come to the fore. We also give special attention to raising the standards and efficiency of production, the quality and competitiveness of our products and the maintenance of high and stable rates of economic growth with limited energy and raw-material resources.

This confronts engineering with the need to create flexible automated production systems, extensively to introduce robots, technological modules and lines, programmed-control machine-tools, laser devices, micro-computers, new electronic-transport systems, and other machines with much better parameters. That is why there is a need to develop investment heavy engineering and other specially promising lines of this sector of the national economy.

Industrialisation and intensification of agricultural production through complex mechanisation and automation, the use of achievements in chemistry and biology,

and the introduction of industrial labour techniques everywhere are the core of the party's present-day agrarian policy.

A realistic assessment of what has been achieved over the past forty years helps us correctly to discern the new problems in further building mature socialism. Analysis shows that the need for sharply improving the quality of workmanship is the overriding need at the present stage. That is an objective requirement of life and a priority technological, economic, social and ideological task which springs from the fact that consumer requirements have been rapidly growing, while the open character of our economy demands that our goods should be more competitive. The country's dynamic development should proceed under the following motto: 'High quality in all things and everywhere!' This can be achieved only by acting in the light of the objective uniformities in building mature socialism and using the complex approach.

The marked growth in the use-value of products dictates the need to renew the existing hardware, technologies and products, above all on the basis of fundamentally new scientific and technical solutions. In formulating and conducting its policy, the BCP displays tireless concern for improving quality along the whole reproduction cycle. Special attention is being given to analysing the best world achievements which must become the criteria of high quality for Bulgarian products.

Questions relating to the development and improvement of the system of social administration are of exceptional importance in our party's policy. Throughout the whole period of socialist construction, we have been guided by Lenin's idea that, once the working class wins political power, the main function of the state in strengthening and consolidating the socialist form of production is to organise the national economy. It is a task of 'organising accounting and control over production and distribution, raising the productivity of labour—in short . . . of economic reorganisation'.⁵

The solution of the problems of social administration is subordinate to the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and the need to obtain a fuller correspondence between the level of the productive forces and their organisation, on the one hand, and social relations in the process of production, distribution and consumption, on the other. Here we seek to rationally combine consideration of the general uniformities, forms and methods of administration, on the one hand, and of our country's political and socio-economic conditions at the present stage, on the other. For more than two decades work, has been in progress in Bulgaria on the approaches, methods and normative standards for the more efficient management of the national economy, and the shaping and constant improvement of the complex system of social administration.

The law of proportional and balanced development is of especial importance for the socialist economy, and its organic combination with the requirements of other laws provides the basis for the adoption of well-grounded economic decisions. In our day, the law of proportional and balanced development operates ever more fully through the medium of commodity-money relations which are characteristic of and inherent in socialism. The BCP emphasises the community character of socialist production, while having in view the new socio-economic content of its categories. It is our party's profound conviction that the social role of commodities and money under socialism differs from their role under capitalism as these two social systems, and their forms of property and distribution do.

BCP policy is now clearly aimed against any overt or covert underestimation whether of the plan and planning principle in national-economic development, or of the market, of the economic laws of commodity-money relations, or of economic calculus. Attempts to ignore the latter result in defective methods of administration by fiat and breaches of the economic independence of enterprises and economic organisations.

The party lays emphasis on the extensive use of commodity-money categories in

the interests of socialism and their conversion into a powerful stimulus of growth and improvement of production. With that end in view, it has worked out and is introducing an approach to and a mechanism for governing the national economy which envisage the use of a number of new and effective economic forms in material production and in the non-production sphere. This amounts effectively to a major reform of the system of social administration creating all the necessary economic, social, ideological and political prerequisites for accelerating the country's development and successfully tackling the problems in further building developed socialism in Bulgaria. The new economic approach and the corresponding mechanism lay stress on economic stimulation, the laying of the groundwork between production and the market, consistent introduction of economic calculus and its key component part, the need for economic enterprises to pay their way everywhere, and on efficient use of all the economic instruments within a single complex.

The theoretical basis for the economic approach is provided by the statute on the owner and master of socialist property. We believe that at the present stage in the development of the socialist society, the means of production have, apart from the owner as embodied in the state, yet another and direct master, the work collective, which makes effective use and disposes of the property entrusted to it by the state. That is why it is important to shape new relations in economic management.

In introducing the new economic approach and its mechanism, we seek to attain the following fundamental large-scale goals:

- to improve the organisation of the administration of the system of interests—social, collective and individual—all further to consolidate their unity;

- to accelerate the transition from the extensive to the intensive economy along the entire front and along the whole chain of reproduction, with effective use of all resources;

- to make wider use of scientific approaches and techniques in management, to accelerate the introduction of scientific and technical achievements in practice, so as to radically solve the problem of quality, and to speed the growth of the national income and social labour productivity;

- to equip our cadres with an understanding of the substance of the new approach, to shape a new frame of mind and action among them, and to invigorate their creative activity.

A number of changes have been made in the system of planning so as to enhance the role of the plan in ensuring the proportionality of economic development. However, the state does not exercise tutelage over economic organisations, whose activity is regulated by their adjusted plans.⁶ The economic organisation and the work collective, the vehicles of socialist relations of production and the true masters of socialist property, draw up the plan and organise its fulfilment. The adjusted plan creates social incentives for labour activity, increasingly developing into the basic instrument of economic-organisation work and helping to make broader use of collective thinking and creativity to bring out new reserves for all-round intensification.

The people's social achievements and the creation of better conditions for the life of the working people, who are given access to the vivifying sources of social wealth are among socialist Bulgaria's impressive achievements. Socialism has freed great masses of people from exploitation, unemployment and poverty, all the ills of the old society. The basic human right—the right to work—is written into our Constitution. The state makes a point of ensuring all the conditions for the full use of labour resources and their rational distribution among the various spheres of the national economy. At the same time, it also creates other important prerequisites for all-round human development: it provides all citizens with free education and training, the housing problem is being successfully solved, and the conditions for work and leisure are being improved.

Bulgaria's citizens are now fully insured in social terms; their socialist consciousness makes them active builders of developed socialism and is a source of inexhaustible social optimism.

The social policy of our party and state lays special emphasis on raising the people's living standards. For that purpose, a special programme was adopted in 1972, and it is being successfully fulfilled, despite the complicated international situation, the growth of prices on the world market, and the unfavourable weather over a period of years. In the 11 years since then, real wages have increased by 55 per cent. In the consumption of staple foodstuffs and consumer durables, Bulgaria has moved noticeably closer to the scientifically grounded norms, and has even outstripped economically more developed countries in some indicators. Social consumption funds (per head) have increased by almost 86 per cent, while the accumulation fund of the non-production sphere has multiplied roughly three-fold. Major successes have been achieved in public health care, education and culture.

The results of labour provide the only real basis on which the pace and scale of growth of the national well-being are determined. That is why in raising living standards we set ourselves goals only in the light of our economic potentialities and achievements, and that is crucial to realising the party's social policy and converting it into an active factor and a powerful instrument for developing the material and technical basis and intensifying the national economy in every way.

In accordance with this policy, the party and the state create all the necessary economic-organisational prerequisites for actively involving the collectives and all the working people in the effort to raise the living standards. We increase the stimulating and organising role of wages in accordance with the socialist principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of labour, develop the self-sufficiency of territorial units in staple agricultural produce, and so on.

Social policy helps to shape into a unity the efforts to raise the people's living standards and to assert the socialist way of life, and one of its characteristic features is the priority satisfaction of the rising requirements in the improvement of health and the prolongation of human life, the raising of cultural standards, and the increasing and rational use of leisure for the individual's development.

The BCP's entire socio-economic policy is eloquent evidence that our society is a society of creative effort. The socialist system has vast potentialities for development, because—in contrast to capitalism—it has the future before it. In this sense, the efforts to build developed socialism are inseparable from mankind's humanistic aspirations and the current trends of its development.

In the present tense international situation, with the bellicose imperialist circles headed by the Reagan Administration lurching towards a nuclear catastrophe, the BCP consistently combines the efforts to build a mature socialist society with the struggle for peace, against the nuclear threat, and efforts to turn the Balkans into a nuclear free zone. That is in accord with the views of the other fraternal parties and the policy of the CPSU, which organically blends the efforts to perfect developed socialism and the struggle for peace. This leads to a natural unity of action by the fraternal countries in the international arena, because the need for all the members of the socialist community to coordinate their foreign policies is an objective imperative.

World imperialism, headed by US imperialism, which has a pathological hatred for the socialist world and the Soviet Union, is confronted with our unity and steadily growing economic strength, the material basis for the policy of peace, detente and mutually advantageous cooperation, and the basis of our defence potential. The 'crusade' by means of which US militarism wants to take social revenge on an international scale for the positions it has lost is confronted with the growing cohesion of the socialist community.

In accordance with the decisions of the CMEA economic summit in June 1984, our

party and state are working to create the conditions for Bulgaria's most vigorous and full-fledged participation in integration measures, which pave the way for accelerated application of scientific and technical achievements, all-round intensification, a steep rise in efficiency in every sphere of socio-economic life, and an active stand in defence of the positions of existing socialism.

Our day, like the whole forty-year period of socialist construction in Bulgaria, confirms one of the basic truths of our time: the Soviet Union is the main guarantor of successful construction of the new society; it is also the crucial force in the world-wide movement for peace and mutual understanding among the peoples, and the mainstay of the world revolutionary process. We seek to develop in every way our friendship and cooperation with the country in which socialism first triumphed, and Bulgarian-Soviet relations exemplify the qualitatively new, equitable and fraternal relations which only peoples who have thrown off the yoke of the exploitive system can establish.

Our policy is meshed with the general line of further expanding and deepening economic, scientific and technical cooperation within the CMEA framework, and it is open for development of trade, economic, scientific and technical ties with all the countries of the world, on the basis of mutual advantage, equality and non-interference in domestic affairs.

Socialist Bulgaria's impressive achievements clearly demonstrate the transformative power of communist ideas, the inexhaustible potentialities of a free nation's work and creativity, the indissoluble unity of party and people, and the enriching brotherhood with the socialist countries, above all the friendship and cooperation with the great Land of the Soviets.

All our achievements are the fruit of the far-sighted policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its Central Committee, led by Todor Zhivkov, a seasoned Marxist-Leninist, and a prominent leader of the international communist and working class movement. With revolutionary scope and political maturity, boldness and scientific vision, the party, the political vanguard of the people, lays down the guidelines for the party's development, studies the problems of social life and solves them successfully.

Creative Marxism-Leninism has stood the test of history. Our successes give us a sense of legitimate pride and urge us to multiply our efforts. Before us lies a relatively long period of socialism's development on its own basis leading to a mature socialist society. The new scale for measuring what has been achieved is the characteristic feature of this period, and it is not based on the standards and requirements of the past, but on those of the future.

Our people are firmly advancing to communism, the realm of freedom, confident in their strength and closely rallied round our Leninist party.

¹ Todor Zhivkov, *The 12th Congress of the BCP and the Building of Mature Socialism: Problems, Tasks, Approaches*, Sofia, 1982, p. 132 (in Bulgarian).

² The Bulgarian Agricultural People's Alliance, once a petty-bourgeois peasant party whose left-wing forces joined the Patriotic Front in 1942, later recognised the BCP's leading role and programme. The Alliance is represented in Bulgaria's organs of state power and is actively involved in building socialism.—*Ed.*

³ In the socialist countries' statistics, Group A includes industries turning out consumer goods.—*Ed.*

⁴ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 427.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 71.

⁶ The state plan concentrates attention on the guidelines of economic development, ensures its proportionality and balance, and fulfilment of Bulgaria's international commitments. Work collectives are assigned by the state only a few basic and mandatory indicators as the basis for drawing up their own so-called adjusted plan, a full-scale programme for production and economic activity and social development. Such a plan not only guarantees the fulfilment of state assignments, but also helps to bring out the reserves, thereby making enterprise activity more efficient.—*Ed.*

The Caribbean Rejects the Policy of Local Conflicts

Cheddi Jagan – General Secretary,
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THE aggravated situation in Central America and the Caribbean is not a product of intra-regional conflicts but rather of Washington's constant interference in the affairs of the Latin American people, its pressure on governments of the subregion, and even direct intervention.

President Reagan's May 9, 1984 TV appearance once again showed the harsh outlines of the aggressive trend of US policy. Reagan described it as the United States' 'lawful right' and 'moral duty' to suppress the revolutionary and national liberation movement of the region, indicating that Washington is continuing its line towards heightened international tension and new centres of armed conflicts.

The USA's adventurist course in Central America is fraught with tragic consequences for its people. An escalation of the dirty war against Sandinist Nicaragua is under way, as seen in the port mining, the attacks on fuel stores and the infiltration onto its territory from neighbouring countries of armed mercenaries. El Salvador's ultra-right-wing grouping, ill-famed for their genocidal crimes, are being encouraged. The reactionary regimes in Guatemala and Honduras are receiving support. Reagan's speech has placed our peoples even more on the alert and aroused their righteous indignation.

The situation in the subregion has its roots in complex socio-economic conditions and is being worsened by US imperialism's interference. Under its current president, who acts with the zeal of a religious crusader, the United States has assumed the role of international policeman and openly threatens other countries with war. With the illegal invasion of Grenada, ostensibly to save lives and restore law and order and democracy, but in violation of the Charters of the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, President Reagan brought US hemispheric policies back to the days of 'big stick' gunboat diplomacy when oceans of blood were shed, bringing suffering to the Latin American peoples. There is now a great danger that the conflicts in Central America and the Caribbean could erupt into armed confrontation on a worldwide scale.

The USA Wants to Fill the 'Vacuum'

Central America and the Caribbean Basin are marked by great diversity: a variety of state forms and economic structures. Side by side exist vestiges of colonial territories and independent states—constitutional monarchies¹ or republics. The spectrum of political and administrative systems varies widely: socialist democracy, bourgeois-democratic parliamentarianism, neo-Bonapartism, bureaucratic military authoritarianism and rightist dictatorship. Some of these states are in military and political alliance, while others belong to the non-aligned movement.

The post-independence period, and particularly the past decade, has been very traumatic for the Caribbean economy. The 'vacuum' (as the White House called the situation in the Caribbean) created by the departure of the British was filled by US imperialism. In the first two years after the formation of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA),² the United States more than doubled its exports to the region. By 1978 the USA was providing 86 per cent of the capital flowing into the Caribbean.³ Terrence Todman, former US Assistance Secretary of State in the Carter Administration, highlighted the Caribbean's dependence on Washington: 'The US economy has a very direct stake in the health of the economies of the Caribbean. We supply 25 per cent of Caribbean imports and provide a market for 70

per cent of the area's exports. In dollar terms this amounts to an annual trade exceeding US \$6 billion.'

Foreign domination and regional dependence on the USA created serious problems for the Caribbean. In 1976, a summit meeting of the Caribbean Community⁴ noted that the subregion faced 'unprecedented difficulties', including a 20 per cent inflation rate, a 'scandalous' food importation bill of \$1 billion and the need for tens of thousands of jobs to create full employment. The participants in the meeting would have liked to improve the situation, but it worsened in the 1980s. A comprehensive report drawn up by the Caribbean Development Bank⁵ reveals stagnation and gloom. The majority of countries are in the red, faced with serious balance of payments and foreign exchange difficulties. Export prices for regionally produced sugar and bananas have reached an all-time low.

Guyana and Jamaica are now the most seriously affected. Their mining industries are particularly hard hit. A bauxite strategic stockpile deal⁶ between the United States and Jamaica did not succeed in taking the country out of the economic doldrums. Indeed, a member of the Rockefeller Committee, head of Reynolds Metal Co., recently announced a complete shutdown of its operations on the island.

Trinidad and Tobago is facing serious economic problems with the drop in world oil prices, and its new multimillion steel industry, on which high hopes were placed, was severely hit by US protectionist measures.

Through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and other institutions, imperialism is exerting pressure to get bourgeois prescriptions adopted for the grave social and economic crisis, and to put the Caribbean countries firmly on a dependent capitalist course.

The principal aim of the IMF is to ensure the non-interruption of the flow of tribute, primarily in the form of debt and compensation payments, which have reached alarming proportions in Guyana⁷ and Jamaica. At the same time, the bourgeoisie, and especially the ruling elites, have no intention of giving up their privileges, extravagance and corruption. The end result of the so-called 'stabilisation' programme of the IMF is greater instability and an increasingly harder life for the overwhelming part of the Caribbean population.

Thus, the decolonisation period was marked by the seizure of the dominant positions in the subregion's economy by US monopolies, which has been reflected in the character and content of the social and political processes under way there.

Where Events Are Leading

The example of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada evidences the Caribbean peoples' considerable revolutionary potential. At the same time, many parties and groupings in the states of our zone are petty-bourgeois and nationalist, with a Christian-democratic or social democratic ideological orientation.

Political independence was granted to the Caribbean countries when they were considered 'safe'. British Guiana (Guyana) was not recognised as such until 1966 after the People's Progressive Party (PPP) had been ousted from government. In the case of Grenada, the British ruling class 'conferred' independence in 1974, placing Eric Gairy⁸ in power.

In other words, independence created new nations but not new states. Under middle-strata (local petty-bourgeois) rule, the old administrative structure remained virtually intact under the conditions of neocolonialism. The middle-strata leadership had emerged in special circumstances under a slave and plantation system with a rigid social structure and colour bar. Race, colour, education and culture played their part in the formation of these strata's outlook and lifestyle. While distancing themselves from the working people, they at the same time found barriers to their social mobility into the ranks of the plantocracy. This developed into a kind of 'split political personality': pragmatism/opportunism on the one hand and radicalism on the other.

This dual labour/capitalist tendency characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie leads to political vacillation.

In the post-Depression and World War II period, the middle strata, having formed its own party groups and taken control of the trade union movement, played a positive role in the anti-colonial struggle for political independence. However, in the immediate post-war period, as a result of imperialist pressures and links with the right-wing social democracy of the developed capitalist powers, the Caribbean political elite moved to the right. It adopted a conservative line based on anti-communism, and failed to extend solidarity to the Guyanese and Guatemalan peoples when the popularly elected governments of the PPP (British Guiana, 1953) and Jacobo Arbenz (Guatemala, 1954) became victims of imperialist ploys and direct aggression by US mercenaries. The middle strata also adopted the Puerto Rican model of economic development based on 'Industrialisation by invitation' of foreign capital and the creation of 'a favourable investment climate'.⁹

With Washington leading the way, throughout the 1960s the Caribbean states ostracised Cuba and the other socialist countries in the diplomatic, economic, trade and cultural spheres. The only exception was British Guiana, which maintained ties with them up to 1964.

In the next decade, with the worsening economic and social situation and sharpening of the liberation struggle, particularly in the favourable international climate of detente, and with the UN General Assembly call for a new international economic order and the developing countries' taking control of their natural resources, the radical tendency in the petty bourgeoisie's duality gained ascendancy. Where the middle strata were in power, they were forced to undertake some limited national tasks: 'Caribbeanisation' (changing the personnel/management and shareholding structure of the foreign-owned companies); 'partnership' (purchasing of shares by the states on a minority or in some cases, majority shareholding basis in the foreign-owned companies); increased taxation of transnational corporations, as happened in Jamaica; and nationalisation with generous compensation, as in Guyana.

Some Caribbean states also changed their foreign-policy orientation somewhat during that period. The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago government took part in the non-aligned summit in Lusaka in 1970. In Georgetown in 1972, Cuba, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago had delegate status and Barbados observer status at the second preparatory meeting of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned movement. That same year, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago established diplomatic relations with Cuba. A close relationship developed between Cuba and these countries, particularly Jamaica and Guyana.

The Bitter Fruit of the Caribbean Basin Initiative

In the period of the reactivation of the cold war in the early 1980s, the ruling groups of the majority of Caribbean states have adopted a pragmatic, right-opportunist course in the face of an aggravated economic situation. They opted for handouts under Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI)¹⁰ and have become linked in a political and military alliance with the United States. All the CARICOM countries, except revolutionary Grenada, lined up with Anglo-US imperialism during the Malvinas (Falklands) war.

In October 1982, Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent (revolutionary Grenada was excluded although she was a member of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States) signed a Memorandum of Understanding for joint security operations. Prime Minister Vere Bird of Antigua and Barbuda said that the proposed regional security and military cooperation mechanism would be used to prevent 'democratic governments' from being overthrown. He asserted that the region 'cannot afford to have another Cuba or another Grenada',¹¹ and called for

a 'bigger and more active' US presence in the Caribbean to safeguard 'democracy'. For his own country, this has meant a US embassy,¹² two US military installations and a Voice of America 'booster' station.

The conciliatory pro-imperialist policy of the CARICOM member states' ruling circles meant that, with the exception of Bahamas, Bermuda, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago, they joined the United States in its criminal invasion of Grenada. Barbados, an active participant in the intervention, a country with a right-wing social democratic regime led by Tom Adams, has assumed the role of 'gendarme' of US imperialism in the Caribbean. In 1979, under the 'Adams Doctrine' that St. Vincent was within the security zone of Barbados, a contingent of police and troops was sent to quell a rebellion on Union Island. Two years later, the USA financed an airlift of Barbadian troops to put down an anti-government revolt of a section of the army in Dominica. Such operations are fully in keeping with the traditional reactionary policy of the Barbados Labour Party in defence of neo-colonialism and in opposition to the liberation struggle.

Supported by Dominica, the pro-imperialist Edward Seaga government of Jamaica is manoeuvring to create a new grouping of Caribbean states that would include Haiti and the Dominican Republic and be under the complete domination of US capital. In its turn, the ruling right-wing Social Democratic Party of the Dominican Republic has signed an agreement with the USA on cooperation in fighting against the 'communist threat'. In particular, the Dominican armed forces are to aid the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti should it come under attack by revolutionary patriots.

The Trinidad and Tobago government, with its pretty-bourgeois nationalist vacillations, neither aided the revolutionary process in, nor subverted Grenada. This was in keeping with its policy since the People's National Movement came to power in 1956 and opted for 'a middle way between the outright nationalisation of Castro and the old-fashioned capitalist organisation backed by the marines and the dollars of the United States of America'.

In Guyana, the petty-bourgeois nationalist (right-wing social democratic, and since 1970 utopian 'cooperative socialist') ruling People's National Congress (PNC) has established what it claims is a national etatist¹³ regime. Nationalisation of the foreign-owned sugar and bauxite industries has not served the people: their situation has even worsened and only a small section of the local bourgeoisie, the most influential, has benefited. Subsequently the PNC government opted for an IMF course. Now, it neither wants to retreat fully under pressure from Washington from the existing 'cooperative capitalism' nor to advance in cooperation with the PPP along the road of socialist orientation.

Unwilling and unable to carry out radical socio-economic transformations, the main Caribbean ruling groups are increasingly seeking to resolve growing problems, caused by dependence on the USA, particularly unemployment, by expanding the corrupt administrative and bureaucratic structure and intensifying political and racial discrimination. In the face of the sharpening national liberation and class struggles, the coercive bodies are being expanded and strengthened.

The democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the sub-region experience serious difficulties in the struggle for social transformations and peace not only because they have to counter the policy of the reformist and pro-imperialist parties but also because the trade union movement is basically at the service of the US monopolies. The Caribbean trade unions are traditionally linked with the main political groups. As such, they played a positive role in the 1930s and 1940s. With the advent of the cold war, however, their leadership departed from a progressive course, linking with the opportunist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Through labour colleges and institutes funded by US capital, the CIA inculcates anti-communism and renunciation of the class struggle. For this reason, the trade union movement often plays an openly counter-revolutionary role, as it did, for example, in British Guiana

in 1962-1964, or cooperates with capital, betraying the interests of the workers.

Control of the press, radio and television by the local bourgeoisie, linked with Anglo-US imperialism, creates additional difficulties in the masses' struggle for national liberation and peace. A January 1984 conference of cultural and intellectual workers in defence of the sovereignty of the subregion's countries drew attention to this fact. It condemned the US invasion of Grenada and noted that 'in the coverage of the invasion sections of the Caribbean media demonstrated a shameless and obsequious willingness to serve as the apologists of the invaders of Caribbean sovereignty . . . that in a region with some 27 radio stations, at least 16 of them directly or indirectly state-owned, and some 12 television stations, all but one state-owned, we are subjected to a diet of vulgar foreign programming in which Caribbean people see themselves negated. . . .' The conference recognised the need to place the mass media at the service of the peoples.

The sharp ideological and political struggle around the roads of development in the Caribbean subregion continues. Its prospects are going to depend to a decisive extent on how deeply it is instilled in the masses' consciousness that it is necessary to strengthen peace and end the arms race.

Factors Favouring Peace

The growing isolation of the United States in international organisations, the increasing opposition to Reagan's militarist policy and the contradictions in the camp of imperialism aid the development of the anti-war struggle.

The United States was criticised at the UN Special Session on Disarmament for failure to adopt a reasonable disarmament programme. Praising the Soviet Union for making new proposals and 'assuming an unequivocal obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons'. UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar declared that "if all states that have nuclear weapons were to make such a pledge and were to adhere to it, this would be tantamount in practice to banning the use of nuclear weapons altogether".

The socialist states, loyal allies of the peoples championing their national independence and sovereignty, categorically condemned the US aggression against Grenada and are giving full support to Nicaragua and the liberation movements in the Caribbean. They are contributing greatly towards making our subregion a zone of peace.

Inside the United States, a growing body of public opinion favours disarmament and peace. *Time* magazine conducted a poll which showed that 93 per cent of Americans support the idea that international disputes must be resolved peacefully.¹⁴ The US Congress is showing increasing opposition to Reagan's adventurist policies in Central America. Washington's refusal to abide by the decisions of the International Court of Justice in the Hague on terrorist activity against the people and government of Nicaragua¹⁵ exposes the United States as a violator of the rule of law and as a country practising state terrorism.

The US invasion of Grenada evoked strong criticisms from an overwhelming majority of the international community, including US NATO allies. At an OAS session, several delegates called Washington's Grenadian adventure 'a flagrant and brutal violation of the principle of non-intervention and the OAS Charter'. Representatives from 13 of the 18 states participating in the session warned that the invasion violates the principles of self-determination and respect for the territorial integrity of one of the members of the Latin American regional organisation.

Opinion is also shifting in a favourable direction in Great Britain. In a report published in December 1982, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the British House of Commons was critical of US policies in our subregion, noting that 'a view of the Caribbean Basin dominated by the belief that it is a theatre of East-West confrontation provides an unsatisfactory and insufficient policy framework', placing

too much emphasis on the 'containment of communism' and too little on the need to help regional states to 'solve their own problems in their own way'.¹⁶

The French government agreed to help in sweeping the mines to the approaches of Nicaragua's ports. Earlier, in 1981, the French and Mexican governments had recognised the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador as a 'representative political force'; they also called for a negotiated political settlement there. The Contadora Group¹⁷ is playing a positive role in the effort to find a peaceful solution to the problems of Central America and the Caribbean.

The victory of the democratic and progressive forces in Argentina, the heroic resistance of the Chilean people, the struggles of the working people of the Dominican Republic and other countries against IMF diktat, and the mass upsurge of Brazilians for direct presidential elections positively influence the Caribbean peace movement.

Religious leaders have been playing an important role in the cause of peace. The Caribbean Council of Churches supported the initiative to make our subregion a zone of peace. Despite opposition from the reactionary clergy, it took a strong position against the US invasion of Grenada.

The non-aligned movement is also a great force in the anti-war struggle. The Havana and New Delhi summits of 1979 and 1983 placed on the US direct responsibility for the arms race and many social evils facing the underdeveloped countries.

The servile role played by some Caribbean countries in the invasion of Grenada cannot obscure the underlying contradictions between them and the United States. The heads of almost all countries of the subregion have condemned the paltry sum offered by Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative and protested against the aid terms, which openly endanger sovereignty. Washington's military backing of the fascist regime in Guatemala also alienates the CARICOM countries, which support Belize in its struggle against the Guatemalan dictatorship to maintain its territorial integrity.

Thus we have an aggregate of factors which foretold a growing rebuff to the aggressive US course in the Caribbean.

The Communists' Initiatives

In the aggravated regional and international situation, the Communists of the Caribbean have a big role to play among the peace-loving forces. In order to win over the masses from the influence of petty-bourgeois and social democratic ideology, they must struggle against rightist and 'leftist' opportunism, anti-communism and its special brand—anti-Sovietism. And, of course, the fraternal parties actively fight for detente, for it was under condition of detente that positive gains were made in the Caribbean in the 1975-80 period. We believe that the Latin American Economic System (SELA)¹⁸ should be strengthened as an independent organisation.

The Communists are forging anti-imperialist unity in each territory and creating revolutionary-democratic unity of a regional basis to counter the divide-and-rule policy of imperialism. They are combating both 'geographical fatalism'¹⁹ and 'Caribbean exceptionalism'.²⁰ The Communists of the Caribbean are making their contribution to the unity of the three contemporary revolutionary streams—the world system of socialism, the national liberation movement and the working class of the capitalist world. The communist parties and left-wing groups must be strengthened organisationally and must creatively apply in practice the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism. We are also seeking to step up party work in the trade unions. This is absolutely necessary to remove the influence of opportunism on them.

National independence and advance towards socialism have been on the agenda for many years in the Commonwealth Caribbean. In this sense, the two phases of the

revolution—national liberation and social emancipation—are interlinked. There is a merging of the struggle against imperialism and against local reaction. However, since imperialism is the main prop of the big landlord, monopoly and financial oligarchy and is mainly responsible for the dependency, backwardness, dictatorship and fascism, it is necessary to project a democratic, anti-imperialist alternative at the first phase.

At the same time, in states such as Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago where long-established right-wing social democratic parties operate it is very important not only to formulate such an alternative but also to show the prospects opened up by scientific socialism. As Lenin pointed out, the role of vanguard fighter can only be fulfilled by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory.²¹

In carrying out their national and international tasks, the Marxist-Leninist parties in the subregion exercise extreme care and flexibility. They have to work out an alliance policy with social circles either inside or outside the government. The Communists take anti-imperialist action in common with the ruling groups while at the same time, in close cooperation with other democratic and progressive forces, vigorously oppose the governments' anti-labour and anti-people actions. We believe that if only unlimited, uncritical support is given to their anti-imperialist positions without struggle in defence of the working people's rights, the results can be catastrophic for the communists organisationally and numerically, especially where the ruling political forces restrict in every possible way the activity of the revolutionary vanguard, which holds to the positions of scientific socialism. At the same time, imperialist propaganda and local reaction claim that Guyana has demonstrated that 'socialism' means no bread, no basic necessities, flight from starvation (emigration), rigged elections and denial of human rights.

A consultative meeting of Caribbean communist and revolutionary-democratic parties and organisations convened on the PPP's initiative in March 1984 in Guyana focussed on the problems created by the Grenada events and set tasks to counter the imperialist offensive, safeguard peace, ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all Caribbean states, and improve the peoples' well-being. The meeting was unanimous that the deteriorating economic situation and the declining living standards endanger peace and security in our zone. The Reagan-sponsored Caribbean Basin Initiative was assessed as an instrument aimed at creating a military-political bloc serving imperialism. The final document stressed the need to counter the US aggressive course, and denounced the growing militarisation of the Caribbean.

The consultative meeting noted the increasing dangers facing the Sandinist revolution and expressed spirited solidarity with the people and government of Nicaragua, the revolutionary forces of El Salvador and fraternal Cuba, which is successfully building a socialist society. The meeting also under-scored the need to step up the fight for world peace and to make the Caribbean a zone of peace.

The same questions were discussed at the first consultative meeting of anti-imperialist organisations of Central America and the Caribbean held in June 1984 in Havana and attended by representatives of over 30 parties and national liberation movements. The joint communique reflected a uniform assessment of the explosive situation brought about in the subregion by Washington, and noted that both the victims of the armed adventures and the region's other countries affected by the crisis of the world capitalist economy, mass unemployment, hunger and poverty are feeling imperialism's pressure.

The strategy and tactics of the struggle against US expansion and tyranny of its puppets were collectively worked out, the immediate goal being coordinated actions in support of socialist Cuba, all possible assistance to revolutionary Nicaragua, the development of solidarity with the patriots of El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries, and a broad campaign in defence of the people of occupied Grenada.

Long-term objectives were also formulated: liquidation of the foreign military bases and prevention of nuclear weapons deployment in the subregion; prohibition of military, economic and political aggression in any form; non-use of mercenaries; elimination of some countries' colonial dependence on imperialist monopolies; strict observance of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of states; an end to manoeuvres and the disbandment of the military blocs knocked together in the subregion by Washington.

A meeting of communist parties of South America (July 1984, Buenos Aires) opposed the United States' imperialist pressure on the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean and denounced Washington's criminal actions. The meeting discussed burning problems such as US intervention in Central America, the ploys against the Nicaraguan revolution and the threat to the continent's democratic governments on the part of the reactionary military cliques. Pointing to the growth in US imperialism's aggressiveness in the international arena, the meeting stressed that in Latin America it takes its crudest form in relations to socialist Cuba and revolutionary Nicaragua.

The final communique—'Buenos Aires Statement'—points out that the Reagan Administration is pursuing a militarist policy in an effort to expose humanity to the risk of a nuclear catastrophe. This policy contrasts sharply with the USSR's peace initiative and runs counter to the demands of all people of goodwill.

The special feature of the present period is that preparations are under way for direct aggression against Nicaragua, which would mean intervention against all of Central America and the Caribbean to suppress the movement for national liberation and social emancipation. Once it has started here, the United States could plunge the entire world into the nightmare of a total nuclear war. The Communists and all progressive forces of the Caribbean call on the peoples vigorously to repel this adventurist policy!

¹ Independent countries, ex-British possessions, where a governor general appointed by the British crown is usually head of state.

² CARIFTA, set up in 1968 under an agreement signed in St. John's (Antigua), united both independent states and British possessions, and the so-called associated countries under Britain's control. CARIFTA included Antigua, Barbados, Belize, St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Montserrat, Trinidad and Tobago, and St. Vincent. Its founders saw it as a first stage towards the Caribbean Common Market (CCM), which was established in 1973.—Ed.

³ Hillbourne Watson, *United States Policy Towards the Caribbean*, Presented to CEESTEM Conference, March 1982, Mexico, p. 128.

⁴ CARICOM, a political and economic association of Caribbean countries formed in 1973 on the basis of CARIFTA.—Ed.

⁵ A regional economic development bank set up in 1969 to serve CARICOM and the CCM.—Ed.

⁶ One in which the bauxite is not sent for processing but is merely stored.—Ed.

⁷ In Guyana debt and compensation payments increased from 15 per cent of current revenue in 1964 to 92 per cent in 1983; while debt servicing absorbed 10 per cent of foreign currency earnings in 1977, that figure increased to 42 per cent in 1983.

⁸ Ex-Prime Minister, virtual dictator of Grenada. Overthrown by the 1979 revolution, he fled to the USA, returning to the island in 1983 following the invasion by US troops.—Ed.

⁹ A development model forcibly imposed on Puerto Rico by Washington. Its essence is complete political and economic dependence on the USA.—Ed.

¹⁰ Reagan made this initiative in February 1982, promising the Caribbean and Central America about \$350 million as 'aid' (in the 1982 fiscal year) and guaranteed US markets for their traditional exports. It was proposed that in response these countries should create favourable conditions for US monopolies on their territories and fully support Washington's policy. For more details see: Cheddi Jagan, 'The Caribbean Danger Zone', *WMR*, No. 8, 1983.—Ed.

¹¹ 'Vere Bird's "Defense Force" Warning', *Caribbean Contact*, Barbados, April 1983, p. 13.

¹² Prior to 1983 the USA had only one ambassador (resident in Grenada) to all the Eastern Caribbean countries.

¹³ This concept, taken from bourgeois politology, signifies active state participation in society's economic life.

¹⁴ *Time*, January 2, 1984, p. 27.

¹⁵ This refers to the May 1984 decision of the International Court of Justice, which unanimously obliged the US immediately to end any action impeding entry into or exit from Nicaraguan ports and to refrain from such

actions in future. The Court also decided that Nicaragua's right to sovereignty and political independence must be respected and must not be violated by any military or paramilitary operations prohibited under international law.—*Ed.*

¹⁶ Jeremy Taylor, 'Rediscovering the Caribbean', *The Caribbean Chronicle*, West India Committee, February/March 1983, p. 10.

¹⁷ See 'What Is the Contadora Group' in this issue.

¹⁸ SELA, set up 1975, is the economic community of Latin American countries. It includes almost 30 states of South America, Central America and the Caribbean. The formation of SELA with Cuba's participation and without the US is a reflection of the community's determination to achieve economic independence and end the domination of the transnational corporations.—*Ed.*

¹⁹ A concept which says that there can be no revolution in Latin American countries because of their proximity to the USA.

²⁰ A sectarian position rejecting the application of the general propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory to the Caribbean.

²¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.

Commentary Global Front Against Nuclear Maniacs

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DURING the summer of 1984 there has been increasing recognition of the gravity of the threat to humankind from United States imperialism, which is stepping up its preparations for a nuclear war. The demonstrations, protest marches, mass rallies, and other actions for peace involving millions of people throughout the world have borne witness to the deep concern caused by this undisguisedly imperialist course of the Reagan Administration.

In parallel, there is widening acceptance of the judgements and perspectives of the socialist countries and the international communist movement. Understandably, keen interest focuses on the views and activities of the Communist Party, USA, owing to its experience as the Marxist-Leninist party in the power-house of imperialism.

The US Communists believe, as the CPUSA's 23rd National Convention stressed in November 1983, that 'US imperialism has moved onto the doomsday path of nuclear confrontation in its mad drive to re-establish its domination over the world, to alter the world balance of forces once again in favor of imperialism, to undo the military parity between the USA and the USSR that now exists, and to risk nuclear war to achieve its global aims. The world focal point of US imperialism is the destruction of world socialism and, in the first place, the Soviet Union. It is this fundamental fact which has motivated and guided the Reagan Administration's every move and decision. . . . Because of the escalating war danger, the struggle to preserve peace and prevent nuclear catastrophe has literally become a struggle to preserve the world and all humanity.'¹

Considering that such a catastrophe is not inevitable, but that its prevention is a matter of the utmost urgency, the 23rd Convention endorsed a programme of emergency activity, involving every party member and non-party sympathiser in pursuits to fulfill this paramount task. It is designed to mobilise all resources to help the working masses and other democratic forces to defeat Reagan and Reaganism in the national elections on November 6, 1984. These elections, because their outcome can seriously influence the struggle for peace, have assumed particular importance.

Urgent Measures Are Needed

Events of the past year emphasise the timeliness of the CPSUA's decision to launch its peace drive on an emergency basis. The central of these events is the deployment and combat readiness of the US first-strike Pershing-2 missiles at sites in Western Europe within six to eight minutes' range of cities and other targets in socialist countries, and also of Tomahawk cruise missiles. Also within range of these missiles are countries of the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and capitalist countries of Western Europe. This US imperialist *fait accompli*, while talks were under way on reducing nuclear arms in Europe, foreclosed USA-USSR negotiations and added a new dimension of gravity to the threat of nuclear war. The USSR and its allies were thereby obliged to take counter-measures.

The deployment of these weapons in Western Europe gave credence to the fears of many West Europeans that Washington intends to implement its 'limited' nuclear war doctrine in Europe in the hope of limiting its consequences to that area of the world. Such selectivity was absent, however, from Reagan's 'star wars' orientation toward utilising US space exploration projects for deploying attack weapons systems in near-Earth orbits. It was also absent from the Pentagon's research, development, and stockpiling of neutron and binary weapons. Attacks from outer space and attacks by neutron and chemical weapons would spare no areas of the earth.

Increasingly relying on more aggressive, reckless actions in an effort to counteract the growing weakness of US imperialism, Reagan and his coterie of nuclear hawks are working to restructure and enlarge aggressive alliances in order to encircle the socialist countries and destabilise governments resisting the dictates of Washington. Their activities embrace the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, the Far East, East Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean. With the encouragement of the leaders of the People's Republic of China, Washington is eager to draw that country into its projects, as shown by the expressions of agreement on policies vis-à-vis Kampuchea and Afghanistan during Reagan's visit to China last April, and later by the privileged reception at US military bases accorded China's Minister of Defence Zhang Aiping by the Pentagon.

Intent on securing unchallenged control of the oil resources of the Middle Eastern countries, and despite defeats of its Camp David policy and its plan to subjugate Lebanon and turn it into a US-Israeli bridgehead for aggression against Syria and other states in the region, Washington has not abandoned these aims.

The Reaganites are plotting and scheming to destroy socialist Cuba on the pretext that it is the source of communist penetration in the Western Hemisphere. This is a specious pretext, for since the commencement of this century and long before Cuba shook off the puppet regimes, it was the object of US interventions and occupations on three occasions, to say nothing of the continued blockade and the infamous US fiasco at the Bay of Pigs in the early 1960s.

In similar flagrant and cavalier fashion Washington has sought to impose a regime of terror and suppression on Nicaragua. It has now surrounded Nicaragua with Warships and mined the waters of its ports. It is sending into Nicaragua from neighbouring Honduras gangs of mercenaries trained and armed by the CIA. On May 9 Reagan sought to justify these acts of aggression against Nicaragua in a speech which amounted to a declaration of intent to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. CPSUA leader Gus Hall called this 'the most blatantly irresponsible, war-like, war-inciting speech since Hitler' and called upon Americans and all decent people throughout the world to join in a broad movement under the slogan of Hands Off Nicaragua!²

Ignoring the programme for a peace settlement in Central America by the Contadora states, Washington is continuing to finance and arm the counter-revolutionary forces in El Salvador. Continuing 'exercises' and 'manoeuvres' of US, Honduran and El Salvadoran armed forces rehearse new aggressions.

Reagan and his gang are conducting undeclared wars against Afghanistan and Angola. They are supporting reactionary regimes in Chile, Paraguay, Guatemala, Uruguay, Haiti, South Africa, Sudan, Thailand, Indonesia, and Pakistan. So-called covert operations under Central Intelligence Agency direction are being carried out against Ethiopia, Libya, and Kampuchea, and subversion is being conducted in Chad, Ghana, and some states of India. The formation of the so-called Rapid Deployment Force and its use in Lebanon and Grenada have demonstrated what is threatening any and every country whose policies are viewed with disfavour by the US ruling elite. While in the late 1960s and early 1970s, in the climate of international detente, Washington was still pretending to respect and paying lip-service to long-established standards and rules of international relations, today it flagrantly flouts these criteria.

Can a Holocaust Be Prevented?

The fact of this marshalling of destructive force and Reagan Administration's programmes of state terror and aggression are causing anxiety: Can this clear and gravest of all dangers threatening humanity be averted? Can this US imperialist course be reversed?

The responses to these questions from the forces acting to prevent nuclear war are affirmative. Such a response comes from the most consistent and most powerful peace forces in the world, the countries of working class power headed by the Soviet Union, as was further eloquently confirmed in the documents of the economic summit of the CMEA countries last June. These countries are taking steps to maintain the global balance of strength based on equality and equal security, and are insisting on genuine negotiations to limit the arms race and achieve complete and general disarmament.

The response to these questions are also affirmative from tens of millions of people in European and other countries, who are demanding the withdrawal of the deployed Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, the restoration of the status quo before their deployment, a freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons, and the creation of nuclear-free zones. Moreover, efforts to prevent a nuclear war are being made by developing socialist-oriented countries, non-aligned states, national liberation movements in different parts of the world, organisations and groups in the anti-war movement, and realistic individuals of the ruling classes of the imperialist countries.

In the USA the Communists are calling upon working people and other victims of Reaganism and Reagonomics to vote in the upcoming elections³ in order to send the arms makers' super salesman and his followers back to Hollywood and other philistine sanctuaries in November. This requires the mobilisation of the pro-peace majority of the population—members of the major trade unions and women's organisations, of the increasingly articulate religious groups, national and racial minorities, and other groups bearing the brunt of Reagan's programme of enriching the monopolies and pauperising the working people. This pro-peace majority represents the biggest opposition to a government's war policies in the country's history. Massive demonstrations such as the Solidarity Day march of 500,000 in Washington on September 19, 1981, the march and rally supporting the UN disarmament Special Session on June 12, 1982 in New York City of one million people, the 400,000 who marched in Washington on August 27, 1983, the hundreds of thousands who protested in October of the same year in 300 major US cities against the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe—these giant manifestations are but the tip of the iceberg of anti-war activities in every part of the USA, many being spontaneous expressions of popular sentiment, others reflecting the work of more than 4,000 peace groups and organisations.

By fielding an election slate of CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall for President

and Central Committee member Angela Davis for Vice President, and by striving to achieve ballot status in 30 of the 50 states, the party is reaching tens of millions of voters through television, radio, press interviews, and door-to-door solicitation of signatures for a place on the ballot. Although its activities are limited to only three-fifths of the states of the union and it has to contend with legislative restrictions and bureaucratic attitudes, the CPUSA believes its efforts can help to reverse the ultra-right policies of Reaganism.

In sum, what emerges from the separate affirmative responses of the multiple peace forces in the country and internationally if they achieve unity on this single all-important issue is a potentially gigantic global movement against the imperialist drive to nuclear annihilation. United actions would inevitably lead to the adoption of effective measures to prevent a catastrophe. However, past and present experience teaches that unity and cohesion can be achieved only in struggle.

Cohesion Won Through Struggle

Gus Hall emphasised at the International Night for foreign guests of the CPUSA's 23rd National Convention that no people alone could stop the threat of nuclear war, that world-wide unity of Communists was a historical necessity for saving peace. Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council with its 35 years' experience in the struggle for peace and its organisations in 140 countries, declared that 'nuclear devastation cannot be prevented by the actions of the peoples of one country or group of countries of one continent. Only the united actions of all peoples fighting against nuclear war and the armaments buildup, against imperialist intervention and aggression, for disarmament and national independence, can prevent a nuclear conflagration'.⁴ At a meeting in Moscow last May editors of communist and revolutionary-democratic newspapers noted that the potential of the peace forces, the opportunities being opened up by the setbacks of imperialist policies, and the growing anti-war struggle and social protest would not automatically lead to success. The communist parties, the international communist movement, and the other anti-imperialist forces are called upon to play an immense role here. History has now set them the task not only of eliminating exploitation but also of saving life on earth.

The global peace forces are not a homogeneous movement, of course. They include multiple components working under diverse political, economic, cultural, and ideological conditions. They are multi-racial, multi-national, multi-lingual, of all classes and strata, men and women, senior citizens, and young people. Far from all of them similarly see how serious the situation is or appreciate how urgent is the need for unity and cohesion. The attitude of some is determined by their perception of how great and immediate the threat of war is, their understanding of its source, and their readiness to combine their efforts in the anti-war movements. Others either fail to see how grave and immediate this threat is, attribute an 'equal responsibility' for the arms race to the governments of the USA and other NATO countries and of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries, or feel that the struggle for peace, which they regard as a pacifist movement, is necessarily subordinated to the struggle of the working class of each country for its class aims.

In consequence of objective circumstances, it is quite natural that differences should arise in the ranks of the peace forces. However, experience shows that the most divisive disagreements hampering unity are fomented and fed by imperialist propaganda. Control of the educational system and ownership of the mass media enable the ruling classes of the capitalist countries to spread their outlook and ideas. The most powerful of these state-monopoly communication monoliths are in the hands of US transnationals. It is safe to say that in the non-socialist world it is a rare individual who has not come under some influence of imperialist ideology.

Propaganda asserting that it is possible to fight, survive, and win a nuclear war serves the militarists striving to build a social base for the aggression they are

planning. The nuclear hawks and their propaganda machine have been sowing among the peace forces the belief that no nuclear exchange threatens the world today or in the future, that the military preparations are merely strengthening the bargaining position of the USA and NATO vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the socialist community, that they are merely a bluffing gambit in the global power 'game'. Consequently, the vitriolic anti-communist and anti-Soviet rhetoric of the Reaganites should not be taken seriously, they say. Such allegations are repeated, unfortunately, by elements among the peace forces, which is an obstacle to unity of the peace forces.

Escalation is now the characteristic tendency of US war preparations. Because they are more and more openly targeted on socialist countries, and increasing use is made of computers and automation, the stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction can at any moment trigger a nuclear conflict. Account must also be taken of the possibility of a technical error or of a provocation by imperialism. The time for a decision to respond with a nuclear strike has been reduced to minutes. This adds to the overhanging threat.

The danger of nuclear war is also heightened by the fact that key policy-making posts in the executive branch of the US Administration are now staffed by the far-Right section of the ruling bourgeoisie: for instance, representatives of the military-industrial complex and transnational corporations, mainly associated with the arms-makers of California, Texas, and some other states in the southwest and south. This shift of power from the so-called Eastern Establishment of the New England and Wall Street areas occurred within the context of a larger shift of US monopoly capital as a whole against international detente. This was the response of US monopoly capital in the latter half of the 1970s to its growing weakening in relations to its imperialist rivals, and particularly in relation to existing socialism and the movements of national liberation and independence.

Credo of the US Hawks

These far-right representatives of the military-industrial complex brought with them to the government's main policy-making posts a credo of enrichment and aggrandisement by force. From 'successful' predators and exploiters of past generations they inherited pragmatic criteria for evaluating all thought and action, according to which the end always justifies the means used for achieving it. Underlying this is a messianic conviction that US monopoly capitalism is the best of all possible social systems, that it is eternal, and that the USA is destined to reconstruct the world in its own image. The fetishism of technology is one of its principal ingredients, along with a megalomania fed by a century-long chain of conquests of weaker and less-developed societies—a chain broken only by the emergence of socialist states.

It would be wrong to underestimate the significance of the subjective factor in relation to the nuclear threat. The deepening and broadening of the general crisis of capitalism, the succession of exceptionally severe cyclical crises during the 1970s and the early 1980s, and the multi-faceted and devastating structural crisis are the basic causes of the present serious illness of US state-monopoly capitalism. Under conditions of international detente the most dramatic declines are registered precisely by the arms manufacturers or the military-industrial complex and the monopolies pillaging developing countries. To force a reversal of the gains made by the forces of peace, democracy, and progress during the period of detente has become an obsession with this wing of monopoly capital.

This obsession is backed by a belief that the US military machine is invincible and omnipotent. In actions recalling nazi preparations for launching World War II, Reagan on March 15 moved to give military commanders control of civilians during emergencies; on April 3, under the guise of fighting terrorism, he ordered a sharp escalation of infiltration of and spying on groups opposing his policies; on April 5 he

signed a secret directive code-named Rex-84 with instructions for the urgent construction of 10 concentration camps at key military posts across the USA, with an occupancy of 200,000, and the establishment of a 'task force' of the FBI, CIA, US marshals, immigration officials, customs officials, and the Coast Guard to carry out dragnet arrests when ordered; and on April 26 he sent to Congress a legislative package of four bills that can be used to stifle all dissent.

Besides sowing doubts among the peace forces concerning the imminence and destructiveness of nuclear war, the nuclear hawks can claim a certain success in obscuring the real source of the war danger. All conduits of propaganda were opened for new and novel renditions of 'the Russians are coming' red-herring. Reagan and Weinberger built up the myth of overwhelming Soviet military superiority, apparently oblivious to this allegation's contradiction to another of their inventions, namely, that the Soviet economy is on the verge of total collapse. Clearly, their claims of so-called 'military danger' from the Soviet Union are provocations. Propagation of this idea when a multiplicity of facts show it is false adds to the conviction that US imperialism is unable to meet the real Soviet challenge—in the sphere of social and cultural development.

A variant of the attempt to name the Soviet Union as the source of the war danger, used to incite disagreement and division in the peace movement, is the 'plague on both your houses' position of equating the foreign policies of the USA and the USSR, and blaming both for the mounting threat of war, although the fact is well known that the USSR has never been first to produce weapons systems. The 'two superpowers' catch-phrase is shorthand for this method of absolving the nuclear maniacs of guilt as the source of the war danger, and of reducing the war danger to a matter of rivalry between the USA and the USSR. This is a boom for the imperialist policy-makers, and a favourite device which the anti-communists, including those in some working people's organisations, use in their attempt to rationalise their opposition to anti-war unity.

Attainment of unity is also hindered by racism and chauvinism in some peace organisations, men's insensitivity to the needs and concerns of women, and sectarian responses. The struggle for equality by ethnic, racial, and national minorities, opposition to discrimination against women, and support for the socio-economic demands of working people contribute to weld the peace movements together and objectively help to strengthen their unity. Since the building of a united global peace movement is the supreme task of the moment, agreement on the attainment of that one task should supersede and subordinate whatever differences persist among the peace forces.

Aware that the working class is vitally interested in preserving peace and can enforce its opposition to nuclear war, the apologists of US monopoly capitalism address special propaganda to employed and unemployed workers. They sow fears of harmful socio-economic consequences from ending or curtailing Reagan's enormous give-aways and handouts to the munition manufacturers. They claim that reduction of such spending will increase unemployment. And they try to persuade the workers that massive absorption of resources in arms is a necessity for economic growth. Yet, the evidence is all to the contrary. As economists have shown from time to time, a growth of expenditures on the development of the arms industry, which demands large investments and creates few jobs, leads to further unemployment, a waste of government resources in non-productive areas, and a slowdown of economic growth.

In short, the allegations and pretexts used by the nuclear warmongers to confuse and disorient peace activists and organised peace forces are crass distortions of the facts, in most cases myths invented out of thin air. The disagreements and differences incited by US monopoly capital's propaganda can be overcome by exposing their source and falsity. This task of clarification and exposure is essential for combating irresolution and indecisiveness that hamper the struggle to unite the peace forces.

A major prerequisite for such unity of action is the cohesion of the international working class, the most powerful social force of today, the most convinced opponent of war. The history of the proletarian movement gives quite a few remarkable examples of such an international approach towards these issues.

Georgi Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 was permeated with fidelity to this principle. He called for unity of action by the workers at every enterprise, in every district, in every region, in every country and throughout the world, and the establishment of a broad popular anti-fascist front on the basis of a proletarian united front.

The struggle against fascism culminated in the formation of the Anti-Hitlerite Coalition, which, with the Soviet Army playing the decisive role, crushed the aggressor's military machine and liberated the countries of Europe.

Today, decades after the defeat of Hitlerism, humankind is facing a threat which can be said to be more dangerous than Hitler's hordes ever were. It is the threat of nuclear incineration of all life on earth. A world war is not inevitable. The peace forces can muster the strength to avert it. But as the Basic Document adopted by the 23rd National Convention of the CPUSA declared: 'If the Reagan foreign policy is not stopped . . . we will reach a point of no return, a point where nuclear war will become inevitable.'⁵ The cohesion and united actions of a global front for peace are vital to reverse US imperialism's foreign policy and restore the climate of international detente.

¹ *For Peace, Jobs, Equality*, Report to the 23rd Convention of the CPUSA by Gus Hall, New York, New Outlook Publishers, December 1983, pp. 3, 14.

² *Daily World*, May 11, 1984.

³ At the presidential elections in 1980 nearly half of the electorate stayed away from the polls with the result that Ronald Reagan was given the White House by the votes of less than 26 per cent of adult Americans.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Peace Courier*, Vol. 15, March 1984, p. 8.

⁵ *Basic Document Adopted by the 23rd National Convention of the CPSU*, New York, New Outlook Publishers, February 1984, p. 8.

the party

Meeting of the Central Committee Secretaries of the Socialist Countries' Fraternal Parties

A REGULAR meeting of the Central Committee secretaries of the socialist countries' communist and workers' parties on international and ideological issues was held in Prague on July 11 and 12, 1984. Attending were representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, 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 and the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The participants exchanged their views on topical issues of today's world situation and ideological work. It was noted that the threat to peace had increased gravely due

to the course aggressive imperialist quarters, above all in the United States, pursue towards confrontation, military superiority, curtailment of nations' independence and sovereignty, expansionism and diktat. Among the prime causes of the growing world tensions and of the exacerbation of the nuclear war threat is the fact that these quarters have been spurring on the arms race which entered an especially dangerous stage with the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missiles in several NATO countries. This forced the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries to take a number of counter-measures.

The aggressive imperialist course alarms nations greatly and gives rise to resolute resistance on the part of the anti-war movement and of all social forces and statesmen conscious of their responsibility for the future of mankind.

Facing a situation in which the course towards confrontation and the arms race is being condemned, US and NATO aggressive imperialist quarters are trying to camouflage the true content of their policy. Still, false peace rhetoric does nothing to change their position, essentially directed—as they admit themselves—at military superiority and at solving international issues by force or by threats of force, something that aggravates the danger of nuclear catastrophe.

Recently, Washington has been stepping up its efforts to militarise outer space. The extension of the arms race to this sphere would make the threat of a nuclear conflict even more acute and the possibility of agreements on disarmament, much more difficult. The participants in the meeting emphasised the importance of and expressed their full support for the Soviet proposal that negotiations to prevent militarisation of outer space be opened without delay.

The realistic programme of action for peace worked out jointly by the socialist countries shows how the world tensions promoted by the aggressive imperialist quarters can be overcome. This programme is aimed at agreements capable of effectively lowering the level of military confrontation, barring the use or threat of force from international affairs, and preventing nuclear war. The socialist countries—as their leaders have stressed invariably—are ready for a constructive dialogue in the interests of peace and international security. They consider it important for the United States to make a great contribution to these ends.

The parties represented at the meeting insist that an end be put to the deployment of US medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe and declare that should such steps be taken leading to the withdrawal of the missiles already deployed, simultaneous moves will be made to rescind the counter-measures too. This would create a basis for resuming negotiation of relevant accords on freeing Europe from both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

The participants noted the special importance of efforts to further substantiate, explain and implement the initiatives put forward in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries of January 5, 1983, in the joint statement of the Moscow meeting of the socialist countries' party and government leaders of June 28, 1983, in the CMEA Economic Summit declaration on 'Preserving Peace and International Economic Cooperation' of June 14, 1984 and in other proposals advanced by the socialist community and aimed at creating conditions for serious and businesslike talks on arms limitation and reduction on the basis of equality and equal security of the sides, at improving the international political climate.

Although the world faces many difficult problems, the participants in the meeting expressed their conviction that, acting in close cooperation, the world's nations and peace forces would be able to avoid a dangerous turn of events and ensure a solution of the complex problems facing mankind.

Success in the struggle against the danger of nuclear war depends on the power and unity of the socialist community, on the cohesion of its communist and workers' parties based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, including solidarity, comradely mutual assistance, complete equality,

non-interference in one another's internal affairs, respect for the right of each party to independently determine and pursue its political course.

The participants declared they were in favour of strengthening solidarity and cooperation among all communist and workers' parties. They expressed their readiness for a vigorous political dialogue and cooperation with socialist and social democratic parties, with different socio-political forces within the anti-war, anti-missile movement so as to search for ways to constructively solve acute problems of war and peace and end the arms race, first and foremost, the race in nuclear armaments.

The meeting stressed that the growth of militarism in imperialist countries was accompanied by mounting ideological sabotage against the socialist countries, by campaigns of slander, attempts at gross interference in their internal affairs and the imposition of all sorts of economic sanctions.

Also noted was the direct connection linking the imperialist policy of stepping up the arms race with the monopoly offensive against the vital interests of capitalist countries' working people, with the suppression of progressive movements advocating social change. With its reliance on force in world affairs, imperialism is increasingly open in its encouragement of chauvinism and racism, gives a free hand to revanchism and neo-fascism and elevates terrorism against whole peoples to the rank of national policy.

The meeting pointed to the need for more vigorous publicity of the advantages and gains of established socialism which had in actual fact ensured the right to work, education, democratic participation in state affairs and development of the personality.

Imperialist reaction masks its onslaught on democracy and the social rights of working people by a demagogic campaign about alleged violations of human rights in the socialist countries. Along with convincingly refuting such inventions, it is important to cite concrete facts proving how blatantly human rights are trampled underfoot in the capitalist world and what consequences working people suffer from unemployment, exploitation, racial and ethnic discrimination, the spread of crime, drug addiction and violence and the fomenting of hatred aimed at other nations and individuals.

The delegates of the fraternal parties noted that the decisions of the CMEA Economic Summit opened new favourable opportunities for the national economies of the CMEA countries and the entire socialist community to develop at a faster rate, for strengthening the power and raising the prestige of world socialism. The summit demonstrated the growing unity and cohesion of the CMEA countries, their commitment to make wider use of their cooperation for further improving their national economies, accelerating scientific and technological progress and raising the living standards of their working people. The longterm guidelines for joint action agreed upon by leaders of the fraternal parties and states serve creative, constructive goals and are inextricable from their firm dedication to the cause of peace and international cooperation. As it was stressed at the Moscow meeting, the socialist countries favour mutually beneficial trade and economic ties with all nations ready to develop them.

The results of the economic Summit have again shown forcefully that truly equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, fraternal mutual assistance are possible only under socialism, that it is socialism which genuinely and effectively supports the legitimate rights of developing nations. These results contrast sharply with the policy of capitalist countries with its typical methods of pressure and 'sanctions', attempts to impose their own course on other states, and refusal to effectively aid in the overcoming of the dramatic economic situation obtaining in developing countries.

The meeting reiterated the socialist states' solidarity with the non-aligned movement, with developing nations fighting against imperialism, colonialism and

neo-colonialism, for their right to develop freely and independently and restructure their lives on just, democratic principles, for overcoming economic backwardness and establishing a new international economic order.

The participants in the meeting reaffirmed their parties' solidarity with the struggle of nations against the imperialist policy of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of countries in the Middle East, Central America, the Caribbean, Southeast Asia and southern Africa, with the struggle to eliminate hotbeds of tensions and conflict in all regions.

Great attention was paid to the forthcoming fortieth anniversary of the Victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. The ideological work connected with this historic occasion will serve the promotion of socialist internationalism and patriotism and the struggle against the military threat. New generations throughout the world must know the truth about World War II, about the fact that it was launched by Hitlerite fascism, by the more aggressive forces of international imperialism, about the decisive role played by the Soviet Union and the contribution of the communist, working class movement, of all anti-fascist and patriotic forces to the victory.

Paying homage to all victims, all fighters against fascism and militarism both in the East and in the West, one must not allow those who would falsify history to hush up or distort the lessons of World War II. The main such lesson is that the struggle against the war threat must be waged before weapons—especially nuclear weapons—clash. The record of history demands joint action by all forces of peace, democracy, progress and political realism.

Other topical issues of the fraternal parties' ideological and propaganda work were also considered.

The meeting was conducted in the spirit of comradely cooperation, unity and militant solidarity.

With a Sense of Responsibility for the Country's Future The Results of the Palestinian Communists' First Congress

Naim Ashhab – CC Political Bureau
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OUR party was founded in February 1982.¹ Two years later, came the announcement that it had successfully held its First (constituent) Congress. Its delegates analysed the party's activity since its foundation, adopted the PCP Programme and Rules, and elected its governing bodies. At the congress there was unification with the organisation of Palestinian Communists in the Gaza Strip²: communist groups, which had taken shape and developed within the framework of fraternal parties for historical reasons, also came into the party on the basis of the adopted documents.

The First Congress, an event of truly momentous significance for all the Palestinian Communists, was held in an exceptionally difficult situation. The party carries on its work both in the occupied territories and in the numerous countries of the Palestinian diaspora, and has to act in the underground, all of which make the maintenance of inner-party ties an extremely formidable problem. Still, we proceeded from this firm

principle: the Congress documents and decisions, above all the political Programme, had to be the fruit of collective thinking by all the comrades, both in the land of Palestine and beyond its boundaries.

The material put up for discussion was debated in a serious and responsible manner, and the atmosphere was genuinely democratic. Two other points need to be noted. First, most of the delegates were young, and this is a natural reflection of our party's own youth (the members' average age is about 24 years). Second a high proportion of the Congress participants were of proletarian origin. On the one hand, that is due to the fact that many of the Communists are workers—almost 50 per cent.³ On the other, according to the established norms of representation, one delegate was elected from 30 working class party members, and one from 50 members from other social strata. With a life-and-death struggle being fought against the Israeli invaders, the preference which is being given to representatives of the working class is designed to consolidate the party's ideological and political steadfastness and to erect a barrier to trends which are alien to the proletarian ideology and whose pressure has constantly increased in the present difficult situation.

The especial significance of the First Congress lies in its adoption of the PCP's political Programme, and not only because it is our first programme. What is also of exceptional importance is that it deals with the extremely complicated Palestinian problem with the internationalist approach that Communists alone take, an approach that is distinct from those of the other contingents of the Palestinian national movement.

The Programme is our party's important contribution to the analysis of the crisis situation through which the Palestinian revolution is now passing and to the search for ways of national salvation. In a sense, it is the culmination of the policy which the Communists of Palestine have steadily pursued for decades, whatever the organisations in which they have had to act, and despite the constant attacks, especially in the past, above all from the reactionary circles involved in plots against our people. Life itself has provided convincing proof that this political line of principle and continuity is correct, and its solid foundations are even more evident now that the bourgeois-nationalistic approaches to the Palestinian problem have proved to be a complete fiasco.

The scientific, Marxist-Leninist definition of the nature of the present stage of the Palestinian people's struggle as a stage of 'national liberation and fulfilment of the tasks of the national liberation revolution',⁴ is the most important ideological and political weapon which the PCP Programme gives us. This definition is determined by the fact that, in contrast to the other peoples of the region, and despite its long years of persevering struggle and heavy losses in the course of it, our people has yet to throw off the yoke of alien oppression.

There is good reason why the PCP Programme is named as it is, and it contains a concise formulation of the tasks of this stage, which are the following:

1. To defeat the Israeli occupation and to secure the liberation of the Arab lands occupied in 1967.
2. To ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination through the establishment of its own independent state on the West Bank of the River Jordan, including the Arab part of Jerusalem, and in the Gaza Strip.
3. Enable the refugees to return to hearth and home in accordance with the UN decisions.
4. To frustrate all the plans of imperialism, zionism and reaction designed to liquidate the Palestinian problem, to destroy the Palestinians' national identity (above all the Camp David accords, the projects for administrative autonomy and civil administration in the occupied territories, the schemes for creating an 'alternative homeland' for the Palestinians, the Reagan Plan, etc.); and to beat back the offensive by US imperialism, which seeks to establish its domination of the

region.

Fulfilment of these patriotic tasks is designed to impede the zionists' expansionist claims and Israel's activity as a regional gendarme of imperialism, something that will help to bring out the internal contradictions in the Israeli society, which, for the time being, are obscured by the smokescreen of aggressive chauvinistic attitudes.

The Programme's scientific definition of the present stage and its tasks helps the party and the Palestinian national movement as a whole to avoid putting forward premature slogans or setting goals which are unattainable at this stage, as this could make it more difficult to involve the broadest forces in joint struggle against the Israeli occupation. The indication that the tasks now facing the people of Palestine clearly differ from those being tackled by the other peoples of the region, including the Jordanian people, is also of especial significance. After all, the Amman regime has tried to cover up the difference, claiming that the destinies of both peoples—the Jordanian and the Palestinian—are identical and merely differ in outward appearance. Its purpose is to justify the vain efforts to deprive the people of Palestine of its right to self-determination and to re-impose Amman's tutelage on it.

But the PCP has not confined itself to setting the immediate objectives of its struggle. The last section of the Programme is entitled: 'The Party's Long-Term Goal: Socialism'. It contains propositions which are distinct and which differ radically from those of the other patriotic forces acting in the Palestinian arena. These forces believe that the task of the present stage is the establishment of an independent state on the lands occupied in 1967 and so see the ultimate strategic goal as building a secular Palestinian state on the entire territory of what was once mandated Palestine. By contrast, our party's Programme defines the long-term, or strategic, objective as 'defence of the freedom of an independent Palestinian state, strengthening of its economic, political and military potential, and pursuit of a policy of socialist transformations so that it be a component part of the front of the anti-imperialist forces in the region and throughout the world, all the way to the establishment of socialism'.⁵ It also says that the conditions which the young independent state will most probably have to face, above all the threat of aggression and expansion on the part of Israel's zionist rulers, will require a continuation of the struggle against the racist ideology and practices of zionism in close cooperation with all the revolutionary liberation forces of the region, including those who advocate democracy in Israel itself.

In other words, we, Communists, are internationalists and we are convinced that the definitive solution of the Palestinian, as of any other national problem, has to be a social solution, which consists in building socialism in order to eradicate the causes of hostility among nations and communities, and lay the foundations of fraternal friendship between them. But until the triumph of socialism in our region, the development of the Palestinian problem will continue to be determined by the outcome of the intense struggle of the peoples, including the people of Palestine, against the domination and self-seeking interests of imperialism and the aggressive expansionist urges of Israel's ruling circles. That will put its stamp on every sphere of life and possibly even on the geographical realities.

In the light of the Programme's definition of the tasks of this stage, it also identifies the forces which are to undertake their fulfilment: the working class, the peasantry, the other working people, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the students, the petty-bourgeois strata as a whole, and also circles of the national bourgeoisie which are akin to them and which have no connections with the invaders or the reactionary regimes. The Communists believe that of key importance at the stage of the national liberation revolution is the establishment of the broadest and most stable national front bringing together all those who oppose the occupation and sincerely want to win independence. A 'revolutionary alliance of workers, poor peasants and other Palestinian working people'⁶ should be the core of such a front and the pledge of its

capacity to attain the set goals.

The special accent on the breadth of the mooted front and the wide spectrum of its participants is determined by the nature of the Israeli occupation, which has doomed a majority of the Palestinians to exile and which is designed to turn the rest of them into refugees, so as to enable the Zionist settlers to inherit a 'land without a people'. That is why of all the political differences existing among the various classes and strata of the Palestinian society it is not the divergence between 'rightists' and 'leftists', but that between 'patriots' and 'anti-patriots' which is now the fundamental one.

It goes without saying that, depending on the concrete conditions, the national front may assume various forms. The PCP Programme says that for us 'the organisational framework for the broadest united national front can be provided by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which is the political embodiment of the Palestinian national identity, and whose fine action in the process of the struggle has made it the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine'.⁷

True to their national duty, the Palestinian Communists have spared no effort to maintain the unity and internal cohesion of the Palestine Liberation Organisation on the basis of a consistently patriotic and simultaneously realistic political line. It is a product of the legitimate expression of the Palestinians' will and enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of our people both in the land of Palestine and beyond its boundaries, and meets with understanding on the part of its friends, notably the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. This line, we believe, was largely embodied in the decisions of the 16th session of the Palestine National Council.⁸ Our assumption is that the recognition of the PLO in the Arab world and in the international arena as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative is a major historical gain won at the price of tremendous sacrifice since the expulsion tragedy of 1948. It is organically and indissolubly bound up with support of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state after liberation of the lands occupied by the Israelis as a result of their 1967 aggression.

Our party is deeply conscious of its great responsibility in the building of a united national front and the cohesion of all the Palestinian patriots. It is actively working to develop and assert genuine democratic norms in relations between them based on mutual respect and trust, with each of the partners preserving its ideological, political and organisational independence so long as that does not cut across the overall national aspirations. Together with the other patriotic forces, the Communists are doing their utmost to make the PLO effectively a national front not only at the grass roots, but also on the leadership level. It has to become truly collective and to consist of the representatives of all the patriotic forces acting in the Palestinian arena both on the occupied territories and beyond them. It is time to put an end to the discrimination against the Communists and their party. Being represented on the governing bodies is not only a natural right of those taking part in the struggle. It is also the only means for successfully confronting the new and dangerous complications which have arisen since the withdrawal of the Palestine Resistance Movement from Beirut in 1982. In other words, that alone can avert the threat of being hurled back into the past.

When the present crisis broke out within the PLO, our party took an unflinching principled and resolute stand against any attempts to undermine the unity of the organisation, regardless of the personalities involved and the pretexts suggested. Together with the other Palestinian contingents, above all those not involved in the fratricidal clashes in the North Lebanese town of Tripoli, the Communists rebuffed every attempt to create some kind of substitute for the PLO. Such a step would be a prelude to liquidating the organisation as our people's sole representative, and would be most basely used by the anti-Palestinian forces for pushing through suspicious 'alternative scenarios' which distort the will of the fighting masses. We have fought

and continue to fight for the consolidation of the PLO's independence, for the assertion of national Palestinian independence in decision-making, and against any attempts to limit or sidetrack that independence. Our party has consistently adhered to the decisions of the 16th session of the Palestine National Council and the line of democratically reforming the PLO apparatus, above all to ensure its collective leadership, and has taken an active part in all the contacts and meetings designed to re-establish unity within the framework of the Organisation. This principled line, which confirms the PCP's deep patriotism, has led to a considerable growth of its authority and prestige among the masses of the Palestinian people, the national patriotic forces in the Arab world and in the international arena.

The party's Programme contains an analysis of the condition of our people's most viable and vigorous part, that part of it which has lived under the yoke of the Israeli occupation since 1967. It stresses the need of working to re-establish the national front of struggle against the invaders on the occupied Palestinian territories, a front that is to be the mainstay and the sole representative of the PLO on these territories.

Since the contingents of the Palestinian Resistance Movement withdrew from Beirut, the Israeli rulers have become even more aggressive. The pace of 'Judaisation' of the occupied lands is being stepped up, and joint US-Israeli-Jordanian activity is expected to be resumed for the purpose of burying the Palestinian problem behind the backs of our people and its representative, the PLO. That being so, exceptional importance attaches to a revival of the national front on the occupied territories (and not just as a mere executive body, but as a creatively and effectively functioning command in what is now the main arena of struggle). Attitude to the current efforts to re-establish that front, in which our party has a prominent role, is the touchstone of seriousness of approach by the various contingents of the Palestinian movement to the task of rebuffing the ever more intensified and diversified forms of plots against the people of Palestine and its just cause.

Nor does the programme ignore the condition of the diaspora Palestinians, including those in the fraternal Arab countries, and the dual substance of their relations with the local progressive-patriotic forces is analysed in a dialectical way.

The nature of political life in the host country has a direct and definitive influence on the conditions in which the Palestinians who find themselves there have to exist. Together with the popular masses of the given country, they are subjected to diverse persecutions and repressions, suffer from the lack of democratic freedoms and are frequently stripped of their Palestinian identity. Combined with the overall objectives of the struggle, and the need to make a contribution to our people's national battle, this also sets before them the task of displaying solidarity with the revolutionary forces of the Arab countries insisting on a rupture of ties with imperialism and attainment of the goals of national democratic revolution.

The special condition of the Palestinian masses in Jordan has been determined by a number of historical, geographic and demographic factors. There their urge to overthrow the Israeli occupation and set up their own independent state is closely bound up with the need to realise the tasks of the national democratic revolution in the country. This requires the Palestinians' direct participation in a united mass patriotic movement, while retaining their own national identity.

Such a reading of the political tasks of the Palestinian communities in the Arab countries obviously differs from that of the forces taking the positions of nationalism.

The Programme adopted by the party's First Congress opens with a characterisation of the class nature of the PCP and its ideology, and then goes on to emphasise that the Communists are an active contingent of the Palestinian national movement, a contingent rooted in the midst of the popular masses, and inspired by everything that is patriotic and progressive in our people's militant heritage. We especially cherish its wealth of revolutionary experience gained at the various stages

of the battles against colonialism, imperialism and zionism, in defence of our native land, and for the right to self-determination and independence.

Simultaneously, the Palestinian Communist Party is a component part of the Arab national liberation movement. Accordingly, it formulates its tasks in the Arab arena, including the question of Arab unity. Together with all the other revolutionary and progressive forces, the Communists are working to bring about such unity on the basis of freedom and democracy.

Internationally, the PCP is a part of the international communist and working class movement. It takes a resolute stand for strengthening its unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and carries on a relentless struggle against any attempts to undermine that unity. The PCP stands for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, making a contribution to its creative development and rebuffing any manifestations of revisionism and dogmatism in ideology. From the outset, the party has actively worked to establish militant internationalist ties in the Arab world and in the international arena, and evidence of their rapid and fruitful development comes from the dozens of messages of greetings addressed to the First Congress, messages which were wholeheartedly welcomed by the delegates to our forum and which are a source of pride for all of us.

The PCP's great successes in various spheres over the short period of its existence are convincing confirmation that the Palestinian Communists' decision to set up an independent party was absolutely correct. It has become a continuation and a qualitative development of the successes along the heroic fighting way which they have followed over the decades. The founding of the PCP epitomised the growing role of the working class and the other working people in the national liberation struggle, the marked strengthening of its subjective factor—the Palestinian communist movement—and met the objective requirements of that struggle.

The PCP's First Congress gave another powerful impetus to the intense efforts of all our comrades in uniting the ranks of the party, and enhancing its authority and influence among the Palestinian and Arab national liberation forces and in the international arena. The Congress will go down in the chronicles of the struggle of the Palestinian Communists and of our whole people as a memorable milestone.

¹ For details on the establishment of the Palestinian CP, see: Naim Ashhab, 'Firm Principles, Flexible Tactics', *WMR*, No. 2, 1983.—*Ed.*

² Following the partition of Palestine in 1948, the region was under the Egyptian administration until its occupation by the Israelis in 1967. The local Communists continued to work as a section of the National Liberation League in the Gaza Strip. In 1953, it adopted the name of the Palestinian Communist Party of the Gaza Strip.

³ This fact, for its part, is to some extent a reflection of the changes in the social structure on the occupied territories resulting from the policy of the occupation authorities. The expulsion of people from the land and the steady impoverishment of the population tend to accelerate its proletarianisation.

⁴ Programme of the Palestinian Communist Party 'For the Liberation of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, for the Realisation of the Inalienable Rights of the People of Palestine', p. 13 (in Arabic).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸ Held in Algiers in February 1983.—*Ed.*

Youth Declare for Real Change

Spiros Halvadjis – CC member, CPG
Secretary, Central Council, Communist
Youth of Greece

THE political situation in our country is rather complicated. The removal of the Right from power made possible certain democratic achievements, a development which aroused many hopes among the people and opened up new prospects. But gradually the policy of the government caused disillusionment, for it does not solve pressing problems in the interest of the people, particularly the younger generation. The government confines itself to reforms affecting neither the system of monopoly domination, nor the dependence of Greece on imperialism. This enables the Right to exploit growing difficulties for demagogical ends as it seeks a conservative change in the development of society. Against the background of capitalism's growing crisis, which tells on the life of youth directly and painfully, the ruling class wants young people to resign themselves to the existing system, the crisis and its effects.

The thinking of youth is strongly influenced by the worsening of the international situation, above all the increasing threat of nuclear conflict due to the adventurist strategy of US imperialism and NATO.

'Our party,' said the Political Resolution of the 11th CPG Congress (December 1982), 'is fighting directly for the implementation of a programme of objectives for real change. . . . The objectives of real change are for the Communists a programme of immediate struggles and form the basis for popular unity and cooperation with other progressive forces on all fronts. These objectives are in keeping with the requirements of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly change.' We young Communists base our entire work on the conclusions of the party congress. The lines of our activity were discussed and defined at the Third Congress of the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) in December 1983.

'No' to Washington's Pressure

The Greek people and their youth realise that the situation is critical. The strategic location of Greece on the 'southern flank' of NATO, which US plans for the region take into account, makes our country an object of open pressure and blackmail on the part of imperialist forces. They would like to fully subordinate it to their militarist policy. On some issues the Greek government refuses to give in to pressure. Mention may be made of its proposal to put off the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe for six months or its actions in favour of promoting cooperation in the Balkans.

This is largely a result of extensive actions by the people, including youth, for peace and against imperialism. Our young men and women join in peace marches and other actions for peace. It was on the initiative of the young that referendums on the bases in Greece were held in schools, universities, neighbourhoods and factories. Thousands of school students signed a letter to President Reagan protesting against Pershing-2 and cruise missiles. Young people organise youth peace camps, put on anti-war concerts, picket US bases, call rallies under the slogans 'Make the Balkans Missile-Free' and 'Make the Mediterranean a Sea of Peace'.

Our main objectives are to extend actions against war, bringing as many young people as possible into them, and at the same time to accentuate the anti-imperialist trend of the peace movement. We make a point of always linking our activity in defence of peace with the effort to unite all supporters of real changes in the country, which the 11th CPG Congress called for. This is reflected in demands put forward by youth, such as 'Money for instruction, not for NATO' or 'Money for the workers, not for arms'.

It is highly important to awaken people to the fact that the source of nuclear threat lies in the militarist and adventurist policy of the United States. We know from experience that the mobilisation of youth is most effective when conducted on the basis of resistance to Washington's aggressive ambitions. By contrast, the attempts of certain forces backed by the bourgeois press to stage demonstrations in favour of staying 'equidistant' from the 'two superpowers' produce negligible results.

Our activity within the anti-war movement gains greatly in force of conviction from the peace policy of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. Their resolve to defend peace and help fighters for freedom and independence gives confidence to all peace supporters and not to Communists alone. This policy helps explode the myths of an 'all-powerful' USA and 'weak' nations, myths which the Greek ruling class uses in an effort to influence the people and curb their struggle. We consider that the dissemination of anti-Soviet concepts by bourgeois propaganda is aimed at splitting and weakening the peace movement. It is particularly important to defeat these concepts today, when Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are being installed in Western Europe, when the socialist community countries are compelled to take counter-measures and when the monopoly-controlled media are trying to confuse people and spread a defeatist mood among them, shamelessly exploiting anti-Sovietism.

The stranglehold of dependence on imperialism, the CPG stresses, is the chief obstacle to any step by Greece towards progress. This is why the youth movement gives priority, now as in the past, to the struggle for anti-imperialist goals. This struggle has always been the main factor in radicalising the rising generation. Our experience entitles us to be optimistic, for the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly orientation of the young is becoming more and more marked. Greek youth identify themselves with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cyprus, Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, and South Africa. The idea of anti-imperialist solidarity dominates major initiatives by our organisation which culminate every year in the festival of the KNE and its weekly *Odighitis*. We take an active part in demonstrations and campaigns sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and support the proposal to hold the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow next year.

Blows of the Economic Crisis

Unemployment, which seriously conditions the thinking of the younger generation, is one of the biggest problems in Greece today. It is growing and assuming a permanent character and involved roughly 350,000 people, about 65 per cent of them young, by early 1984. Young men and women are also affected by unequal pay and the reduction of apprenticeship to a form of superexploitation.

In the sphere of education the measures adopted by the Right in previous years led to a more rigid class selection of those seeking a higher education. Matters are made worse by the low standard of teaching, anachronisms in textbooks and the lack of connection between instruction and production. The present education system meets the thirst of youth for knowledge less and less.

Young servicemen are faced with serious problems. Military service in Greece lasts longer than in other NATO countries. There occur no changes in favour of democratising the armed forces and it is not only the KNE that notes this but also other democratic youth organisations.

The problem of free time meets with growing difficulties and there are fewer and fewer opportunities for reasonable recreation and creative effort. The pressure of unsolved important problems of youth as well as of the social effects of the capitalist economic crisis tell on human relations; they worry young people and make them feel defenceless.

It is only the people's struggle, the Communist Party points out, that can bring about positive changes. While the present government has taken some steps to

extend the democratic rights of youth, it does not generally concern itself with their basic problems. Nor will it be able to find a solution unless it adopts a policy directed against oligarchic rule and imperialism.

The present situation affects the thinking of youth in a most contradictory way. It may arouse a desire to fight or, on the contrary, cause inaction or lead to a lame protest, a search for one's 'place in the sun' and the acceptance of conservative models of behaviour. The right choice of position depends in large measure on participation in class struggles and on the Communists' ideological influence.

To lead youth astray, the ruling class takes advantage of the crisis in the most diverse ways. The Right proposes to allow private initiatives complete freedom, allegedly as a means of ending unemployment. It fosters the illusion that anyone can start a business of his own without difficulty and become an employer. It publicises social reformist ideas of 'perfecting' capitalism. Brutal reality and the Communists' explanatory work prevent these illusions from spreading wide.

Taking its cue from other EEC countries, Greek bourgeois propaganda plays up differences between jobless and job-holders, old and young, and advertises partial employment. One of its propositions is that young people should work for smaller wages to 'rescue' jobs or that they must bear part of the responsibility for the crisis and that sacrifices must be made by those suffering from it and not those who are to blame for it, that is, the monopolies. All this is intended to undermine the class unity of young workers and mould their thinking on reformist lines so that they cannot play a vanguard role in the youth movement.

Reaction is also out to indoctrinate teenagers, especially schoolchildren, who have not yet gone through the school of struggle against the Right and many of whom are ignorant of the political essence of the New Democracy Party, which expresses mainly the interests of foreign and domestic monopolies. This party and reaction generally pretend to concern themselves with the problems of youth so as to secure their support in this fraudulent manner.

Orientation Towards Unity

The Third KNE Congress pointed out that the Greek youth movement today is an undeniable reality and is on the rise, winning ever greater support among the people despite the difficulties it has to face. Young workers are active in trade unions and other mass organisations and have their place among the front-line fighters for the cause of the working class. By far most students participate in elections for the leading bodies of their associations. The student movement has a single organisation enjoying appreciable prestige.

The crisis creates problems which new alignments of young men and women must examine and solve. How is the struggle of jobless youth and their common front with the working people to be organised? How shall we resist in practice an increasingly changeable mood among a section of youth? How is the working class movement to absorb new categories of young jobless or seasonal workers (rural youth, young men and women looking for a first job, diploma'd specialists who cannot find a job), who are particularly vulnerable to misleading reactionary propaganda?

We attach great importance to the solution of these problems, the growth of militant youth alignments and the coordination of their efforts. Young working people's cooperation with the trade unions and municipalities, the work of factory youth commissions and the setting up of sports sections, cultural and leisure time groups within their framework are unquestionably useful. We also use an organisational form of school life like pupils' societies for the same ends.

The chief condition for the steady expansion and correct orientation of the youth movement is to increase the share in it of young workers and young working people generally and to ensure that they join increasingly in social and political struggle. The KNE proposals to step up the activity of young workers in defending their right to

work are in harmony with the programme adopted by the 11th CPG Congress. Everyday actions in support of the working people's immediate demands and for easing the pressure of the crisis on youth help advance to deep-going changes.

Our aims are similar in the educational sphere. We advocate greater democracy, principles of instruction directly meeting the people's needs, enrichment of the content of studies with Marxist scientific thought as far as possible, and resistance to reactionary theories.

Youth actions of the past decade are an impressive 'prehistory' of the unity of action and militant cooperation of their progressive organisations, first of all the KNE and PASOK¹ youth. This prehistory has also a positive effect today, when we encounter considerable difficulties arising from the government's concessions to reactionary forces and a corresponding change of position by the ruling party's youth organisation. We go on using every opportunity for joint action in defence of peace, against US nuclear missiles, for nuclear-free Balkans, the rights of young servicemen, and so on. This sustained effort, which is in line with the Communists' consistent policy, yields some results.

With due regard to the established orientation of the youth movement, we seek unity of action in the work among the masses, primarily young workers and students. The farther we advance in this direction, the greater the potentialities of achieving such unity on the level of organisations as well. We see effective ideological struggle and independent political action as an earnest of success. Experience has shown that the stronger our organisation, the greater the possibilities of seeking unity of the youth movement and extending our political influence on it.

Debunking Bourgeois 'Ideals'

The complexity and contradictory character of the political situation in Greece and the effects of the capitalist economic crisis make for the growing role of ideology in the class struggle.

The tasks set by the ruling class before its ideological army include the following: keep the young out of political struggle, cut them off from the advanced forces of the organised youth movement and limit the appeal of the movement. Accordingly, a shrill propaganda campaign has been launched which bombards young people with such calls as 'Defend your independence from parties' or 'Keep out of politics'. Much publicity is given to the concept that participation in organised struggle 'suppresses the freedom and personality of young people'. The main purpose of the campaign is, of course, to alienate youth from Communist policy and ideology, from socialist ideals, and to undermine the influence of the KNE.

Neoliberalism, offered as a means of 'improving' the condition of youth under capitalism, is now the chief component of the ideological aggression of the Greek ruling class. The 'European ideal', intended to convince youth that capitalist integration within the EEC is improving the quality of life, is likewise being advertised. This is fully disproved by the grave consequences of our country's entry into the EEC, first of all massive unemployment among youth.

Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, which are virtually reaction's principal 'ideals' and are spread through thousands of channels, form the common basis for all bourgeois and revisionist trends hostile to the younger generation. A most important standing task of our ideological activity is to resist them by showing the achievements of existing socialism, especially in the field of youth's rights.

Reformist attempts to alter the orientation of the progressive youth movement have been plentiful in recent years. Reformists want the movement to become a 'movement of participation' in the new institutions established under the present government to assist the authorities. The Communists in no way minimise the opportunities of meeting the working people's demands offered by the domestic gains made to date. Indeed, they emphasise their significance and insist on greater

participation by youth in government bodies, the educational system and generally in all institutions concerned with the solution of problems important to the young.

Young Communists are in the forefront of the defenders of democratic achievements against encroachments from reactionary forces. At the same time they use their ideology to fight back those who make participation an end in itself running counter to the general economic and political interests of the working people. We are fighting against this perverted logic also because it dovetails with the well-known old opportunist concept of a gradual transition to socialism through structural reforms under the existing system. Which actually implies renunciation of revolutionary changes.

The deterioration of the environment and the quality of life, the inequality of women and other population groups—problems which the crisis is aggravating—add to discontent among youth and generate a trend towards radicalisation of a notable section of them while at the same time confronting us with new ideological tasks. Revisionists describe the people's struggle over these issues as rivulets of a 'daily revolution' that will allegedly replace the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly stream. They attach independent significance to such issues, which they consider in isolation from their class source. We, however, try to respond from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint to all that agitates youth. We want to convince young people that their actions in various spheres must merge with the main lines of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle for real changes.

We have already gained ample experience in this respect. As for, say, the environment, the chief role in this matter does not belong to individual 'environment groups' but to the mass organisations of working people involving youth as active participants. We use many forms of action for specific aims, including protest marches, rallies, and petitions to the government demanding that it take steps against their monopolies that are polluting the environment.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism and CPG policy, young Communists make an in-depth study of the new problems facing the youth movement and expose opportunist trends. Loyalty to Marxist principles does not move us away from youth but constantly enables us to win them over to our side.

We give much attention to cultural problems and the younger generation's way of life. A handful of monopolies control over 80 per cent of all musical productions and films in Greece. The ruling class invests a large amount of political and economic capital in this. It showers young people with pseudomasterpieces of imperialist 'mass culture', specimens of the 'American way of life', cosmopolitan and irrational ideas. At the same time the ruling class uses liberal bourgeois concepts of 'aesthetic pluralism', elitism, 'art for the select' to influence progressive youth, above all students and intellectuals. It extols the theories of Fischer, Garaudy and other opportunists.

Young Communists attach great importance to the advancement of a mass progressive cultural movement among youth. Proceeding from the activity of the CPG in this field, we popularise the best achievements of the progressive culture of the Greek people and other people, thereby helping safeguard young people against bourgeois brainwashing.

The KNE-*Odighitis* festival, which annually draws hundreds of thousands of young people, is a major political and cultural event and an important contribution to the education of the people. We publish books and periodicals. Our proposals for the founding of youth clubs and workers' cultural groups and for the utilisation of other forms of collective cultural activity and artistic creation are put into practice by municipalities, trade unions and youth organisations. We see this effort as a means of helping young men and women evolve a militant and optimistic attitude to life and of bringing more and more of them into the working people's organised movement.

The Communist Youth of Greece is the most influential political alignment of

young people. It is the only one to be represented as an organisation in the sphere of labour. Among students, an association enjoying KNE support it has held a leading place ever since 1975. During elections for the administrative council of student associations, one in three students votes for it. Our organisation wields similar influence in secondary schools. Opportunist groups are operating on the margin of the youth movement.

To be sure, there is no question of resting on our laurels. Extreme manifestations of the crisis, such as drug addiction, corruption or increased fascist activity, limited as they may be, should not be underrated. We uphold the view that the best response to all this is to further the youth movement for unity of action.

Last year the KNE celebrated the 15th anniversary of its activity, carried on in the most diverse conditions: in struggle against a military fascist dictatorship and against the Right, and then, after the accession of the present government to power in 1981, in a new, more favourable situation. Under the ideological and political guidance of the Communist Party our organisation is extending relations with youth, primarily young workers.

Equipped with the decisions of the Third KNE Congress, young Communists are looking ahead with optimism but also with a sense of great responsibility in view of the important tasks and new problems arising from the struggle for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole. We realise the need to play a vanguard role among youth more effectively in order to ensure that they participate still more vigorously in the popular movement for peace and real change in favour of democracy and socialism—goals set by the Communist Party of Greece.

¹ Panhellenic Socialist Movement, the party now ruling in Greece.—Ed.

new experience

Our Interviews Finding One's Own Identity

Eduardo Montes—CC Political
Commission member, United Socialist
Party of Mexico (USPM); director,
Así es newspaper

—Could you tell us about your newspaper, about the way it was launched?

Así es is a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 35,000. The first issue appeared in January 1982. The paper did not start from scratch: prior to the establishment of the USPM which was formed by five left-wing political parties and organisations, two of them had permanent press organs—the Mexican Communist Party published the *Oposición* weekly and the Socialist Unity and Action Movement, the newspaper *Liberación*. The Mexican People's Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party also had publications of their own, but these appeared sporadically. For this reason it was *Oposición* with its long-established structure, technical equipment and trained personnel which served as the basis for *Así es*.

Our staff is small, but we maintain a network of correspondents throughout the country. Aided by grass-roots party organisations, a special administrative group deals with the circulation of *Así es*. Part of the run is sold in the streets and at news-stands.

We do not have our own printing facilities yet; hence our considerable financial difficulties. Had our newspaper its own printing office, we would be able to reduce the costs considerably.

—You have mentioned the problem of financing *Así es*. How does the party tackle it?

The newspaper has two main sources of financing: first, assistance from the USPM Central Committee and second, sales returns and advertising fees. The latter, unfortunately, are small right now—because of the government's biased approach to our party and because of the problems generated by the economic crisis which has brought about a sharp reduction in both governmental and private advertising budgets.

We try to compensate for the shortage of funds by conducting special fund-raising drives, lotteries in which the first prize is a trip to the Soviet Union, and other efforts. We've got to work hard in this field: printing costs have increased dramatically in Mexico, just as they have in other countries; and it is becoming increasingly expensive to publish our newspaper.

—*Así es* is a new publication. One can, I believe, say that it is still in the process of taking final shape. What are the priority tasks your editorial office has set for itself?

Our main problems are connected with the nature and frequency of our issues. Since we cannot compete with the daily press, television and radio in the promptness of coverage, the important thing is to find a style of our own, to give the newspaper a distinct identity, to make our features topical and ensure that they meet the demands of the readers. On the whole one can say that our newspaper's influence is much greater than its statistical position among the nation's mass media. The reason is that *Así es* publicises the policy of the party, explains its stand on various issues, and sums up the experience of working people's struggle.

Most of the materials the newspaper receives directly from party organisations. The party's research bodies—for example, the National Economic Studies Centre and the International Studies Centre—are another important source of our features.

Así es focusses its attention on the situation in Central America and the Caribbean: this region is Mexico's next-door neighbour; an extremely tense situation has developed there and a process of revolutionary change is under way.

We vigorously support the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, our Chilean and Uruguayan comrades. Many emigres from Latin American dictatorships—Communists and members of other progressive parties and movements—have come to live in Mexico. We cooperate with them closely in organising and conducting solidarity campaigns.

—It is common knowledge that the Reagan Administration bases its propaganda on virulent anti-Sovietism. How does *Así es* counter the imperialist ideological offensive?

First, we expose the true objectives of the US ruling quarters and the way they misinform public opinion. Second, we regularly feature reports of our Moscow-based correspondent about life of working people in the Soviet Union. I think that the propaganda campaigns launched by the United States against the socialist countries are countered best by an objective and convincing coverage of what is really happening there. While imperialist propaganda can deceive people, the truth does, step by step, gain ground, especially if we strive to uphold it everywhere and always.

Naturally, compared with the resources at the disposal of the bourgeois media, the capabilities of our party press are so far small. We would like to have a much bigger newspaper which would appear more frequently. Then we would be able to discuss

the country's acute problems more broadly, and in theoretical terms too, and to be even more effective in rebuffing the campaigns against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and our party. This is what we are working for now.

Defying Age-Old Ways

Amina Lemrini – Central Committee member, Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco (PPS)

—What are the goals and main forms of your party's work among women?

The PPS goals in this field are determined, on the one hand, by the position of Moroccan women and, on the other, by the party's view of the place they should hold in society.

While the Constitution of Morocco does recognise certain women's rights, many of them are devoid of any actual content and remain a dead letter; this is especially obvious viewed against the backdrop of the severe economic and social crisis afflicting the country today. In a society dominated by backwardness and exploitation of man by man, women are discriminated against more than anyone else. In our country, some 85 per cent of the women are illiterate, and their occupational skills are at a very low level. In actual fact, they are paid less than men. The position of working women is aggravated by the ever-present threat of job loss and by the shortage of kindergartens and day-care centres. The country's reactionary quarters go to great lengths to preserve the old traditions in the family which subjugate women.

At its Third National Congress stressed in March 1983, our party considers it one of its important tasks to defend the interests of women and to struggle for meeting their legitimate demands. The PPS is the first political party in Morocco to have begun celebrating the International Women's Day on March 8. The first time it happened over ten years ago, and we have been staging mass action throughout the country, especially in large cities, on that day ever since.

We try to take into account the distinctive features of the position and psychological makeup of different strata among women. For example, we approach women intellectuals, factory workers and housewives differently. Party members teach at literacy courses, organise handicraft exhibitions and deliver lectures on hygiene. Our newspaper *Al-Bayane* features a weekly women's page.

—What would you list among the major difficulties in this field of the party's work?

First and foremost, it is the sway of backward ideas, concepts and views and the high level of illiteracy. All this greatly hampers efforts to involve Moroccan women in socio-political affairs.

There are also difficulties of a subjective nature: our experience of mass work among women is still insufficient. Although the PPS has been in existence for over 40 years, most of this period it operated underground. So our gains in the field in question are so far very modest.

We are now working to enroll more women into the party and to step up our ideological and educational work. The PPS views the creation of a broad democratic women's organisation in Morocco as its long-term task.

In the Mirror of the Press

ANALYSING ELECTION RESULTS

The communist press in the Common Market countries has featured several articles assessing and analysing the results of the June elections to the European Parliament viewed in terms of each nation's political situation.

L'Unità has published the text of the ICP leadership document stressing that the outcome of the elections in which the Communists were ahead of all other political parties¹ is of historic significance and has opened a new chapter in the country's political history. The people have reaffirmed that they want change. This is also borne out by the drop in the votes won by the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and other ruling parties.

The ranks of communist supporters are swelling not only in the industrial North but also in the South and in the adjacent islands. The alliance with the Party of Proletarian Unity, which has already yielded positive results in the course of the parliamentary elections, has confirmed its validity, as has the inclusion in the communist ticket of eminent independent candidates.

New important tasks, the document says, are facing Italian Communists: above all, to continue the process of renewing relations with all of society's viable forces, primarily with the younger generation and women. Each party member should contribute all he can to the strengthening of the ICP.

L'Humanité of the French Communist Party notes that over five million people who voted for the Socialist Party and the PCF in the 1981 presidential elections abstained from voting this time, a profound expression of dissatisfaction with the government's policy.² This, a resolution of the PCF Central Committee says, happened because the government failed to discharge the obligations it assumed in 1981 with regard to issues such as employment and purchasing power.

In July an emergency plenary meeting of the PCF Central Committee announced that the party would not participate in the new Fabius government which failed to express its resolution to actually uphold, and not merely pay lip service to, the major demands of working people. The Communist Party, the Central Committee says in its resolution, remains convinced that implementation by the government of the programme for which most of the French voted in 1981 is the only way out of the present situation. The PCF Central Committee has reaffirmed that party members will continue to promote popular unity against right-wing manoeuvres and do their utmost to ensure progress wherever possible.

Unsere Zeit, the organ of the German Communist Party, notes that the extremely weak participation in the elections—43.2 per cent of the voters stayed home—is a reaction to the EEC policy which weighs heavily on working people. The elections have also reflected the widespread dissatisfaction with the government's course aimed against social programmes. The ruling coalition parties have suffered considerable losses, the Free Democrats receiving so few votes that they will not be represented in the European Parliament at all. The Social Democrats, too, have failed to mobilise all their electorate due to their inconsistent domestic and foreign-policy moves. The Greens have gained ground (8.2 per cent of the votes).

The 'Peace Ticket', established only three months before the elections and supported by the Communist Party, participated in the European parliamentary elections for the first time and won more than 300,000 votes in the Federal Republic.

According to DKP Chairman Herman Mies, the elections have shown that the course of the right-wing coalition in Bonn can be resisted. The results should give a new impetus to efforts directed at uniting the working class and the peace

movements, to dialogue and joint action of all those to the left of the ruling coalition.

In an interview to *Le Drapeau Rouge*, Louis Van Geyt, Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, said that the CPB leadership was profoundly concerned with the results of the elections. The Communist Party, he holds, lost votes because its proposals and slogans were geared more to the period preceding the current stage in the crisis of capitalism than to the needs of the moment. The more active strata of working people were still dazed by the effects of the crisis. Louis Van Geyt notes the stronger positions of the socialists and the environmentalists who managed to set back the ruling coalition parties considerably; this creates new opportunities for acting by the progressive forces.

Comments and party documents published in the *Rizospastis* reflects the Greek Communist opinion that the elections were a large-scale political confrontation between the progressive democratic forces and the right-wing quarters. Despite all their efforts, the right-wing parties were in the minority. The Communist Party, the resolution of the July plenary meeting of the CPG Central Committee says, strengthened its influence and prestige.³ Its militant, unitary and responsible policy was decisive in preserving the wide-spread popular trend towards genuine change and in defeating the attempts to shift politics to the right.

The CPG Central Committee has noted that the struggle of different forces on the Greek political scene is intensifying after the elections. The Communist Party, the popular movement and all champions of progress will have to be even more vigilant to frustrate the forays of the oligarchy and imperialism and ensure the country's democratic progress towards genuine change. The communist tactics should be to organise a concerted struggle of working people for their vitally important demands and progressive social transformations.

Acute domestic-policy and economic questions and especially issues of war and peace determined the way the election campaign was conducted in other EEC countries too. This is the background against which the *Morning Star* views the tangible Conservative setback in Great Britain.

In Denmark, 20 per cent of the electorate supported the No Participation in the Common Market Movement which included the Communist Party. In the Netherlands, a sizable part of the voters came out in favour of the parties rejecting the plans for the deployment of US cruise missiles on Dutch soil. A left coalition which advocates a nuclear-free Europe and in which the Communists and the Greens participate also performed successfully here.

¹ The ICP won 33.3 per cent of the votes, 3.7 per cent more than at the previous elections to the European Parliament held in 1979.—Ed.

² Compared to the 1981 presidential elections, the PCF lost two million votes—4.3 per cent of the electorate—and the Socialist Party, some 3.3 million (over five per cent). The PCF won a total of 11.2 per cent of the electorate and the Socialists, 20.7 per cent.—Ed.

³ CPG candidates received 11.64 per cent of the votes—0.71 per cent more than at the 1981 parliamentary elections.—Ed.

Your Questions Answered

TRIAL PERIOD

The record of communist activity fully bears out the topical viability of Lenin's precept that the ability of a party to be a leading political force is linked directly with the attention it pays to the qualitative composition of its ranks. Interest in this matter permeates many letters and other materials our journal receives from different countries. Many comrades ask about specific experience in work with newly admitted party members. Here is *František Partáček*, ideological secretary of the Prague 4 district committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, discussing this work.

LIKE other parties of the socialist community, the CPCz considers it a priority task to step up the ideological education of youth and to prepare young people for joining the party. It is no accident that this issue was discussed at the meeting of the Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal parties in Sofia in May this year. Great attention is paid to it in party documents.

After the political crisis in Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s, imperialist propaganda claimed imperiously that youth would not join us, that the ideals and purposes of the Communist Party were totally alien to it. Today it is perfectly obvious that these assertions have nothing in common with reality. When the CPCz cleansed its ranks and restored its unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its membership grew considerably younger. Suffice it to say that almost half of those who joined the party after its 14th Congress¹ were under 25 years of age. And these young people comprise, in our district for example, 70 per cent of the factory party organisations.

It is imperative to intensify education work among young Communists to improve the party's qualitative composition. I would like to speak about the way we work in our district. I should say straight away that we are constantly perfecting the long-established and tested forms of ideological education well-known to Communists in different countries; we are also looking for a new approach in our work among the young, especially young workers.

First and foremost, we hold that a young man's decision to join the party must be as responsible and well-considered as possible. Here, communist labour schools help. Their establishment began, as an experiment, at our district's three largest enterprises in 1982. The students, recommended by the party and trade union organisations, attend lectures on the CPCz's socio-economic policy and the organisation of the production process and meet with advanced workers and innovators. The schools have now taken root, and workers approve of them. Today they operate at ten of the district's factories.

All those joining the CPCz complete a trial term of two years, a long period. It is essential for the education of future Communists. How to make it more efficient from the viewpoint of raising their political maturity and education level?

The primary organisation plays the decisive role here. It should involve candidates in its activities and in social undertakings from the very start, assign specific party duties to the newcomers and monitor compliance with these assignments. This is imperative for the successful completion of the trial period, and combines with the comprehensive ideological and theoretical training of the young people. At this stage, they are not only to learn and understand the CPCz Rules and Programme but also to gain in depth knowledge of its history and become familiar with current politics.

The district committee of the CPCz organises a three-day course of lectures and

seminars on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the principles and norms of party life, issues of socialist democracy and the party's leading role in the building of developed socialism, and topical questions of the international situation and the ideological struggle today. The studies are conducted by teachers of the CPCz Higher Political School, cadre party workers, experts from research centres, lecturers and propagandists.

Today, the preparation of new members has acquired many new features. People are now better educated and have a broader range of interests. This is highly typical of young workers too. Our district committee once polled third-year students of a technical school as to whether they considered their work a means of self-realisation or of making money. As many as 75 per cent of the students accorded priority to self-realisation in the course of work.

To spot shortcomings and gaps in political education, the district committee distributes special questionnaires among the candidate party members asking them to assess the lectures and talks and to express their recommendations. Here are some of the answers.

Jaroslav Sal, deputy secretary of the committee of the Socialist Youth League in the Centrotex amalgamation: "The lessons offer specific examples of party work in the district and sum up the available experience, for example in this field of improving production discipline. This is of special interest to us. A 'Youth Spotlight'² has recently been set up at my enterprise. Its task is to monitor the organisation of work and the frugal use of electric power and raw materials. Naturally, we also monitor violations of production discipline. At the training course I have learned much about the forms of public control and monitoring at other enterprises. I'll try to have them applied at our place too."

Pavel Kyslik, employee of a microbiology institute: "Some people believe that political knowledge is almost harmful for scientists and technical experts, that it hampers their scientific pursuits. I don't think this is at all true. Actually, the very approach to science questions is inseparable from one's overall world view and ability to take the requirements of society into account. Besides, as chief of the genetics laboratory, I have to work not only with microorganisms but, first and foremost, with people. This means that I've got to persuade them to aim at solving problems of particular importance to the national economy. This is where the knowledge I have acquired at the party education course comes in useful."

Miroslav Fišer, roofer: "The course has broadened my outlook and helped me to gain better understanding of what is happening on our country and abroad. We all know that the international situation has deteriorated sharply, and the socialist community must make new efforts to strengthen its defence capability. Does this affect our living standard? Of course it does. But there is no direct connection here and this I've got to explain to people, to those I work with too. And that is impossible without concrete knowledge and information."

We hold that improvement of the entire system of selecting and training future party members is indispensable for adding young, vigorous and healthy forces to the party.

¹ The 14th Congress of the CPCz, held in May 1971, drew proper conclusions from the late 1960s' crisis in the party and society and worked out a programme for building developed socialism.—*Ed.*

² This youth movement number 29,000 such bodies nationwide.—*Ed.*

In Brief

BULGARIA

A high level of activity marked this year's review and election campaign of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Attendance of meetings averaged 95 per cent of the membership, with almost one-third of those present speaking. A total of over 117,000 proposals and critical remarks was made. Elected as leaders of primary organisations were 170,000 Communists, some 50 per cent of them employed directly in the sphere of material production. The review and election campaign highlighted the increased political and organisational maturity of BCP members.

CANADA

Getting ready for the parliamentary elections scheduled for September 4 this year, Canadian Communists called for the formation of a pre-election coalition comprising the New Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Canada, labour unions, farmers' organisations and other democratic groups. The objective is to prevent the formation of a majority government of Conservatives or Liberals because both parties represent the interests of reaction and big business and secure the election of the progressive bloc candidates, including 50 Communists.

HUNGARY

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has decided to convene the 13th Party Congress in the spring of 1985.

LAOS

The Political Bureau of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party has scheduled for 1985 the celebration of two important occasions in the history of the Laotian people—the thirtieth anniversary of the LPRP and the tenth anniversary of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

POLAND

This year the traditional festival of *Trybuna Ludu*, the Polish Communist newspaper, reflected preparations for the forthcoming fortieth anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. Conferences of readers and meetings and talks with the paper's editorial staff members were held at many industrial enterprises and offices in Warsaw. Scores of thousands of people from Warsaw and other places enjoyed themselves in the parks on the Vistula's banks, entertained by musical companies, folk choirs, amateur and professional performers. The festival was attended by representatives of the press from thirty fraternal communist and workers' parties.

ROMANIA

A plenary session of the RCP Central Committee has decided to convene the regular 13th Party Congress from November 19 to 23, 1984.

SPAIN

The Communist Party of Spain held its traditional festival in Madrid. The theme was the struggle for peace and disarmament, against the nation's membership in NATO.

SWITZERLAND

Roger Dafflon, a Communist and a Swiss Party of Labour member of Parliament, has again been elected Mayor of Geneva. He held this post in 1979-1980.

exchange of views, discussion

No Pause in the Struggle for Peace **The Anti-War Movement at a New Stage: the** **Communists' Experience and Tasks**

The deployment of US first-strike nuclear missiles on the territory of several West European states has caused qualitative changes in the international situation and has made it much more exacerbated and explosive. This has also had a substantial influence on the political climate in which hundreds of millions of Europeans live and in which the peace forces have to act. The ideological pressure by the imperialist services and militaristic propaganda have been stepped up in a massive drive to demoralise and splinter the ranks of the peace fighters.

What is the present state of the anti-war forces in the countries of Western Europe, the United States and Canada, and what are the problems they have to face in the changed situation? Can the movement in defence of peace be broadened and its action made more effective? Finally, what are the new tasks facing the Communists in the light of the present more complicated international situation?

These and a number of other pressing problems posed by the present stage in the development of the anti-war struggle were considered in an exchange of opinion held in Prague by the *WMR* Commission on Exchanges of Experience of Party Work together with the *WMR* Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements. Among those who took part in the discussion were representatives of the communist and workers' parties of Austria, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, United States and West Berlin.

Below is a summary of their discussion.

The commissions have chosen an exceptionally important topic, said **Yuri Sklyarov, WMR Editor-in-Chief**, in his opening speech. The development of the mass anti-war movement is especially important now that the international situation has been exceptionally heated up by the aggressive acts of imperialism, above all the ruling circles of the United States, with the arms race sharply intensified and mankind facing a direct threat of nuclear annihilation. Again and again this shows how right Lenin was when he said that 'peace cannot be concluded only from above. Peace must be won from below'.¹

The peace movement has never been broader in scope. There are mass anti-missile actions in virtually all the capitalist countries. The peace forces' actions are ever more diverse, and ever broader social forces are joining their ranks. In these conditions, the consolidation of these forces and close cooperation and interaction between them are of invaluable significance. Cohesion and concerted mass action are a crucial prerequisite for removing the danger of nuclear war.

The need to raise the peace struggle to a higher stage poses new tasks and demands a thorough study of the character, trends and prospects of the anti-war movement. The experience accumulated by the Communists of the industrialised capitalist countries in arranging cooperation with members of diverse trends constituting the present-day coalition of peace forces appears to be worthwhile. In doing so it is important to bear in mind Lenin's well-known dictum about the need for a concrete analysis of the concrete situation.² That is the kind of analysis that helps to study the problems of the anti-war struggle, regardless of whether one means processes on a global scale or the situation in an individual country.

These problems are highly diverse. Apart from those mentioned above, let me note some others, like the principles of the Communists' cooperation with various ideological and political forces, the forms and methods of cooperation between allies in the struggle for peace at various levels, the dialectics of joint action, and dialogue and debate within the peace movement.

I should like to draw attention to yet another problem. Everyone knows of the great role existing socialism now has in the preservation of peace and in the destinies of mankind as a whole. The USSR and its allies are the chief force confronting the imperialist incendiaries of a new world war. The socialist states have taken the greatest number of peace initiatives aimed to check the arms race, secure progress in disarmament, and assert the principles of peaceful coexistence between the two social systems. That is why the fraternal parties' efforts to spread among the masses in their countries the truth about socialism and its policy in the international arena are so important.

The discussion of these vital problems is sure to impart to the participants in this meeting some of the new experience which the fraternal parties have gained in the struggle to unite broad strata of the population against the danger of war, and enable *WMR* to present in greater depth and diversity the struggle of the forces of progress to avert a thermonuclear war.

General Experience and Characteristic Features

The participants in the discussion agreed that no analysis of the content and peculiarities of the present stage of the anti-war and anti-missile struggle would be complete without a consideration, if only in outline, of the phenomenon known as the movement in defence of peace, which emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s in response to NATO's 'twin-track decision'.

While carrying on the traditions of the peace campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s, speakers said, it is different in kind, for it represents the broadest spontaneous action by masses of people and conscious initiatives by numerous political forces. It has considerable moral and political authority, developing on an unprecedented scale

and exerting a tangible influence on the world situation.

The unparalleled massiveness and social breadth of the movement is its key feature and source of strength. The anti-missile action in many capitalist countries involves representatives of all the classes and strata of the society: industrial workers, peasants, employees, workers in the arts and culture, businessmen, scientists, government officials, clergymen and military men. Such actions have become truly national in most NATO countries in Western Europe, and are becoming ever more massive in the United States and Canada. In some states (Ireland, Portugal and Spain) actions in defence of peace have attained impressive proportions, so providing a solid basis for the shaping of a whole people's anti-war front.

Participation in action against the nuclear threat by representatives of an unusually wide spectrum of political forces—Communists, Socialists, and Social Democrats, Christians, liberals, pacifists, Greens and Alternativists—is another characteristic aspect. Some of the conservative circles are also close to the anti-war movement, and this is exemplified by the negative attitude to the realisation of NATO's missile decision on the part of bodies like Christian Democrats for Steps in Disarmament (FRG) or Tories Against Cruise (Great Britain). In Canada, even the avowedly pro-Reagan Progressive Conservative Party was unable to ignore the anti-war movement and established a special committee which held public hearings on nuclear policy questions.

The appearance of numerous new national, regional and local anti-war groups voicing the views of individual social, vocational and age groups of the population is yet another important sign of the current changes in this area. Thus, the peace movement in the United States involves roughly 4,000 groups, committees and coalitions. The anti-missile protest by the population in the FRG is expressed by nearly 2,000 organisations and groups, among them Workers in the Arts for Peace, Peasants Against Additional Armament, Officers and Men Against the Deployment of Medium-Range Missiles, Christians for Disarmament, Teachers Against the Nuclear Madness, and Athletes for Peace, Against Nuclear Missiles.

While bringing together such a patchwork and wide spectrum of political and public bodies, the anti-war movement, it was said in the course of the discussion, *is on the whole autonomous and independent of the parties.* No party can take all the credit for the movement. That is precisely the kind of movement the Communists support, because they believe that if it became an arena of interparty squabbles, the unification of the widest possible peace public spectrum would be hampered.

The purposefulness of the movement and the clarity and intelligibility of its demands, the participants in the discussion said, are of fundamental importance. The movement, speakers said, has now formulated slogans meeting the situation, the main ones being the demands to halt the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles and to withdraw those already in place, as this would lead to the cancellation of the counter-measures taken by the USSR and its allies; and the demand to prevent the militarisation of space.

The participants in the discussion said that a characteristic feature of the contemporary anti-war movement which makes it possible to consolidate the efforts of its various streams is that *it is not bound by any mandatory tenets or charters, that it has a flexible decentralised structure, and that in most instances its work is based on the principles of consensus,* a fact which safeguards it from divisions. The concrete goals and forms of action in defence of peace are mapped out by the representatives of the numerous parties, groups and organisations not by voting but in discussion, without taking any imperative decision and carrying on the debate until a standpoint is found that is acceptable to one and all.

The Communists are doing their best to have a spirit of tolerance, frankness and respect for the individuality and independence of each partner take shape in the relations between the individual components of the peace movement. They believe

that any attempt to put a rigid organisational framework on the activity of the movement could lead to its fold-up.

Finally, another feature of the contemporary anti-war movement in many countries is the *diversity of forms in which action is taken by its participants*, whose creativity, initiative and enthusiasm have substantially amplified the old notions of the ways of fighting in defence of peace. Apart from the widespread and already traditional protest marches, demonstrations, signature collections, rallies, meetings and symposiums, the peace fighters voice their indignation over the nuclear maniacs' policy by pitching camps, picketing and ringing with human chains the places where US missiles are sited, blocking approaches to military installations, mounting 'vigilance watches' near the headquarters of military-industrial corporations, organising national days of protest and 'caravans for peace', arranging popular referenda, and so on.

The wide variety of original initiatives addressed to various strata of the population helped substantially to widen the makeup of the movement for peace, and to make it more dynamic, attractive and flexible, because they enable everyone to express his attitude to the principal problem of our day.

Communists Within the National Movements

The experience gained by the anti-war forces in the various countries has much in common. However, the Communists discern and take account in their work of considerable distinctions which spring from the peculiarities, political realities and historical conditions of each country. Speakers in the discussion devoted special attention to an analysis of the state of the national peace movements and the activity of the communist parties within them.

The resolve on the part of millions of Americans to put an end to the Reagan Administration's dangerous and reckless policy and its unwillingness to reckon with the realities of the nuclear epoch, said **John Pittman, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA**, has led to the emergence of the largest anti-war movement in the history of the United States, which has surpassed in proportions the movement against the 'dirty war' in Vietnam. Its main demands—a freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons, a switch of appropriations from the military budget to civilian needs, and an end to US intervention in the Middle East and Central America—have the growing support of Americans. That was expressed, for instance, in the protest demonstrations, unprecedented for the United States, like the million-strong demonstration in New York on June 12, 1982, or the march on Washington, which in August 1983 brought together 400,000 under the slogan of 'Peace, Jobs and Equality'.

The struggle for peace in the United States is now ever more closely bound up with the movement against racial oppression and super-exploitation, the demands for an end to poverty, for jobs and housing, higher wages, and guaranteed security in old age. The Communists believe that the confluence of these streams of protest is a pledge of the further growth and strengthening of action in defence of peace.

But despite the obvious successes, the peace and freeze movement is also confronted with some serious difficulties. Some contingents of the peace forces lack organisation, cohesion and coordination of action. But the main problem is racism, which is seeping into every pore of US social life. The leadership of many peace organisations, consisting mainly of members of 'white America's' middle class, Pittman went on, has done little to involve Afro-American, native Indians, and members of other ethnic minorities in the struggle for peace. The Communist Party is convinced that if the movement is to become truly multiracial and multinational, the racist attitudes must be overcome.

US Communists are taking an active part in the struggle for peace and are working fruitfully in many movements, including authoritative ones like the International

League of Women for Peace and Freedom, the US Peace Council, Mothers for Peace, Laity and Clergy Concerned, Mobilisation for Survival, Jobs and Peace, and others. The party was among the initiators and organisers of the recent large-scale anti-war demonstrations.

Despite the very difficult conditions—the Communist Party's virtually semilegal status, and the constant surveillance of its members by the FBI and the CIA—the Communists are invigorating their efforts to fulfil the main task set by the 23rd National Convention of the CPSU in November 1983: to create a broad popular coalition capable of defeating Reagan in the presidential election in November of this year.

In Canada, **Jack Phillips**, CEC alternate member, CP Canada said, any major public issue has to be seen through the prism of the country's relations with the United States, political, military and economic dependence on which has a negative effect on many aspects of national life. That being so, and also in view of the country's location between the United States and the USSR, more and more Canadians are becoming aware that they will be unable to escape the catastrophic consequences of a thermonuclear conflict, if one should break out. This stimulates the growth of the anti-war movement, which, the CP Canada believes, has made a qualitative leap in its development in the recent period.

The progress is felt above all in the unprecedented scope of the movement, its representative character, cohesion, and its growing pressure on the government, which has to reckon with the deep anxieties of the population. The peace fighters support any positive initiative of the authorities, while demanding that they should abandon their ambiguous line in relations with the United States, so as to ensure national independence, conduct a consistent policy of peaceful coexistence and ban the testing of US cruise missiles on Canadian territory.³ The Canadian Communists display a readiness for cooperation and seek to involve in the ranks of the anti-war forces as many as possible representatives of the social-reformist New Democratic Party, members of trade unions, and women's, youth, ecological and religious organisations.⁴

Thanks to their growing influence in the peace movement, the Communists have succeeded in enlarging the circle of the party's well-wishers and sympathisers. In contrast to the cold war period, the party is now able to take part in the public activities of the peace fighters on a more equal footing with other organisations. The Communists point directly to those who are to blame for the sharpening international situation, but seek to avoid any excessive heating up of the polemics. They emphasise that the main goal should be united action for the attainment of common goals, a line which meets with approval among the diverse peace forces.

The current peace movement in Britain, **Bert Ramelson** (CP Great Britain), said, calls, first and foremost, for opposition to the deployment of cruise missiles, and a reduction of military spending generally. There is also the idea of Britain effecting unilateral nuclear disarmament, advocated primarily by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the largest organisation of peace supporters.

The Communist Party encourages its members to participate in all the peace organisations, whether national, such as CND, or the British Peace Assembly, or local, such as the great numbers of organisations which have sprung up often spontaneously and without the parties being involved. At grass-roots level, Communists are very active in local branches of CND, where it is normal to find cooperation with Labour Party members, liberals, non-party people and ecologists.

Morning Star plays an important role in consistently mobilising peace activities and countering militarism and anti-Soviet propaganda. The CPGB has also stated its views on peace in its periodicals, *Comment* (now *Focus*) and *Marxism Today*, as well as hundreds of thousands of various leaflets, several broadsheets and pamphlets issued by the party.

However, there are difficulties, created for the most part by ultra-left elements as well as by anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Such difficulties are being overcome on the spot in calm debate and dialogue. Similarly, there is some controversy on the attitude to the various forms of 'direct action'. As a matter of principle, the CPGB's position is neither for, nor against, direct non-violent action. In some situations, it is a positive, unifying factor, as, for instance, the Greenham Common women defying the law not only by unlawful occupation of the camp, but also by tearing down the fences or obstructing cruise convoys. Such forms of protest arouse effective solidarity among peace supporters. On the other hand, there are situations where 'direct action' can be harmful, especially when they are pushed through by various leftist elements, something that could be used by the authorities for repressions against participants in the peace movement and that could alienate a part of the population. That is why the CPGB approach is conditioned by the actual situation.

The character and tasks of the peace movement in Ireland, **Niall Farrell (CP Ireland)** emphasised, bear the strong imprint of national specifics, which are expressed above all in the country's neutrality, its non-participation in the NATO bloc, and the existence of the Northern Ireland problem. These specifics are of great importance. For example, the absence of NATO bases in the Irish Republic has meant that the media have not been able to develop espionage paranoia or create enemy-hate figures.

In these conditions, the peace movement, which is still very young, has been able to flourish. By concentrating on being positive rather than negative and looking for the best in everyone, the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the movement's main organisation, has become open to people of all political hues, while at the same time remaining autonomous from all political parties. This has helped CND to be highly flexible. Its main objective which fully meets the people's feelings—to have Ireland's neutrality written into the Constitution—serves as a reliable guarantee against the division of the movement, promotes the growth of its popularity and makes even right-wing politicians come out in support of this national demand.

So the situation in the Irish Republic is that there are no attacks on the peace movement from any political quarter and the bourgeois political parties are being forced to treat the peace question seriously for the first time. What is more, the campaign for active neutrality has forced the once vociferous pro-EEC integrationist lobby into total silence.

The political climate in Northern Ireland has created severe difficulties for the peace movement. With people living in constant fear of being shot or blown up, it is particularly hard to relate to them the dangers of nuclear warfare and the need to mobilise against it.

However, the peace issue in Ireland directly confronts the problems of Northern Ireland by inescapably raising the national question. For example, to inscribe in the Irish Republic's constitution our neutrality—a constitution which does not recognise the legitimacy of the Northern Ireland statelet—and for the Irish government to declare the whole island a nuclear-free zone would inevitably bring it into confrontation with British imperialism concerning its presence in the north-eastern part of our country.

Georg Kwiatowski (German CP) concentrated on the FRG Communists' view of the dialectics of joint action, dialogue and discussion within the peace movement. Our experience, he said, indicates that the Communists are winning authority and recognition in the ranks of the peace fighters not to ringing declarations about their vanguard mission, but solely by vigorous participation in the daily activity of the movement, respect for their allies' political and ideological uniqueness, and well-argued presentation of their own views. We lay no claim to the leading role in the peace forces' coalition, and regard ourselves as partners who have equal rights with

all the other groups and organisations, and we expect them to take the same attitude to the GCP. We believe that no one among the peace fighters should try to impose on others his ideology, political programme or world view, or to present them as being those of all the streams of the movement.

In the various national, regional, local and factory peace groups and in their coordinating structures, everywhere members of the GCP demonstrate by their deeds that they are men and women with an ample arsenal of ideas and initiatives, and that they direct their efforts towards concrete joint action. The Communists' frank and consistent behaviour has helped to enhance their authority in the peace movement.

One should bear in mind that the FRG is a country where thousands upon thousands of people within the peace ranks have come into contact with the Communists for the first time in their life. Many have entrenched anti-communist preconceptions drummed in by massive bourgeois propaganda brainwashing. That is why it is so important to convince them that they can depend on GCP members' being honest partners, capable of developing workman-like cooperation.

Q. How is cooperation between the GCP and members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and the Green Party proceeding?

A. During the Social Democrats' period in opposition, the views of the party and its leadership have evolved from support of NATO's 'twin-track decision' to resistance to the missile deployment. The Communists welcome this turn in SPD policy, which is written into the documents of its recent Congresses.⁵ We have not been sniping at the Social Democrats with bursts of their old omissions, but have tried to arrange cooperation with them in joint struggle for dismantling the Euromissiles.

Such cooperation within the peace ranks is, of course, never free from conflict: there remains the SPD's official ban on contacts with the Communists, and we differ with them on the main causes and sources of the sharpening of the international situation. But, I repeat, the Communists consciously bring to the fore everything that brings us closer together and seek points of contact opening the way for joint action. The Green Party is a radical-democratic movement for peace and against the missile deployment consisting of a wide spectrum of dissimilar forces. Many among them profess unacceptable concepts like 'equal responsibility of the two superpowers', and we respond to them in the light of our principles. But on the whole, the GCP stands for comradely and honest cooperation with the Greens, especially on the preservation of peace and defence of democratic rights and freedoms.

Q. Following the start of the US missile deployment attempts have been reportedly intensified to oust the Communists from the peace movement. How does the GCP counter this?

A. Here there can be only one 'recipe': the need to intensify our activity in the ranks of the peace movement, to work for support from other peace trends, whose members should themselves realise that any 'expulsion' of the Communists would weaken the whole anti-missile coalition. Thus, at the peace conference held in February 1984, representatives of the factory peace committees were prominent in rebuffing the attempts to isolate the Communists, declaring that at their enterprises GCP members were among the most vigorous and consistent peace fighters. Those who have such support cannot be ousted from the peace movement.

In pursuance of the decision of our 11th Congress (December 1983), said **Ramon Mendezona, member of the CC Honorary Presidium, CP Spain**, our Party has worked to make the defence of peace one of the prime duties of each organisation and to concentrate more and more cadres and funds on that sector. Our immediate

objective is to give greater scope and to accelerate the ongoing collection of signatures under a demand that the socialist government should honour its promise and hold a referendum on the country's membership of NATO. This requires an atmosphere of constant mobilisation of forces, the establishment of support groups to rally the peace fighters in each populated locality and neighbourhood, and to tie in the tasks of anti-war struggle with the vital problems facing the various strata of the society.

The mass basis of the Spanish peace movement is still inadequate. It is at the stage of its formation. It lacks a well-established inner structure and relies mainly on the supporters of left-wing parties and groups. Besides, most of the participants in the anti-war action are young people without due political experience. The result is that once some striking campaign or demonstration has been held, many of them withdraw from day-to-day efforts to mobilise the masses, suggesting that the aim has been reached. In short, much still remains to be done to win over a majority of Spaniards for the peace movement and to attract the centrist and even the conservative forces. Only then will it be possible to create in the country a truly popular and autonomous movement or peace independent of the parties.

Q. What is the CPS's attitude to the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles?

A. Like other communist parties, the CPS has condemned the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The Communists explain to the masses that the deployment of this first-strike weapon, which has been imposed by US imperialism in defiance of world-wide public protest, has created a much more dangerous situation in Europe for the cause of peace and has led to the USSR's counter-measures. It is now necessary, we say, to halt the process of deployment and to create the conditions for a resumption of the talks at Geneva.

In our country, said **Stratis Korakas, CC alternate member, CP Greece**, there is no need to emphasise or display the Communists' vanguard role in the struggle for peace, because that is a historical reality no one can question. The Communists fought for peace, and against NATO and the US military bases back in the 1950s, unsparing of effort and of life itself, in the atmosphere of fierce terrorism which reaction had imposed on the country. Today, like no other forces, the CP Greece stands for the ideals of peace and national independence. We believe that the Communists' initiative do not narrow down the peace movement in any way. Confirmation of this comes from the almost 30 years of fruitful activity by the Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace, in which CPG members have successfully cooperated with members of other socio-political trends.

Since 1981, Greece has had two other committees set up by political forces which withdrew from the unitary movement when it was at its highest point. One of them is oriented towards certain circles of PASOK, and the other towards the revisionist group styling itself 'Eurocommunists'. These separatist committees, especially the second one styling itself as 'non-aligned', often use slogans which spring from anti-Soviet theories in order to disorient the masses. However, they have failed to deprive the peace movement of its nationwide support and its anti-imperialist character, and their contradictory ideas have not attracted the masses. That is due not only to the national peculiarities and historical traditions of the struggle for peace in Greece, but also to the Communists' correct tactical line, whose substance is to develop unitary action by a wide spectrum of peace forces, while maintaining firmness on issues of principles. We must redouble our efforts to ensure a steady rise in the movement, which still falls short of the imperatives of the present critical international situation.

Q. What is the CPG's attitude to the initiative of the Papandreou Government on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans?

A. The Communist Party supports any positive measures coming from the PASOK government and works to deepen it. It may appear odd but we often back Papandreou's peace initiatives to a greater extent than do his own supporters, because we believe that mass support should be given to every positive proposal. At the same time, the CPG believes, the measures proposed by the authorities are usually partial and incomplete, and are not backed up with deeds. That is why we have criticised the government for having failed, after more than two years in power, to get down to the solution of key problems like the liquidation of US military bases, the removal of nuclear weapons from Greece, and the country's withdrawal from NATO, starting with its military organisation.

Domingos Lopes, CC alternate member, Portuguese CP, spoke of the close interconnection between the peace movement and the struggle to preserve the gains of the April Revolution and the democratic alternative. Our party, he said, does not isolate these two aspects, believing that the resignation of the cabinet of the Socialist Party leader Soares would not only benefit Portuguese democracy but would also be a contribution to peace. After all, it means the removal from power of forces following in the wake of the Reagan Administration, extending the military presence of imperialism in Portugal, and activating the country's participation in NATO.

The government's anti-national policy is opposed by a peace coalition grouped round the Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation, which has a wide social and ideological spectrum in its makeup. At the same time, independent movements, like the one demanding 'No to Nuclear Weapons in Portugal!', have also emerged for the pursuit of concrete aims. In the struggle to preserve peace, the Communists cooperate with the Socialists, Catholics, Protestants, and non-party democrats, but the party is not dissolved in the movement and has not abandoned its Marxist-Leninist views (without imposing them on the others), or its own views on the problems of war and peace. Such a principled line, style of work, activeness and unflagging efforts by the Communists for unity have won them well-deserved authority.

At the same time, the PCP does not believe that the present scope of the peace movement is adequate, because, while it does rely on mass support, it has yet to become nation-wide. The consciousness of broad strata of the population is undoubtedly under the influence of the historical fact that the Napoleonic invasions were the last occasion on which military operations were carried on in the country. But there are also some subjective reasons for the lag, and so we are working to have all the party organisations devote more attention to the struggle for peace.

Ib Nørlund, CC Executive Committee and Secretariat member, CP Denmark, said that peace action in his country has a longstanding tradition but has never yet been so powerful or militant. Like all truly popular struggle, it cannot develop within a pre-modelled framework, but must draw its strength from diverse initiatives by various socio-political circles, among whom the CP Denmark has a considerable role to play. The communists' main task has always been to act in the midst of the peace fighters, while remaining a political factor in its own right, and dialectically combining the defence of their principled positions with a readiness to accept compromises for the good of the common cause. This line has made it possible to develop unitary processes in the anti-war movement and has helped to neutralise the attempts of some of its forces to isolate the Communists.

The scope of the peace action has told on the whole political atmosphere in Denmark and has influenced the Social Democratic party's attitude to the 'missile issue': following its erstwhile support of NATO's 'twin-track decision', it is now opposed to its realisation. A number of positive resolutions in favour of preserving the detente and achieving progress in disarmament was motioned by the Social Democrats in Parliament and passed from 1982 to 1984 under pressure from the anti-war movement. The most important of these put the duty on the government to

take a stand in NATO for Denmark's nuclear-free status in time of peace, crisis and war, and to work to turn Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone, and also to provide for a withdrawal of the Danish contribution amounting to 48 million crowns from NATO's total appropriations for the deployment of Euromissiles. We regard all of that as an important success for the peace movement.

In our country, said **Bruno Furch (CP Austria)**, we speak of a new movement for peace. It has grown out of the vigorous protests by the democratic public, which in 1978 succeeded in blocking delivery of tanks to the fascist junta in Chile, and also out of the action by the ecologists against the starting of the nuclear power plant at Zwentendorf. A broad movement has gradually taken shape, with the Socialists, Communists, Catholics and non-party people speaking a common language. But this cooperation has not been easy to shape. Thus, on the eve of a large demonstration in May 1982, the youth unions within the Federal Ring⁶ were against allowing CPA speakers to address the rally. The right-wing Austrian People's Party, the official church hierarchy and the Socialist leadership are trying to accuse the anti-war movement of bias, to present it as being oriented to one side, and to get it to evolve away from the recognition of the US responsibility and to the acceptance of the idea of 'equal responsibility of the two superpowers'. But the urge for unity of action is gaining the upper hand, especially at the grass roots.⁷

The efforts to give the movement a more pronounced orientation against NATO's missile policy has succeeded, as will be seen, for instance, from the appeal adopted at the 'peace plenum' in Linz in March of this year after the start of the missile deployment. It refuted the assertion that the Pershings have helped mankind to achieve greater security, and demand a halt to missile deployment in Europe, and a removal of the combat-alerted missiles, in order to get down to genuine disarmament and to freeze the nuclear arsenals at once.

Dietmar Ahrens, Deputy Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, told of the activity of the coordinating committee of the West Berlin peace movement. Everyone knows that there is no intention of deploying any missiles in West Berlin, but the discussion of peace problems has become truly popular, because of the city's geographical location in the heart of the GDR, which means that it is within the sights of US first-strike missiles. Official propaganda finds it hard to convince people that SS-20 missiles could be used to destroy a socialist state, which is why, despite all the disagreements, people regard the US missiles as the main danger.

Action in defence of peace in the city is directed by a coordinating committee. Depending on the gravity of the situation, its work involves some 200 parties and groups, including representatives of the SED West Berlin, Social Democrats, alternativists, liberal democrats, trade unions, and numerous organisations of foreign working people. The latter is highly important for West Berlin, where 250,000 of the 1.8 million people are foreign workers.

The committee meets to plan action by the peace fighters. From time to time, seminars are held at weekends on the most acute issues on which the movement does not have a consensus. The SED West Berlin believes that this style of work has justified itself. It provides an opportunity to transfer controversial issues from the sphere of joint action to a free exchange of opinions which is not limited in time. This makes it clear right away what can and cannot be done within the framework of the whole alliance. Besides, we have reached the conclusion that it is more useful to have the partners learn of the Communists' approach directly from us, instead of the falsified reports of the bourgeois press. Such an approach enhances trust and facilitates cooperation.

Agamemnon Stavrou, CC member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), drew attention to the tasks and specific conditions in the Cypriots' struggle for peace. The main characteristic of the peace movement in Cyprus is the strong opposition to imperialism, especially British and US imperialism, which

constitute the main threat to the country's independence and non-alignment. The interests of imperialism are connected with the intention to liquidate the Republic of Cyprus and to turn the island into an unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Eastern Mediterranean. This danger has increased particularly with the deployment of US first-strike missiles on the territory of several West European countries, and also with the illegal action of the Turkish Cypriot leadership in declaring a separate state in the north. That is a new act of aggression which has nothing in common with the interests of the vast majority of the Cyprus people, Greeks and Turks alike, and is a direct threat to the cause of world peace.

The peace forces in Cyprus want a just solution to the problem on the basis of the legitimate interests of the two communities, in accordance with the UN resolutions and within the framework of the efforts by the UN Secretary General aimed to resume the inter-communal talks and find a balanced compromise solution.

Acting independently and also within the framework of the Cyprus Peace Committee and other mass organisations, AKEL combines the struggle for peace with a stand for national independence. Our party demands the withdrawal of all the occupation and foreign troops, dismantling of all the military bases, and a conversion of Cyprus into an independent, non-aligned, sovereign, territorially integrated, federal and demilitarised state.

Not Relaxation But Invigoration of the Struggle

Following the start of the US missile deployment on the territory of the FRG, Great Britain and Italy, public opinion in the West, above all the millions of people taking part in the anti-war movement, were subjected to a deafening propaganda attack by the governments and mass media of many NATO countries. First, they drummed in the idea that the peace movement had failed to fulfil its task and so had suffered a crushing defeat. Second, they argued that the movement was in a state of deep crisis caused by the desperation and sense of hopelessness which had allegedly taken hold of its participants. The suggested bottom line is that any further anti-war struggle has no prospects before it.

The whole course of the discussion showed very well that NATO propaganda is trying, at the very least, to engage in wishful thinking in its efforts to minimise the unquestionable achievements of the peace forces' coalition.

It is true that the anti-war movement in Western Europe and the peace fighters supporting it in other regions have failed to block the start of the deployment of new US missiles on the continent. But it would be a big mistake to assume that the struggle has been in vain. The anti-war, anti-missile and anti-nuclear movement has asserted itself as an influential international public force and a vigorous participant in world politics. The most important upshot of that rise in the struggle is that the issue of war and peace and the problems of security and disarmament have spilled over from traditional diplomacy to become the focus of attention on the part of the broadest masses of people realising the need to take the matter of saving their own lives in their own hands.⁸

The anti-war and anti-missile protest, speakers said, has led to a demarcation and polarisations of forces in the FRG, Great Britain, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and other countries and has compelled governments, parliaments and leading political parties to reckon with it. The wide-ranging action by the Dutch public has forced the right-of-centre government to decide not to deploy US missiles in the country before the beginning of 1988, thereby upsetting the missile time-table approved by the White House and NATO. The Belgian authorities continue to vacillate and have not yet given their final consent to the introduction of the death-dealing weapons. The governments of Greece and Canada have come forward with a number of positive initiatives aimed to improve the international situation. And is it right to ignore the fact that under pressure from the masses municipal councils in many countries of the

world have declared their towns and districts to be nuclear-free zones? All these and many other examples which were cited do not square with the claim that the efforts of the peace fighters have been 'ineffective' and 'futile'.

From the standpoint of the prospects before the anti-war movement, participants in the discussion stressed, the deep political demarcation over the Euromissiles and security, which has taken place in Western Europe between the ruling conservative forces and the social democratic opposition is highly important. The peace movement was largely instrumental in making impressive strata of the social democratic parties and affiliated trade unions direct participants in the anti-missile action. But speakers also said that some of the social democratic leaders keep glancing over their shoulder at the United States and trying to use the anti-war protest by the masses for their own purposes and to dull its anti-imperialist edge.

Furthermore, in recent years, new forms of cooperation among the most diverse strata of the population, parties, organisations and groups with differing political and religious convictions have taken shape within the anti-missile actions. The experience of such interaction, it was said in the course of the discussion, is truly invaluable and it will still have a role to play at the new stage of the struggle.

Even some spokesmen for the imperialist circles have been forced to admit the growing influence of the peace movement. Among them is one-time US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who has declared that, with public opinion in Western Europe resolutely opposed to any tendency whatsoever to rely on nuclear force, the deployment of US missiles could prove to be no more than a temporary achievement.⁹

So much for the NATO propaganda thesis about some kind of 'defeat' for the peace movement. Another allegation about a feeling of 'doom' having descended on most of the peace fighters is not borne out by the facts either, speakers pointed out. "There have been so signs of confusion, defeatism or doom," **Bert Ramelson** said, "though the actual deployment of the first of the cruise was a disappointment." **Ib Nørland** said: "The arrival of the US missiles did not result in a mood of pessimistic surrender, but in demands for their removal and for a resumption of the talks." **Ramon Mendezona**: "The deployment of the US missiles has increased people's awareness of the danger they pose to the cause of peace."

The most painful reaction to the Euromissiles deployment came from the public opinion of the FRG, said **Georg Kwiatowski**. A section of the peace fighters was disappointed and temporarily succumbed to a mood of pessimism. However, after a short period of uncertainty various groups of the population are being ever more broadly involved in the struggle for peace. What is especially important is that the trade unions have become more active. All of this is well illustrated by the 'Easter marches', in which over 600,000 people took part.

The participants in the discussion drew attention to yet another highly important change which has taken place in the peace movement since the missile deployment. Before the end of November 1983, the anti-missile action had only one objective: to prevent implementation of NATO's 'twin-track decision'. The picture has now changed. Peace conferences in the FRG—in Cologne in February and May 1984—resulted not only in agreements on a broad programme of joint measures but also on a wide view of the main objective of the movement. Its participants want an end to the deployment of US missiles and a withdrawal of those already in place, to be followed by the cancellation of the Warsaw Treaty countries' counter-measures and a resumption of the talks at Geneva. Apart from that, the peace fighters are now unanimously in favour of ridding the FRG of all the biological, chemical and nuclear weapons stockpiled on its territory, they want a freeze on and a reduction of conventional armaments, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Europe, etc.

There are, of course, still some issues which are being debated and on which mutual understanding has yet to be achieved (alternative conceptions of security, possibility

of unilateral disarmament, the importance of military parity). But the hopes that the arrival of the US missiles would deal the peace movement an irreparable blow have not been justified. *People in Western Europe have certainly no intention of learning to live with the Pershings and cruise missiles.*

Extending the United Front

Despite its massiveness and great scope, the peace movement has far from used up its potentialities for further growth, for amplifying its ranks and making its action more effective, participants in the meeting said. That is the angle from which the question of enhancing the role of the working class in the anti-war struggle was considered.

Ever new sections of workers, entire trade union organisations and federations are actively joining in the struggle for peace and against NATO's nuclear-missile plans. They are moved to do so by their awareness of the danger of the nuclear threat, and also by their experience which has convinced them that militarism threatens the working people's social gains, while the arms race merely whips up the growth of mass unemployment. Broad masses of workers were directly involved in the series of anti-war demonstrations and marches which rolled across the European countries, the United States and Canada. Among the very popular slogans were: 'Jobs Not Bombs' (Great Britain), 'Peace, Jobs and Equality' (United States), 'Jobs Instead of Missiles. Resist!' (FRG), and so on.

The trade union movement has increased its anti-war-activity, displaying an urge to match declarations with practical steps. The Canadian Labour Congress, the country's leading trade union centre, has started to play a major role in the peace movement for the first time. There were extensive reverberations in Western Europe from the call for peace through disarmament issued by the Federation of German Trade Unions, the most numerous organisation of working people in the FRG, and also the five-minute general stoppage staged on its initiative on October 5, 1983, in protest against the missile deployment.

The first half of the 1980s is undoubtedly marked by a progressive 'synchronisation' of efforts by the peace and working class movements. However, the Communists see no reason for self-complacency, some CP representatives stressed. **Domingos Lopes**, for instance, declared: "We do not believe that the powerful potential of the working class has already been fully set in motion in the struggle for peace." The participants in the discussion drew the following unanimous conclusion: *further growth of effectiveness in the defence of peace crucially depends on a greater contribution to it by the organisations of the working class movement.*

Closer contacts between the forces of peace and the advocates of solidarity support for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is another highly promising way of extending the anti-war, anti-nuclear and anti-missile front, it was said in the discussion. The struggle for peace in some countries, like Portugal, is traditionally tied in with such support for the victims of imperialism, racism, zionism, apartheid and colonialism. In other countries, this interconnection has been more pronounced in the recent period. In Austria, Ireland, the FRG and West Berlin, there are diverse groups studying the problems of the Third World, and of the regions and states whose peoples are under aggressive pressure from imperialism. Thanks to the efforts of such groups, the participants in the anti-missile protest are coming to have a clearer understanding that the threat to peace and to the cause of national liberation stems from one and the same source; they are gaining a deeper comprehension of the difficulties and aspirations of the young states, of the tasks of national liberation movements, of the meaning of the demands for a new international economic order, and of the connection between the solution of many humanistic problems (elimination of hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy) and a reduction of the mammoth military budgets. Ever new sections of the peace forces are worried that

the hotbeds of tension and local conflicts could detonate a global armed confrontation.

Speakers in the discussion voiced their conviction that *there is a need to have the movements in defence of peace and anti-imperialist solidarity complement and support each other more fully.*

In Sharp Ideological Contest

Following the deployment of the new US missiles and the Soviet Union's counter-measures, ideological and political discussions were intensified in the peace coalitions in many countries of Western Europe. On the one hand, participants in the discussion pointed to the growing ideological pressure being exerted on the peace movement by NATO's propaganda machine. On the other, they said there was a need to take into account the very diversity of the motivations which had led millions of people into the ranks of the anti-war fighters. From the outset these movements contained within themselves different views of the international situation and the sources of its exacerbation. It is, after all, no secret that among those who stand for peace and disarmament many have no sympathy for socialism and have not given up the notion about the USSR being 'one of the sources of tensions in the world', a notion foisted on them by the reactionary propaganda media.

It is the heterogeneity of the movement that feeds the spread within it of essentially false conceptions, such as the notorious theory of 'equal responsibility of the two superpowers' for the tensions in the world and for the arms race. A 'logical' extension of that theory is the suggestion of 'equidistance' for the peace movement from the USSR and the United States, from the Warsaw Treaty and from NATO. Many speakers reported on the broad discussions going on over these issues among the peace fighters. A polemic is also under way over the problem of the maintenance of military parity between the two blocs: a section of the peace forces holds that such a parity is irrelevant in a situation in which both sides have enough weapons to annihilate each other many times over.

How is one to respond to such assertions? What is the communist parties' experience in the various countries in combating the militaristic anti-communist and anti-Soviet myth-making? What principled line should the Communists generally take in the ideological discussions proceeding among the peace fighters? There was a lively exchange of opinions on these questions.

The Communists of the FRG, said **Georg Kwiatowski**, are working hard to combat the 'two superpowers' theory, which is current in the peace movement, and to explain from the class angle the causes of wars, the origins of the arms race, and the meaning of the socialist states' foreign-policy initiatives. They tell their partners that these countries are their firmest and most consistent allies, for the USSR is carrying on a struggle for disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, for a renunciation of the use of force, for goodneighbourliness and cooperation.

It is the duty of Communists in the anti-war movement, said **Ib Nørland**, to explain who is the actual enemy of peace, and where the true causes of the thermonuclear threat lie. It is not easy to do this in view of the extremely diverse makeup of the peace coalition. After all, it is necessary, on the one hand, to beat back the attempts to partition the movement into separate ideological trends, and on the other, to extend and consolidate its political basis through a more clearcut understanding of the role of the two opposite social systems. The scope of the anti-war action is, of course, of vital importance and if we are able to preserve it, we cannot afford to make excessively stringent demands on our partners in the movement. But it is also perfectly clear that the 'two superpowers' theory hampers the peace fighters in using their potentialities and prevents them from realising the full gravity of the threat of war.

Replying to questions as to how the CP Spain explains to the masses the USSR's

foreign policy, and what its attitude is to the 'equidistance' theory, **Ramon Mendezona** said that in the CPS's view, the Reagan Administration's militaristic imperialist line has been and continued to be the main source of international tensions, while the USSR's policy constitutes the main barrier in the way of aggressive schemes of imperialism. We do not identify NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and we are aware that the countries within them differ socially. At the same time, the party believes that the very existence of the military blocs harms the peoples' struggle for liberation and social progress.

Other speakers took a different approach to the issue. The Greek Communists, said **Stratis Korakas**, attach primary importance to exposing the false 'two superpowers' and 'equidistance' conceptions. In showing their flimsiness and danger to the cause of peace, we create the basis for developing and strengthening the anti-war movement. Its participants need to be correctly oriented in order to frustrate the attempts by imperialism to divide the peace forces and to spread confusion in their ranks. The movement in which the Communists are active believes that the people are not alone in their hard struggle, because they have a tremendous force on their side: the USSR and the whole of the socialist community. This puts heart into the masses and gives them confidence in a favourable outcome of the struggle. That is why rebuffs to anti-Sovietism are the condition for solidifying the peace movement. Meanwhile, those in Greece who take an attitude of pseudo-objectivism, and are fearful of being seen as 'Moscow's agents', preach 'equidistance' and weaken the anti-war struggle by their line, whether they wish to do so or not.

Several speakers urged the need to invigorate the Communists' efforts to explain the meaning of the Soviet counter-measures forced by the deployment of US Euromissiles, measures which have up to now either been misunderstood or misinterpreted in some circles of the peace coalition. There is such a misunderstanding in the peace movement in the FRG, said **Georg Kwiatowski**, but we have been patiently explaining to our partners that the preservation of military-strategic parity is necessary to prevent the adventurist militaristic circles from entertaining even the illusion of superiority, the illusion of it being possible to escape retribution after a nuclear attack on the socialist countries. The important thing now is to halt the deployment of the US missiles and to get them out, as this will automatically cancel the Soviet counter-measures as well. At the same time, the struggle only against missiles sited in the GDR and Czechoslovakia will be futile, for if the missiles remain in the West, they will also remain in the East. In saying this we emphasise that the USSR has consistently advocated complete disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, and has firmly adhered to its commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

Within the ranks of the peace movement, speakers said, there is now a broad agreement about the need to take diverse action in the light of the new requirements which life has put forward since the start of the US missile deployment in Western Europe.

The content of the discussion as a whole showed that the spontaneous development of the anti-war consciousness has its limits. From this follows the Communists' duty to provide a class explanation to the problems of war and peace, for this will help the fighters for peace to formulate clearcut mobilising slogans, and the whole movement to have a clear orientation. A further exchange of ideas and a sharing of experience in this area could, participants in the discussion said, help to enhance the role of the communist parties in the anti-war movement, to consolidate the whole peace forces' front and to make it more effective.

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

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 166.

³ For an assessment by the CP Canada of the government's foreign policy, see William Kashtan, 'The Key Condition for Social Development', *WMR*, No. 4, 1984.

⁴ On the concrete forms of struggle for peace in Canada see Jack Phillips, 'Canada: The Peace Front Is Widening', *WMR*, No. 8, 1984.

⁵ The SPD's Essen Congress (May 17-21, 1984) not only reaffirmed the earlier decision (Cologne Congress, November 1983) calling for an end to US missile deployment and a withdrawal of those already primed for action, but also made a number of proposals aimed to improve the international situation.—*Ed.*

⁶ The Federal Ring of Austrian Youth was founded in 1953 and is financed by the state. It brings together various youth and children's organisations, but has not allowed members of the Communist Youth of Austria to join.—*Ed.*

⁷ Concerning the experience and concrete forms of struggle for peace in Austria, see also Ernst Wimmer, 'In the Thick of Anti-War Actions', *WMR*, No. 8, 1984.

⁸ See Dietmar Ahrens, 'People's Diplomacy Versus Diplomacy of Force', *WMR*, No. 7, 1984.

⁹ See *Time*, March 5, 1984, p. 14.

viewpoints

A Great, Unfading Heritage

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IN September 1984 the Communists of the world are marking the 120th anniversary of the Working Men's International Association — the First International. The founding of the First International holds a special place among the many milestones in the history of the liberation struggle of the working class. "The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital."¹ In fact, the meeting of English, French, German, Italian, Belgian, Polish, and Irish workers in St. Martin's Hall London, on September 28, 1864 heralded the birth of the international communist movement.

The First International was in existence for only eight years. But these were years rich in ideas, initiatives, and action. Karl Marx, founder, inspirer, and continuous leader of the International and, together with him, his great friend Frederick Engels, did everything to make it "a real organisation of the Working class for struggle."²

The many-sided activities of the Working Men's International Association are an inexhaustible subject. It is not accidental that bulky monographs, essays and polemical works devoted to its history are appearing one after another to this day. Much of this history, which mirrors what is for us the invaluable experience of the first steps taken by the organised working class movement, now belongs to the past. But in the activities and ideas of the Association there is much that is unquestionably still topical. This concerns, above all, the idea expressed in its name: *International*.

"It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation."³ It will be no exaggeration to say that the most significant outcome of the work accomplished by Marx and Engels in the First International was the formulation of the ideological principles of the international proletarian brotherhood and the application of these principles in the day-to-day struggles of the working class of different countries. *Proletarian internationalism* is the main heritage left by the Working Men's International Association to the Communists of all subsequent generations and the principal behest to us, Communists at the close of the 20th century.

Ever since the working class movement's revolutionary science was evolved by Marx, Engels, and Lenin there has neither been nor, and one can be sure of it, will there

be respites or pauses in the campaigns hostile to that science, in the attempts by the class adversaries to refute its conclusions and restrict its growing influence on the working people, on the peoples of all countries. One of scientific communism's conclusions that has been and continues to be attacked most savagely is the thesis that proletarian internationalism is one of the cornerstones of revolutionary theory, policy, and practice.

Indeed, can it be otherwise? The ideologists and politicians of the bourgeois class — the class that draws its life's blood from division and disunity among working people, from the fanning of rivalry among them, from the setting of some nations and nationalities against others — see proletarian internationalism as their most formidable enemy. And these ideologists and politicians strive to do all in their power to "prove" that internationalism is something "artificial" and "ill-intentioned", brought into the working class movement from without by the Marxists. And hence the conclusion that the sooner the working class movement renounces internationalism the better it will be for itself and for humankind as a whole.

However, this conclusion is as false as is the premise on which it is based. The fact is that proletarian internationalism is not the product of anyone's invention — it is not the product either of theoretical fantasy or of subjective political will. *Proletarian internationalism is an objective phenomenon reflecting in ideology and politics the very essence of the working class, of the working class movement.*

Indeed, *in the first place*, the working class is history's first toiling, exploited class that, developing on the basis of large-scale machine industry and of the world market created by capitalism, is, by virtue of this alone, an international class. Marx noted that the working class "can only exist world-historically."⁴

In the second place, given all its different forms, the exploitation of labour by capital is essentially the same in all countries. Everywhere it is a matter of the bourgeoisie appropriating the surplus-value created by the proletariat. The economic position of the workers, Lenin pointed out, "is not national, but international."⁵

In the third place, the underlying class interest of the proletariat has, by virtue of the afore-said, to be one and the same everywhere, namely, to abolish capitalist rule. Marx wrote that "the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists."⁶ In his turn, Engels noted that "the proletarians in all countries have one and the same interest, one and the same enemy, and one and the same struggle."⁷

In the fourth place and lastly, the essence of the society that the proletariat is to build is also the same everywhere: for all distinctions in form, it will in content be everywhere a society in which the rule of private property with all its consequences, above all with its social and national oppression, will have been abolished.

In other words, the working class, the proletariat, is, in the true sense, an international class exploited by cosmopolitan capital but capable of discharging its mission of fighting this exploitation by the combined efforts of all its national contingents. At the close of the 19th century Engels wrote: "The army of the international proletariat is taking shape, and the coming new century will take it to victory."⁸ A little over a quarter of a century later, Lenin noted that imperialism "brings the antagonism between internationally united capital and the international working class movement into the forefront."⁹

Naturally, the genuinely international nature of the working class and its struggle found adequate expression in the ideology and policy of the working class movement. *Proletarian internationalism* has become this expression.

In the documents of the First International and in the works of Marx and Engels relating to its activities one clearly sees two basic components of proletarian internationalism: Internationalist ideology and internationalist policy.

"The main point," Engels wrote, "is to safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no patriotic chauvinism to arise."¹⁰ In other words, the *ideology* of

proletarian internationalism is resolutely opposed to the bourgeoisie's nationalistic ideology, which "justifies" the disunity of the working people of different countries and different nationalities. The bourgeoisie, Marx wrote, "knows that this scission is the true secret of maintaining its power."¹¹

Consequently, the *policy* of proletarian internationalism is a policy of ensuring the solidarity of the working class movement of all countries. "Citizens," Marx said in 1872, "let us think of the fundamental principle of the International, solidarity! It is by establishing this vivifying principle on a strong basis, among all working people of all countries that we shall achieve the great goal we have set ourselves."¹²

The essence of the ideology and policy of proletarian internationalism remains unchanged to this day. Actually, this concerns the foundation of internationalism, its underlying principles, its points of departure.

It is, however, quite obvious that with the passage of time the content of internationalism, the basic principles of which it consists developed and grew richer. This process moved in two main directions. First, it was a matter of *enriching the content of proletarian internationalism in what concerned the relations between the various contingents of the international working class itself.*

At the time of Working Men's International Association was formed internationalism expressed the determination of the most conscious forces of the proletariat to fight for the "immediate combination of the still disconnected movements"¹³ of workers of different nationalities, of different countries. Later, throughout the latter half of the century, and under the influence and in many cases with the direct participation of Marx and Engels proletarian revolutionary parties that rallied to the banner of scientific communism emerged in a number of countries. Since then and to the present proletarian internationalism has been the foundation of the relations between the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class.

A new stage in the development of the content of proletarian internationalism surfaced in 1917, when the working class of Russia took power into their hands. The policies pursued by the Soviet state were permeated with the spirit of internationalism. The relations and mutual support between the victorious working class and the working people of all other countries have since then been the axis of proletarian internationalism, a major component of its substance.

Following the formation of the socialist world community internationalist policy has become one of the most important elements in the development of relations between countries where the working class is in power. The norms and principles of these relations, which comprise solidarity and comradely mutual assistance, full equality and respect for each other's sovereignty and which embrace all areas of the mutual contacts between governments and between the ruling communist and workers' parties, public organisations, and work collectives, have become known as socialist internationalism. This further enriched the ideas embodied in the activities of the First International.

There is no doubt at all that the steady growth of the working class movement will lead to a new enrichment of the content of proletarian internationalism as the foundation of the relations between different contingents of the international working class movement and between their political vanguards.

The content of proletarian internationalism was also enriched along the line of the *relations between the working class and its non-proletarian allies.* These relations are also based by the working class and its parties on consistent internationalist principles.

As early as in the period of the First International Marx and Engels saw in its full stature the question of relations between the working class and the liberation movement of the non-proletarian masses. This was, in the first place, the question of the attitude of the working class movement to the movement for national liberation, to the fighters against capitalism's colonial system. The answer to this question was obvious to Marx and Engels: the working class unquestionably was to support the fighters for

national liberation. To Marx and Engels solidarity of the working class with the national liberation movement was a major element of the ideology and policy of internationalism.

The significance of this question increased with the commencement of the 20th century, when the national liberation movement began to act along a wide front against the shameful colonial system. In view of the new development level of the revolutionary process and the growing role of the fighters for national liberation, Lenin formulated the famous slogan that reflected the concurrently enriched content of proletarian internationalism: "Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite."¹⁴

After the Second World War the national liberation movement reached the level of victorious national liberation revolutions. Other mass democratic movements emerged, and these included the movement of the peoples against the threat of nuclear war. Taking the changed situation into account, Communists throughout the world formulated a new appeal that mirrored the further deepening of the principle of proletarian internationalism relative to the policy of the working class towards its allies: "*Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!*"¹⁵

In other words, the content of working class internationalism today consists, on the one hand, of the growing solidarity among all contingents of the working class movement itself, including the peoples of the socialist countries and the working class of the non-socialist world and, on the other, of the solidarity of the international working class movement with all fighters against imperialism.

One sometimes hears that, in connection with the appearance of the many and diverse liberation, democratic movements and the involvement of more and more new social groups and strata in the anti-imperialist, anti-war struggle, proletarian internationalism has as such become obsolete and redundant. Under these conditions, others say, a new internationalism is needed that would embrace all fighters for peace, against imperialism.

There is no doubt that today it is indeed necessary to strengthen solidarity and interaction between all fighters against imperialism, regardless of their class affiliation, of their political and other views. The Communists are consistently urging such solidarity.

However, this by no means signifies that under the new conditions proletarian internationalism is losing its significance, its right to exist.

On the one hand, while its importance is enormous, solidarity among all the participants in the anti-imperialist, anti-war struggle is limited in content. Take just one example. Many of those who are active against war are far from being consistent opponents of imperialism, and many of them even represent the interests of particular imperialist circles who are not inclined towards adventurism. Small wonder that their stand is contradictory and in some cases even ambiguous.

The anti-imperialist, anti-war struggle gets its necessary consistence and dynamism from the participation in it of the working class and its vanguard political organisations and trade unions. Essentially, the interaction of the different contingents of the working class movement on an international scale is the foundation on or around which all the other participants in the anti-imperialist, anti-war struggle are rallying, whether they are aware of this or not. In other words, the solidarity of the working class movement is the foundation of the solidarity of all other forces taking action against imperialism and war. To abolish this foundation would mean, of course, greatly weakening the influence, clarity of purpose, and militancy of the cooperation among these forces.

On the other hand, rejection of the need for proletarian internationalism today

would, in effect, be tantamount to belittling or even negating the historical role played by the working class. Actually, the argument over the future of proletarian internationalism is part of the argument over whether the working class movement is today retaining its role, whether the postulate of Marx, Engels, and Lenin about the historical mission of the working class remains correct or is now wrong. This is precisely why all who are true to the ideas of scientific communism, to the ideals of the proletarian movement cannot accept the thesis that proletarian internationalism has lost its historical role, its right to exist.

Internationalism and internationalist solidarity are now incomparably more important than they ever were. To what is this due?

First and foremost, it must be stressed that humankind has now unquestionably entered a new stage in the internationalisation of the entire social fabric. This is seen, *in the first place*, in the substantially enhanced internationalisation of the world economy over the last few decades, notably, under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution. This concerns socialist economic integration, the growing economic cooperation between countries with different social systems, and the internationalisation of the capitalist world economy (integration, transnational corporations, and so forth).

To quote Lenin, the tendency towards the "creation, of international unity . . . of economic life generally, politics, science, etc." is reflected in the activities of the working class movement through the strengthening of the "principle of internationalism."¹⁶ There is now a distinct expansion of the interaction between the class struggle in different regions of the world, the internationalisation of this struggle. This is seen also in the increasingly frequent simultaneous actions of the working class of different countries on the same issues, and in the growing international solidarity of different contingents of the working class movement (in, among other things, the struggle against the transnational corporations).

Second, the advent of a new and higher stage in the internationalisation of social life is seen from the aggravation of so-called global problems, i.e., problems that affect the destiny of all humankind, problems that have to be resolved if humankind is to continue along the road of social progress.

The central of these problems is, of course, that of preventing a world thermonuclear catastrophe. Obviously, this problem cannot be resolved by action in only one country. As Konstantin Chernenko noted, the "problems of war and peace, as all other global problems, do not exist by themselves. They are inseparable from world-wide social contradictions, from the development of the class struggle."¹⁷ In other words, the settlement of the cardinal question of preserving peace, of removing the threat of war, requires vigorous international interaction of all existing contingents of the working class movement, chiefly of all the communist parties.

I should like to stress in particular that with the deployment of new US missiles Europe has now become an especially important front of resistance to the war threat. This is acknowledged by all the advocates of peace. Europe is the neuralgic centre of this struggle.

Moreover, it is quite evident that the struggle against the threat of war in Europe is by no means isolated from all the other fronts of the battle to save mankind. The communist and workers' parties of European countries note that they consider it a duty to show solidarity with the peoples of other regions of the world fighting imperialism and, on the other hand, highly appreciate the solidarity displayed by these peoples with their own struggle for peace. For their part, the fraternal parties of Latin America, Asia, and Africa rely in their struggles on the growing solidarity of the peoples of Europe. It may be said that in the countries of all continents there is a growing understanding that the forces of war and aggression can only be bridled by joint actions of all contingents of the anti-imperialist front.

The significance of internationalism is growing also in connection with problems

other than those of peace-socio-economic, population, and environmental, which are likewise called global. As was noted in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the present development level of the productive forces and of science and technology makes it possible to tackle these problems.¹⁸ And it is quite obvious that here, too, there is a need for active and enterprising participation of the working class, of the working class movement of all countries.

Third, the deepening internationalisation of the modern world's social life is mirrored in the policies of monopoly capital, which is seeking to pool its efforts against socialism and the national liberation movement.

The imperialist forces have now established and put into operation a whole system of international links. These are imperialism's military blocs, notably the NATO bloc, which ever since it was founded had been functioning as an instrument coordinating the counter-revolutionary actions of imperialism of different countries. These are the various integrative agencies in Europe and other parts of the world, which are likewise used for these purposes. We should also include here the periodical conferences of the leaders of the major capitalist countries that, formerly convened allegedly for the sole purpose of considering economic questions, now deal with military and political matters and in fact coordinate action on key international problems. Also included here are the world associations of bourgeois parties.

Developments over the past few years have shown clearly that the weaker the bourgeoisie becomes in each individual capitalist country, the more it seeks to rely on its international potentialities, on its international links. Whatever country one takes — in the event of serious changes of a revolutionary or even simply of a profoundly democratic character — the international alliance of capital at once interferes unceremoniously. This has been demonstrated by the examples of Chile, Portugal, the Middle East, and Central America.

The USA is particularly active in organising the international contacts of the imperialist forces. It is at the back of all moves being taken in this direction, utilising political and economic pressure, and all other methods up to and including the employment of CIA channels. Essentially, imperialism's current feverish activity in pooling efforts against socialism and the liberation movement (despite the existing and deepening interimperialist contradictions of the most diverse nature) is impelled not only by the common class interest of capital but, and above all, by US imperialism's drive for world supremacy.

It is quite obvious that the international working class movement has to draw the corresponding conclusions from the new stage of the internationalisation of social life. The working class movement has to counter the international unity of its class adversary with powerful, well-planned and internationally coordinated action that would mobilise the masses and rally them to launch a common powerful counter-offensive against the anti-peace machinations of imperialism's militarist, aggressive forces.

The significance of internationalism, of the internationalist solidarity of the working class has thus grown and continues to grow for objective reasons. This is seen by our class adversaries too.

It is not accidental that since the mid-1970s there have been particularly vigorous actions by the imperialist forces against proletarian internationalism. One may ask: Why precisely at that time? If we recall the course of events in that period it will not be hard to see why. The beginning of the 1970s saw peoples rising in support of Vietnam and Chile. The solidarity movement, which unfolded as a direct embodiment of proletarian internationalism, virtually sowed confusion and alarm in the camp of the imperialists. They quite naturally saw this as a growing threat to their domination in many parts of the world, as a powerful force that had acquired tangible weight. And in reply to this movement imperialism launched a campaign against proletarian internationalism, describing it as being hostile to the independence of fraternal parties.

Nor are imperialism's attacks on proletarian internationalism slackening today. It has now become crystal clear that this is a major component of imperialism's "crusade" against socialism, against the entire liberation movement, against the Communists. This is a major component of present-day anti-communism.

In the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on proletarian internationalism a conclusion of fundamental significance is that the Communist Party, i.e., the party whose activity is based on the principles of scientific communism, can and must be the most consistent proponent of the ideology and policy of internationalism, that it can and must be the force that ensures effective implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The role of the Communists, wrote Marx and Engels, is first that "in the national struggles of the proletarians of different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality"; and second that in "the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole."¹⁹

The Working Men's International Association was the first in history to begin to turn these principles into practical policy. The internationalist activities of the Association remain an example for Communists to this day.

At first the parties of the Second International likewise proclaimed their fidelity to the lessons of Marx and Engels. But, as we all know, soon after it was founded the leaders of many of these parties showed an inclination to back away from Marxism and, in the first place, from proletarian internationalism. In criticising the apostasy of the leaders of the working class movement, Marx and Engels openly stated that the parties which departed from internationalism lost much of their essence, that they lost the right to be regarded as genuinely revolutionary organisations of the proletariat. The collapse of the Second International during the First World War convincingly demonstrated that abandonment of internationalism leads to ignominious failure, badly hurts the working class movement, and ultimately signifies connivance to those who plan and unleash wars between peoples.

It was by no means accidental that Lenin lashed out at the opportunists who distorted Marxism. He called upon the revolutionary parties of the working class to be constantly concerned about the international unity of the workers,²⁰ to think not only of their own nation but also of the interests of all peoples, the interests of universal freedom and the equality of nations.²¹

Being himself unswervingly faithful to the views of Marx and Engels, Lenin from the outset oriented the Bolshevik Party founded by him in 1903 towards unshakable fidelity to the ideology and political principles of proletarian internationalism. Throughout its 80-year history the CPSU has honourably held that banner aloft. "We Soviet Communists consider defence of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist."²²

Past experience and the events of recent years have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that there is a direct link between the unity and cooperation of the working class movement, of its political, revolutionary vanguard in the first place, and the successes or setbacks of its struggle to preserve and consolidate peace. Remembering this, the fraternal parties cooperate broadly on an international scale, and perfect and reinforce their interaction. It seems to me, however, that the present situation is making new and much higher demands of the solidarity of the Communists. This stems from the above-mentioned overall international situation and from the specific problems confronting the Communists.

One of these problems, which in some cases creates particular difficulties, is *that the growth of the volume of the international tasks of the working class and its organisations is accompanied by the growth of the volume of national tasks and by a further accentuation of the distinctly national aspects in the work of each party.* This is taking place by virtue of a number of objective reasons.

First and foremost, the upswing of the national liberation struggle everywhere is naturally leading to a growth of national feeling, to a growth of national self-awareness. Understandably, being in the van of this struggle, the communist parties reflect this process in their policies and in their entire activity.

Further — as has invariably happened in history — the growing internationalisation of social life is likewise accompanied by a certain animation of national feelings and interests. This is accentuated all the more because under capitalism these processes occur in an antagonistic form — through the subjugation of some nationalities, through the exploitation of some states by others.

Another important circumstance is that as time passes the Communists win ever-growing influence in their respective countries. This is an uneven process. It nevertheless gathers momentum, and today the communist parties have become a recognised national force in many countries. And it is clear that as a truly patriotic force the Communists must give their closest attention to the problems of their countries, to national problems.

It must be borne in mind that not all the national problems that the Communists have to tackle are of an objective character. Some are created and artificially inflated by the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, a communist party cannot refuse to participate in considering and resolving them inasmuch as these problems exist and worry people.

In recent years the fraternal parties have been considerably more active in defending the national interests of their peoples, in organising resistance to pressure from foreign, notably US, imperialism. In their struggle the Communists combine the internationalist aims of unholding peace with the defence of the national interests of their own people. This helps the fraternal parties to reinforce their positions among the people of their countries and facilitates the process of uniting all the democratic forces of the given nation on a consistently democratic platform.

It is sometimes asked whether the growth of the volume of the national tasks of the Communists means a certain diminution of the significance to them of their internationalist duty? Will not active solidarity with world socialism, with the emancipation movement generally not lead to a weakening of a party's position in its contacts with other political forces?

Of course, the class adversary has always used and will go on using references to international cooperation among the Communists and, in particular, to their cooperation with the fraternal parties of socialist countries, in order to undermine a communist party's position in its own country. Nonetheless, in the long run, and life itself has demonstrated this time and again, the parties that openly and candidly maintain broad international contacts and consistently pursue a course towards anti-imperialist, revolutionary solidarity, in fact do not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthen their own positions also in their own country, in their dialogue with other political forces.

As a matter of fact, this is quite natural. It is a well-known fact, proved by practice, that if the strength of this or that party's national positions is the natural and key prerequisite for its successful fulfilment of its internationalist duty, the party's active internationalist position on the international scene is indispensable for strengthening its position in its own country.

In some sense, already in the period of the First International, it was in fact impossible to conduct a revolutionary struggle if no account was taken of the external conditions of that struggle: this was clearly demonstrated by what happened to the Paris Commune. In our day, when the struggle for peace and socialism has become truly world-wide, internationalist solidarity is particularly important for the success of the work of each party on its national soil. Of course, a party can count on the solidarity of others only if it is itself consistent and principled in the question of solidarity with these others. This was constantly stressed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

There is another question that is sometimes asked in connection with the practical implementation by the Communists of the principles of internationalist solidarity:

Could it be that the growing diversity of the conditions in which they operate should obstruct the interaction of parties on the world scene?

There is indeed a growing diversity of conditions of the revolutionary struggle, and it must be taken into account. It is today of particularly great importance to follow Lenin's advice and avoid set patterns in strategy and tactics. Each party charts its political line independently, carefully taking into consideration the actual conditions of its life and activity. But diversity of conditions does not at all signify that there is no longer any need for an international coordination of actions by communist parties, any need for or practical possibility of consolidation of internationalism.

In this context, let us recall extremely apposite words spoken by Lenin: "... There will always be diversity in local conditions; there will always be differences in the conditions of the working class in one district as compared with those in another; and, lastly, there will always be the particular aspect in the points of view among the active local workers; this very diversity is evidence of the virility of the movement and of its sound growth. . . Disunity and lack of organisation are not a necessary consequence of this diversity. The maintenance of continuity and the unity of the movement do not by any means exclude diversity, but, on the contrary, create for it a much broader arena and a freer field of action."²³

A major problem confronting the Communists today is thus *to combine the international with the national in the work of their parties*. This seems to be an old problem. But it acquires a new significance at each stage. Today it has become more acute than ever before in the past.

Incidentally, the meaning of the word "combine" must evidently be specified. I believe it must be understood as *organic combination* of the international and national in the work of each party. Indeed, the *international* is not something *supranational*. It presupposes a careful account of the distinctive features of national development.

On the other hand, one should not forget the primacy, in the final analysis, of what is international. As Marx and Engels pointed out, the class struggle of the proletariat is national "in form", but in content it is international. And this is the main, determining factor. The international and national duty of each party are fused together.

In itself the organic fusion of the national and the international is an objective problem that arises on the basis of the actual course of world events. However, this question must be answered by the party, by its leadership, i.e., by the subjective factor. Here, too, lies the Communists' immense, truly historic responsibility.

"Past experience," Marx wrote in the *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association*, "has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggle for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts."²⁴ The experience of our day is even more eloquent and compelling in bearing out this conclusion. This experience demonstrates that *the Communists can fulfil their role successfully in the present class struggle on the international scene and in their own countries only if they continue to act as an international quantity, as a united international force*.

The principles of proletarian internationalism, first worked out by Marx and Engels, dependably serve the cause of the historical progress of all humanity. The fidelity of the Communists of the world to these principles has given very much to all peoples, to all mankind. The internationalist line of the Marxist-Leninist parties in world affairs has been decisive in ensuring the advance of the world revolutionary process and the successes of the struggle of the peoples for peace.

Lenin said that it was necessary to use all strength and enthusiasm "to achieve the great purpose which we set ourselves, that of establishing a solid and sincere union of all true revolutionaries."²⁵ Today this great purpose is even more significant than ever before. Today it is indeed necessary to use all strength and enthusiasm to achieve this purpose.

- ¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 306.
 - ² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 422.
 - ³ Ibid., p. 78.
 - ⁴ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 49.
 - ⁵ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 247.
 - ⁶ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. two, p. 19.
 - ⁷ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 6.
 - ⁸ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 22, p. 496 (Russian translation).
 - ⁹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 401.
 - ¹⁰ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 170.
 - ¹¹ Ibid., p. 176.
 - ¹² Ibid., p. 293.
 - ¹³ Ibid., p. 19.
 - ¹⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 453.
 - ¹⁵ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 39.
 - ¹⁶ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 27.
 - ¹⁷ Konstantin Chernenko, *The People and the Party Are One, Selected Articles and Speeches*, Moscow, 1984, p. 459 (in Russian).
 - ¹⁸ *Pravda*, January 7, 1983.
 - ¹⁹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 497.
 - ²⁰ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 247.
 - ²¹ Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 343.
 - ²² *Documents and Resolutions. XXV Congress of the CPSU*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, p. 37.
 - ²³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4 pp. 321-22.
 - ²⁴ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p.17.
 - ²⁵ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 600.
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The Stages of the Ethiopian Revolution

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ETHIOPIA'S history is a chronicle of the people's heroic struggle against external invaders and internal enemies. Although our freedom-loving people succeeded in beating back the onslaught of the colonialists and standing up for its state independence, it failed to break the shackles of social enslavement. For years, the country was reigned by one of the most despotic and brutal regimes in the world.

On the eve of the revolution, Ethiopian society laboured under a two-fold oppression: feudal exploitation and imperialist domination. Side by side with a modern sector in the economy, there was petty-commodity and traditional agricultural production. The condition of the peasantry, which was subjected to ever more ruthless exploitation, kept going from bad to worse. Nor were the living conditions of the emergent working class any better, for it suffered from mass unemployment, galloping inflation and constantly growing prices.

In consequence of the policy of neocolonialism, the modern sector of our economy was made dependent on the foreign monopolies. In agriculture, where the bulk of the population is still employed, agrotechnical backwardness and archaic forms of social relations were deliberately preserved, because neither the local exploiters, nor the

transnational corporations had any interest in serious socio-economic transformation. Their only concern was to make profits, and so they capitalised on the perpetuation of the existing system of exploitation. Two obstacles had to be removed in order to clear the way for advance: the semi-feudal socio-economic system, and the dependence on imperialism.

That was done by the 1974 revolution, which confirmed the truth that political freedom is fictitious without its complement of economic independence. That, for its part, can be attained only through a radical restructuring of the society. Achieving real progress meant ending the imperialist exploitation as soon as possible, creating the conditions for overcoming the backwardness, and starting the formation of a sound economic basis.

Under a decision of Ethiopia's revolutionary government — the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) — the leading industrial and transport enterprises managed by foreigners, and also private banks and insurance companies were nationalised. This undermined the power and influence of the imperialist monopolies. Fully conscious of the fact that only the rational use of the country's resources could lead to a rapid and balanced development of a solid national economy, the PMAC and the COPWE formulated the principles of socio-economic planning. We are now preparing a ten-year development plan which, we hope, will help us to overcome the main difficulties, above all to solve the problem of supplying the urban and rural inhabitants with food and satisfying their basic requirements.

The revolutionary government announced an end to the old feudal order in the countryside, which made the peasants the sole masters of the fruits of their labour. In accordance with the agrarian reform, each rural family received an allotment of 10 hectares of fertile soil. The PMAC is putting through measures to develop agriculture, raise the peasantry's living standards, and organise and strengthen the agricultural cooperatives which are being set up in accordance with Lenin's principles of cooperation. A state agrarian sector is also taking shape. The result is the formation of the basis for development of the Ethiopian countryside in the direction of socialism.

The establishment of local self-administration organs, known as kebele, or associations, was of exceptional importance for involving masses of people in the process of radical socio-economic transformations. Peasants who are members of kebele set up special contingents to fight a counter-revolution and aggression.

Kebele have also emerged in the towns, where private landed estates were also abolished after the revolution (before the revolution, 95 per cent of the urban lands belonged to only 11 families, with more than 40 per cent of all the estates being in the hands of the emperor and his relatives). Both in town and country, the kebele have diverse functions. Among others, they settle all kinds of conflicts, involving property and even family affairs. In the old days, people were forced to apply on such matters to the police or the courts and to incur considerable expenses to pay the costs of the proceedings, whereas they can now settle many of their issues directly through their local associations. The kebele are involved in the distribution of food. They have at their disposal so-called "people's shops", where the prime necessities are available at reasonable prices, and this substantially curbs the activity of speculators.

Revolutionary committees ensuring security in their districts also operate in the towns. In recent years, they have been receiving help from virtually the whole adult population. Everyone has to do night duty once a month or once in two months, and this is an extremely necessary measure for resisting the provocations of the enemies of the revolution.

Organising every possible aid to the peasants, for instance, in the harvesting of their crops, is yet another important function of the urban kebele.

One could say, on the whole, that the new system of urban and rural self-administration which has taken shape in Ethiopia since the revolution, has justified itself, despite certain flaws.

The social and political activity of the masses is not confined to their participation in the affairs of their "own" association alone. In the past several years, the trade unions have markedly enhanced their role. Under the monarchy, they were not independent and were effectively an adjunct of the pro-imperialist organisation known as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). The labourer got a pittance for working from dawn to dusk, and had neither pension nor compensation for shopfloor accidents.

In the new Ethiopia, the trade unions truly voice the will of the working people, display concern for their working and living conditions, medical care and social security. The country has a wage-minimum, an eight-hour working day, and women are allowed a pregnancy and parturition leave of 45 days.

The management has no right to decide any matters relating to the working people's wages or the award of any privileges without the participation of the trade union. Finally, there are special committees at the factories and plants which are empowered to negotiate with the management on behalf of the industrial and office workers on social matters, and there are also youth and women's committees.

Workers in the basic industries are united in the All-Ethiopia Trade Union. The Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) and the Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association (REWA) have been set up with branches in every administrative district or kebele. We also have unions of teachers, artists, musicians, and so on, and they are actively involved in restructuring the society.

The revolution has opened up fresh potentialities for developing the democratic culture of once oppressed social groups. Masses of people, whose national and cultural heritage was effectively denied, are now going through a spiritual revival. The current campaign to wipe out illiteracy, the enlargement of the system of education, and the formation of a new multinational intelligentsia are all signs of ancient Ethiopia's spiritual and cultural renaissance.

Important successes have been achieved in public education. In 1974, education was accessible to only 19 per cent of school-age children; today 47 per cent of all children are attending school. The number of secondary-school children has increased more than 2.5-fold. In addition to the secondary (12-year) schools, the network of incomplete secondary education (8 years) and primary six-year schools has grown. Our objective is to have one primary school for every three rural kebele.

The PMAC and the COPWE devote great attention to public health. First of all, we have introduced free medical services. Of course, we are still short of doctors, but up to now the country has had only a medical department at Addis Ababa University graduating not more than 120 doctors a year. In 1984, we plan to open another medical department at Gonder, which will increase the number of graduates to 200. The network of hospitals and polyclinics is being developed; extensive prophylactic measures, especially among children, are being carried out, so that nowadays, for instance, a child can be vaccinated against smallpox on the spot, in its native village. Concern for the people's health is an important element of the new leadership's social policy.

In seeking solutions for the acute problems facing the country, we are guided by the wealth of experience gained by the world revolutionary movement, by the proletarian parties, while reckoning with the peculiarities of Ethiopia's historical development, and its people's specific mentality and level of consciousness. We regard this dialectical combination as the key to successfully building a socialist society in our country.

The Ethiopian revolutionaries' strategic and tactical lines and their practical deeds testify to their loyalty to the basic principles of scientific socialism, and here successful activity in forming a working people's vanguard party is an important indicator.

The concrete situation in Ethiopia called for specific and peculiar forms and methods of party building. Let us bear in mind that various political organisations, including nationalistic and ultra-leftist, had existed in our country. The attempts to

merge this ill-assorted mix into a single party proved to be unsuccessful. We reached the conclusion that there was a need for an intermediate preparatory period. The preparation for founding a vanguard party was assigned to the Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, which is headed by Mengistu Haile Mariam.

The COPWE's activity has ranged virtually over the whole country. The foundations of the structure of the future party were laid in its district and provincial cells, and studies were held with the cadres. Special importance was attached to tightening up discipline and raising the consciousness of COPWE members. Its First Congress worked out a clear-cut political line and mapped out concrete tasks in party building, one of which is the spread of Marxist ideas among the popular masses.

Over the past four years, COPWE members have acquired skills in party work: organisational, ideological and political. At the enterprises and in the villages, they have been explaining to our people the tasks in building a new society, the need for raising labour productivity, tightening up discipline in production, and so on. In the rural localities, they helped the peasants to organise cooperatives.

The Second Congress of the COPWE met January 1983 and adopted the main report and other important documents, which meant that the formation of the party had entered into its final stage. The Congress worked out its Programme (until then, we were guided by the National Democratic Revolution Programme¹), and the Rules, which differ from the COPWE Rules. Thus, whereas delegates to the COPWE congresses were not elected but appointed from among its most active and vigorous members who had done most for the revolution, a party congress is to be preceded by the election of delegates. It also discussed matters like the party's name — the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) — and its emblem — a yellow star with a red hammer and sickle.

In the pre-congress period, we carried on agitation among the people telling them about the new party and its role in the society, and acquainting them with the successes of the revolution. Our activists addressed meetings which were held everywhere. Special importance was attached to the diversity of forms of propaganda and agitation. In particular, we deemed it possible to use for that purpose sporting festivals which are popular among the people.

In short, much difficult and exceptionally important work has been done, it has yielded positive results and is sure to yield many more.

When millions of people in our country took their destiny into their own hands by destroying the corrupt socio-economic system, the forces of reaction and imperialism headed by the United States started an aggressive war against Ethiopia and began to encourage internal counter-revolution. The imperialists regarded the Ethiopian revolution as a threat to their positions on the continent, above all in the area of the Horn of Africa, and so drove to reverse the process of progressive development at any price. They had hoped to re-establish their control over that strategically important segment of the Red Sea coast, to facilitate the conduct of US expansionist policy in the Indian Ocean zone. As had repeatedly happened in the recent period, Washington preferred to act through its puppets, in this case the reactionary Somali regime, which committed aggression against revolutionary Ethiopia. Simultaneously, the imperialists, the conservative Arab rulers and their local surrogates made feverish efforts to undermine the unity of our state from inside, did everything to encourage action by separatist rebels, whom they supplied with weapons and ammunition, and helped to train professional mercenaries as assassins. However, the heroic Ethiopian people frustrated these plans, inflicted a crushing blow at the Somali militarists who invaded their country, and beat back the sallies of the externally supported separatists. That was largely promoted by the socialist countries' fraternal internationalist assistance.

Our leadership is working to mobilise the masses for the struggle against internal counter-revolution and external aggression and seeks to settle the nationalities ques-

tion (the country has almost 80 nationalities) which is being artificially inflated by Ethiopia's enemies. The Programme of the National Democratic Revolution clearly says that all the nationalities oppressed by the monarchy in the past are equal. The revolution has awakened them to a new life and they have become full-fledged participants in solving the problems of development and radically transforming their country. That is why all the nationalities in Ethiopia have a vital stake in making the revolutionary process a success.

Vigorous measures are now being taken to rehabilitate the economy in the areas which had suffered from the separatists and to raise local living standards. This applies above all to Eritrea, where sorties by the ocounter-revolutionaries had long prevented its people from enjoying the fruits of the agrarian reform proclaimed ten years ago. The Eritrean peasants are now also uniting in kebele, membership of which is strictly voluntary.

Schools, hospitals and everyday service enterprises are being built, all roads are being improved, and new ones laid. As a result, material living conditions have been improved and the social and ideological basis for the splinter movement has been undermined. Of great importance in this context is the large-scale campaign for the development of Eritrea which has come to be known as Red Star and started in January 1982. It is helping us simultaneously to fulfil two tasks: to cut short the subversions of the remaining bands of counter-revolutionaries, and to revive the region economically. We also have to convince the people that the Ethiopian revolution is their own revolution, and that henceforth they are the masters of their land and must defend the revolution's gains arms in hand, if that should be required.

The successes of the revolution, the culminating point in our people's struggle for social justice, are a victory for the anti-imperialist and progressive forces throughout the world. Together with them we are fighting against our common class enemy, international imperialism in the first place, for it is trying at any price to halt social progress throughout the world and is pushing mankind into a thermonuclear war. Favourable possibilities for successful anti-colonial struggle and consolidation of the newly-liberated countries' national independence are provided only by peaceful coexistence.

Ethiopia asserts the principles of proletarian internationalism and seeks to develop extensive cooperation with the socialist world in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres. Evidence of the growing scale and strength of these friendly relations comes from the exchanges of visits, constant contacts between party leaders and statesmen, and representatives of social organisations at every level. Numerous economic facilities have been and are being built in Ethiopia as a result of its fruitful cooperation with the socialist community.

Ethiopia's firm and consistent foreign policy and its resolute support of the anti-imperialist forces are reflected in the documents of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the non-aligned movement, and other bodies. Our country's principled line has won for it high authority in the international arena.

The international conferences, the sessions of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, meetings of representatives of youth and other movements deliberating questions of support for the liberation struggle against imperialism and reaction, held in Addis Ababa, testify to the internationalism of the Ethiopian revolution. Despite the relative youth of the revolutionary Ethiopia, the formidable difficulties in building the new society, and the unceasing attacks by internal and external reaction, we have been given moral and material support to the anti-imperialist forces, because we are aware that the destinies of our revolution and of the world revolutionary process are linked with each other.

¹ The National Democratic Revolution Programme was adopted by the PMAC in April 1976. — *Ed.*

The Arms Race: A Burden on the Economy

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UNDER Margaret Thatcher, the British state is enthusiastically participating in the most dangerous arms race ever seen. The ruling class ideology of militarism has become pervasive, with the armed forces being taken as the new model heroes in the press and on TV, especially since the 1982 war in the Falklands (Malvinas). However, the opposition to US cruise nuclear weapons in Britain has attracted the support of millions and a determined reaction by the government against this popular force. But while this militarisation of life in Britain has been under way, the most powerful effect of Britain's arms race has been on the economy.

Between 1979 and 1983, the British state's spending on the military has climbed. Although the country's total output has fallen because of the international crisis of the capitalist economies (between 1979 and 1981), military spending had, by 1983, risen to absorb 5.3 per cent (as compared with the 4.4 per cent in 1979) of the gross domestic product.¹ While the government's monetarism has involved severe cuts in housing, education and social budgets, and while the government has planned to hold down its deficit and total spending, it has relentlessly pursued a commitment to NATO to increase its military spending by 3 per cent per year in real terms.

Between fiscal year 1978/79 and 1983/84, the state's military spending rose by 23.3 per cent in real terms, while its expenditures on housing fell by 54.8 per cent and its expenditures on education by 6.4 per cent.²

Britain's military spending has been high throughout the post-war period. During the two decades to 1980, the ratio of military spending to gross domestic product was higher in the United Kingdom than in any other NATO country, except the United States. But the faster expansion in arms spending over the past four years marks a turning point in the role of the military in the British economy. The military budget absorbed a declining proportion of gross national product from the early 1950s to 1979. As British imperialism retreated from its colonial empire and replaced a large conscript army with a professional force, and as the economy expanded, the economic burden of the military fell. Its recent rise is a symptom of the right-wing plan to increase its global military strength still further while the economy is at its weakest.

In fact, Britain's high military spending over the years has contributed to the special weakness of the British economy and its current expansion will create even greater problems.

Stimulator or Brake?

There is considerable evidence of a general nature to suggest that military spending hinders growth in capitalist economies. A comparison of two extremely different cases makes a graphical point: with military spending at 7.5 per cent of the GNP between 1960 and 1979, the annual economic growth of the United States was less than 4 per cent in those years, while Japan, absorbing less than 1 per cent of output in military spending, grew at double the US rate.³ But a comparison of these extremes does not establish that high military spending causes low economic growth; it does not prove that the UK's relatively low growth of under 3 per cent over the same period was attributable to its high military spending. However, an examination of the channels through which military spending has an impact does show that it has been a brake on growth rather than a motor of production in the long term.

The diversion of resources to the military in Britain has deprived the non-military industries of key elements needed as a basis of growth. This is most evident in the case of research and development (R and D): the scientists, engineers and equipment capitalism requires to develop the productive forces have in Britain been engaged disproportionately on military work. Half a decade after the British rearmament for the Korean war, 40 per cent of all British scientists and engineers engaged on R and D were working on military projects, and that preponderance has remained the pattern since. In 1978, the Ministry of Defence itself accounted for one-quarter of all the R and D in Britain, and since the corporations selling its military equipment have their own R and D programmes, the proportion of the economy's total research absorbed by the military is much higher. By contrast, two of the strongest capitalist economies, the FRG and Japan, devote a much smaller percentage of their total R and D to military purposes.

The dedication of a high proportion of British R and D to military purposes has occurred while British industry as a whole has failed to modernise, develop new production techniques or new products at a rate to match its international competitors. This low level of innovation is one of the principal characteristics of British capitalism which gives a special weakness.

The lobbyists for military expansion have, however, always argued that, even if military production absorbs a high proportion of scientists and engineers, it is beneficial to the whole economy; indirectly it yields "spin-offs" in the sense that its results are taken up by non-military industries, and directly it produces military products which are strong exports and benefit the country's balance of payments. But these arguments are untrue.

For there to have been a useful "spin-off" from military production to other industrial sectors, military R and D would either have had to yield new products that could be produced for civilian markets, or to yield new higher-productivity production processes. In fact, British military research is devoted to developing increasingly refined and sophisticated weaponry, innovations that do not yield much new product development and have not generated new industrial production techniques. There are major obstacles to any "spin-off" occurring. The secrecy and specialised demands of military research have blocked collaboration and cross-fertilisation. Thus, the former chief scientist of the government's Department of Industry reported recently that within the electronics industry there is not a "spin-off" but a "widening gap" between civil and military R and D.⁴

If the idea of a strong "spin-off" from military to civilian R and D is unfounded, so is the idea that the development of sophisticated armaments helps British industry by strengthening the balance of payments. Certainly, the British industry is the world's fourth largest arms exporter: it is a cornerstone of the world arms trade, and it is helped in this by the state's great spending on military R and D. But this military spending has also imposed large costs on Britain's foreign exchange. For one thing, between 1950 and 1970, the net revenue from arms sales was more than offset by the cost of maintaining large forces in the FRG and elsewhere; the overall deficit for that period was about \$7 billion, although a rough annual balance was achieved at the end of the 1970s. In addition, even the state's financing of R and D itself has not entirely strengthened arms exports, for all too often the arms have been designed to meet the specific needs of the British forces.

Thus the diversion of R and D towards the military has gone hand in hand with a low level of R and D in British industry as a whole. Low R and D has been accompanied by a low level of investment in new plant and machinery. Britain's special weakness, as compared to other state-monopoly capitalist economies, has been characterised by the fact that since the Second World War it has invested the lowest proportion of its output in new plant and machinery. An econometric study of 14 advanced capitalist countries suggested that in countries with a high proportion of output spending diverted to

military spending productive investment is a low proportion of the economy's activities.⁵ The concentration of British R and D on military purposes is one way in which high military spending has hindered investment: since skills have been diverted from industrial to military science and engineering, the flow of innovation and investments incorporating them has been held back.

Military-Industrial Complex

The diversion of R and D to the military and the related weakness of state encouragement for industrial innovation are among the most important ways in which the arms race has acted as a brake on economic growth in Britain. But if it has these disadvantages why does the British ruling class support militarism and the arms spending that accompanies it?

Left-wing theorists have sometimes explained this pressure for military expansion on the grounds that arms spending is a motor rather than a brake on the economy. The argument has been that capitalists have a basic interest in arms spending as a means by which the state can overcome the basic contradictions of the capitalist economy. In an extreme form, one pseudo-Marxist group has presented this argument as the thesis of a permanent arms economy.⁶

The thesis is false. The argument that arms spending is a motor of the capitalist economy has no foundation in Marxist theory, although it is sometimes claimed to have. The most widely accepted theory underlying it is that capitalism suffers from under-consumption, a long-run difficulty in selling commodities. It is claimed that this realisation problem can be overcome by state spending on the military, and since increasingly severe crises will result if it is not, it is in capital's interests to promote arms spending.

This thesis is closer to Keynesianism, and it suffers from the same error. Although military spending provides a temporary stimulus to the economy at certain times, it cannot act as a permanent instrument overcoming the fundamental tendencies that produce crises in capitalism. In any case, the argument that there is a permanent realisation problem could not imply that capital has a basic interest in high military spending, for state spending in other sectors such as education and health would, in that case, be as much a remedy as military spending.

Military spending has been increased and welfare state spending cut for other reasons, namely: particular sections, particular monopolies, the arms corporations have a direct interest in increasing military spending and they are in a powerful position to achieve it. It is not that military spending benefits capital as a whole, but that it does bring high profits to the powerful arms industry itself.

Monopolies like GEC, Vickers, Rolls Royce and giant electronic firms like Lucas Aerospace and Racal Electronics are among the most profitable British Corporations. Their profits result largely from their military business, where they have a close and highly profitable relationship with the British state. Although much of the arms industry is private, its close links with the state are crucial to it, and in some sections the state has become directly involved. Thus, the third largest arms producer in Europe in the late 1970s was British Aerospace, and the state's own Royal Ordnance Factories also ranks among the top twenty.

The shares of arms manufacturers have been among the most favoured on the stock exchange because they have obtained guaranteed high profits from their contracts with the state. In fiscal 1982/83, the Ministry of Defence paid out £6.8 billion on its contracts with the arms industry, and over 60 per cent of these were priced according to formula which produced exceptionally high profits. The Public Accounts Committee exposed these windfall profits in February 1983 despite attempts to regulate the arms corporations contracts following revelations of similar extraordinary profits in the 1960s.

The giant arms corporations, operating in a close relationship with the state's

military bureaucracy, comprise the military industrial complex in Britain. The Ministry of Defence's spending benefits some 10,000 firms, but the arms producers are dominated by a few giant monopolies and multinational corporations with British headquarters. The top 60 contractors each receive more than £5 million worth of business every year from the Ministry of Defence, and the leading companies receive very much more than that. The largest categories of Ministry of Defence purchasing are aerospace equipment (aircraft and missiles) and electronic equipment. Each area is dominated by giant corporations which derive a high proportion of their profit from this business, but also have non-military business. In 1980/81, purchases for UK defence represented 29 per cent of the output of the electronics industry, 30 per cent of shipbuilding, and 39 per cent of the aerospace industry.⁷

The largest supplier of aerospace equipment is British Aerospace, a company formed in 1977 by the state taking over, merging and rationalising several private corporations. Under state ownership, British Aerospace was made efficient and profitable enough to be sold back to private capital. The Thatcher Government announced its return to private ownership (with minority state shareholding) in 1981. Its profits on sales of aircraft and, to an even greater extent, missiles and space equipment, depend almost entirely on the Ministry of Defence. It receives bigger orders than any other supplier to the Ministry and accounts directly for about one-eighth of all state spending on arms.⁸

The largest supplier of electronic equipment is the GEC, which, too, is a multinational corporation formed by the state in 1968 by encouraging the merger and rationalisation of smaller companies. It has always been private-capital-owned rather than state-owned. Its main armaments division (GEC-Marconi) monopolises the UK supply of torpedoes and, under state contracts and with state funding, develops and supplies radar, radio and electronic systems. GEC is a force throughout the electrical and electronics industries, producing everything from household equipment to micro-processors, but its arms sales are estimated to be one-fifth of its total sales.⁹ The second largest manufacturer of electronics, Racal, illustrates the close links between these multinationals and the state. Its founder joined the Ministry of Defence as head of Defence Sales.

These and similar other corporations are leading forces within the British military-industrial complex. Their pursuit of their interests provides much of the impetus behind the state's arms race, but it would be a mistake to think that British capital acts as a united force behind increased military spending, for there are two types of contradiction at work.

The first is that some sectors of British capital are opposed to the effects of too high a level of military spending *in general*. The financing of high arms spending can cause difficulties for capital. If financed by taxation, it is a drain on surplus-value, unless the taxes can be shifted on to the working class. If financed by borrowing, the high demand of the state for credits pushes up all interest rates, and the cost of credit to finance real accumulations. Some US capitalists have been particularly critical of Reagan's huge expansion of arms spending on those grounds and in Britain, similar reasoning has led to conflict between the Treasury and the Ministry of Defence. By the end of 1983, the Treasury forced a decision that the NATO commitment to a 3 per cent annual rise in real military spending would not be extended beyond 1986.

The second area of conflicts is that some sectors of capital are opposed to *particular* items of government spending on arms. The Thatcher Administration's agreement in 1980 to purchase Trident submarine-based missiles from the United States is a good example. The cost of the programme is estimated at £10 billion, and the highest proportion will go to US arms manufacturers. Some British corporations (especially Vickers, which will build the four submarines to carry the missiles) will obtain some sales and profit from the Trident programme. But the diversion of a high proportion of the military budget to it and the fact that much of the money will go to the United

States has led several sectors of the British arms industry to oppose it, for it will leave less money available for spending on their products.

The existence of a military-industrial complex means that the class character of the arms race is not straightforward. On the one hand, it means that Labour, as well as Conservative governments have supported increases in the arms race. For example, the military-industrial complex pushed the last Labour government into a secret programme (Chevaline) to modernise British nuclear weapons. On the other hand, because the military-industrial complex benefits from the arms race, while capital as a whole does not, there are splits and contradictions within the ruling class over it.

High Cost

Although the peace movement has strong popular support (especially for its opposition to the stationing of US cruise missiles in Britain) the military-industrial complex has succeeded in obscuring the costs of military spending that the whole population has had to bear. The fact that they are obscured has helped to sustain an ideological hegemony in favour of a large, strong military force. Thus, the peace movement's opposition is to nuclear weapons (which are relatively cheap, as compared to a conventionally equipped large army) rather than to arms spending itself. But the economic burden of arms spending, which falls on the British people, is a heavy one. It falls particularly on the welfare state, which the working class has fought for.

While the Conservative government has attempted to restrict the growth of state spending as a whole, its military spending has been growing in real terms. As a result, major cuts have been made in spending on education, housing and other welfare services.

Another way to look at the cost of the military budget is in terms of the taxes people pay. In the twelve months to April 1984, the cost of military spending represented £1,200 to the average British family.

The cost of arms spending in terms of the taxation and cuts in social spending that it involves has to be at the heart of a struggle against the arms race as a class issue. But one argument used against a working class involvement in fighting the arms race is that military spending creates jobs. Workers in arms-related industries, or in towns where the military and arms factories are important, are understandably ambivalent towards the arms race, for they believe job losses result from a reduction in arms spending. Over 1 million people, some 5 per cent of the labour force, are employed directly by the state's military wing or indirectly in the arms manufacturing industry. The Ministry of Defence itself employs nearly 600,000 people, of whom 328,000 are in the armed forces, and the rest in the civil service, and the government estimates that another 400,000 jobs in industry depend on its military spending.¹⁰ This kind of dependence of people on jobs linked to armaments is used by the ruling class as a political argument against cuts in military spending, but it is a false argument for two reasons directly (in addition to the fact that high military spending slows the economy's growth).

First, a high and growing level of military spending has not protected jobs in the armaments industry itself over recent decades. Between 1963 and 1978, more than 250,000 jobs were lost in the military supply industries, and the figure was only prevented from being higher by expanding arms exports. More jobs have been lost since then, and Thatcher's government has announced plans for further cuts in Ministry of Defence jobs. One trade union estimates that a further 200,000 jobs directly or indirectly related to military spending will be lost by 1987, and that despite the *rise* in the military budget.¹¹

One reason why growing arms spending has been accompanied by falling employment is that a growing proportion has been directed towards acquiring increasingly sophisticated nuclear weapons and delivery systems, and towards a rapid growth in electronic equipment. Thus, the counterpart of the ruling classes commitment to a nuclear arsenal and to military forces which rely on complex electronic systems is that its arms spending provides relatively fewer jobs.

The second reason why arms spending is not necessary a provider of jobs is that, if it were cut, a rise in state spending on health, housing, education, welfare service and other areas, would generate employment. In fact, spending on social investment of that kind would create more employment in Britain than the same amount spent on the military, because education, health, house-building and similar sectors are highly labour-intensive activities unlike Britain's highly automated nuclear forces. A US study suggests that every \$1 billion spent on the military creates 35,000 fewer jobs than the same amount spent by the state on other areas.¹²

Ways to Economic Expansion

Those facts have been used within Britain's trade unions, political parties and the peace movement to win workers for a policy of cuts in military spending. But it is recognised that simply reducing the money spent on armaments is not enough: it has to be planned together with the deliberate creation of new production and new jobs to take up the labour and resources released by the military industries.

It is a sign of the increased strength of the peace movement that trade unions with members in arms-related jobs have pioneered research showing how such planned "conversion programmes" can switch resources from military purposes to socially useful production. In 1986, there was a well-publicised but unsuccessful attempt by workers at Lucas Aerospace to redirect some of the company's production from military electronics to production of kidney dialysis machines, heat pumps and other socially useful products, and a similar plan was developed by workers at Vickers, the long-established arms and engineering firm.

Recently, official studies by the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) and other unions have supported and argued for major conversion programmes away from arms spending. At its 1983 Biennial Delegates' Conference, the TGWU, for example, passed motions supporting unilateral nuclear disarmament and calling "for a heavy reduction in arms expenditure and searches for alternative manufactured products to give greater employment opportunities". It called for the establishment of planning committees within the union "to develop and encourage retraining for the necessary skills which will be required" by a conversion programme.

This approach is part of a well worked-out strategy which demands that the state should establish a structure of democratic bodies at national and local level to plan and coordinate the switch from military employment to socially useful jobs. It recognises that it is not simply a question of redirecting money but of matching the particular skills and resources released from the one area to the needs of the other.

The arguments of trade unionists and political campaigners that a successful conversion programme is possible are backed by experience. Both the Soviet Union and Britain, despite their very different social systems, successfully returned millions from the armed forces and military production without loss of employment at the end of the Second World War. That success, though, points to the fact that it cannot be achieved except within the framework of a state which plans for it, because even in Britain state direction of the economy under a Labour Government was the environment in which the regeneration of civilian production was achieved immediately after 1945.

Recognising the complexities of the problems in achieving a switch from military to socially useful production, the Communist Party of Great Britain places its commitment to end the arms race firmly within its whole policy of socialist economic planning. Its Alternative Economic Strategy (which, in different forms, has been adopted by the Trades Union Congress, and the Labour Party) combines an expansion of the state's welfare spending with nationalisation of key industries and planning controls over foreign trade and finance. The economic expansion planned within this framework is the context in which the transfer of workers and resources from military production to other sectors can be achieved. It is the labour movement itself that is taking the lead in the fight against arms spending.

¹ See M. Chalmers, "The Cost of Britain's Defence". In: *Peace Studies Papers*, No. 10, School of Peace Studies, Bradford University. (When GDP is calculated at factor cost, the percentage of military spending is even higher.)

² See *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1983/84 to 1985/86*, HMSO (1983), Cmnd 8789-1, Table 1-14.

³ See M. Chalmers, op.cit.; D. Smith and R. Smith, *The Economic Militarism*, London, Pluto Press, 1983.

⁴ See Sir Levan Maddocks, *Commercial Exploitation of Defence Technology*. Electronic Economic Development Committee Paper, National Economic Development Office, April 1983.

⁵ See R.P. Smith, "Military Expenditure and Capitalism," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, March 1977; R.P. Smith, "Military Expenditure and Investment in OECD Countries", *Journal of Comparative Economics*, March 1980.

⁶ See M. Kidron, *Western Capitalism Since the War*, London, Penguin, 1970; P. Baran and P. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital*, London, Penguin, 1968.

⁷ See M. Chalmers, op.cit., p. 30.

⁸ See *The UK Arms Industry*. Anti-Report No. 31. Counter Information Services, 1982, p. 18.

⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰ See *Statement on the Defence Estimates, 1982*, HMSO (1982), Cmnd. 8529-1.

¹¹ See *A Better Future*, Transport and General Workers' Union, May 1983, p. 9.

¹² Ibid., p. 11.

The Anti-Fascist Struggle and Chilean Catholics

Orlando Millas – CC Political Commission and Secretariat member, CP Chile

POPE John Paul II dismissed Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, the Archbishop of the Chilean capital who fearlessly took an anti-fascist stand, and replaced him with Monsignor Juan Francisco Fresno, a prelate of the traditional, or, one may rather say, conservative school. Nevertheless, in the face of the intensifying fascist repressions carried out with savage cruelty, the Catholic priests of the parishes in working class districts are continuing their courageous actions in support of the masses harassed by the police. Communities of believers are not ceasing their struggle for freedom, acting in close unity with all the forces opposed to the reactionary dictatorship. Nor have there been changes in the thinking of progressive bishops. Although the new archbishop of Santiago is more deferential to Pinochet and backed the dialogue conducted with him by a section of the opposition, he finds he has to support some actions of those quarters in the Church which continue to criticise the basic orientation of the tyranny's policies.

It is now obvious that the change in the thinking of most Catholics in Chile and other Latin American countries, as well as in a large part of the lower clergy, has in the past few decades induced them to act against the Church's alliance with reaction and imperialism. Although this process is not yet completed it is exceedingly important and to some extent irreversible.

Our Policy

I am speaking of more or less universal phenomena linked to the development of the class struggle not only in my country but on a regional and world scale.¹ The religious world view could not remain unaffected by the great events of the epoch, although it refracted them in a distinctive way. These events are the victorious socialist revolutions, the downfall of colonial empires, the defeat of German fascism in the Second

World War, capitalism's general crisis, the successes in building developed socialism in the Soviet Union and several other countries, the popular resistance to imperialism, and the world-wide mobilisation of forces to save humankind from a nuclear catastrophe and preserve peace. Neither the relative autonomy of ideological phenomena nor the powerful influence of the ruling classes have prevented believers from seeing the outstanding historical role that the working class is playing more and more successfully with each passing day.

Acting on its close analysis of these phenomena the Communist Party of Chile was the first of the nation's left-wing organisations to denounce the attacks on the clergy by the old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians and anarchists. More than 50 years ago it raised the banner of joint action and mutual understanding between the most influential forces on the national scene, namely, the Catholics and the Communists.

The traditional bonds linking the Chilean Church hierarchy and reaction had been forged over the course of centuries. But there have always been priests who went against the current. One of them was the monk Camilo Henríquez.²

Cases of this kind later ceased to be an exception and their number steadily increased. The Communist Party has taken care to make some of the ideals inspiring the working class and popular movements close and comprehensible to the Catholic masses and a section of the priesthood. These include the defence of human dignity, opposition to oppression, class solidarity of the working people, cohesion of the people, fusion of the struggle for democracy and social progress, the striving to restructure society, the preservation of peace, and the condemnation of fascism.

Engels made a study of early Christianity and of the role played by religious ideologies in the various revolutionary processes, including the biggest anti-feudal movements. It should not surprise us that today's powerful social eruptions particularly influence millions of believers. This has produced a new situation which has to be accepted. The Communist Party of Chile understands that this is where its duty lies. We see believers not as an abstraction, given once and for all. We hold that religious feeling is a social product.³ In keeping with the scientific materialistic world view, the Chilean Communists are following Lenin's wise precept: "No number of pamphlets and no amount of preaching can enlighten the proletariat if it is not enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism. Unity of this really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven."⁴

Relative to the Catholics the Chilean Communists are pursuing a policy of dialogue and joint action, aimed at unity between believers and atheists in the ranks of the working class and in the democratic and revolutionary struggle of the Chilean People.

Some of Our Experience

As a result of the Church's switch to cooperation with non-believers, a switch characterised by Pope John XXIII as efforts of an economic, social, cultural and political order,⁵ the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) had wide repercussions on the continent. This was reflected in the resolutions of the Second Conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council in Medellín (Colombia, 1968). It declared: "If the Christian believes that there must be peace in order to arrive at justice, he also believes that justice is an indispensable condition for peace. Of course, he sees that injustice reigns in many parts of Latin America. This situation may be called institutionalised violence, because the existing structures violate basic human rights. This calls for a universal, bold, urgent, and profound renewal of these structures."

The next conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council, held in Puebla (Mexico, 1979), took place when reaction was on the offensive in a large portion of the continent. However, despite the changed situation, even John Paul II was unable to compel a revision of the basic resolutions passed at Medellín.

In this context it must be emphasised that the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua was

also accomplished with the direct participation of large numbers of Catholics and such prominent ecclesiastics as Miguel d'Escoto and Ernesto Cardenal. In many Latin American countries the Church often adheres to democratic positions in difficult situations, and the majority of believers regard their faith not as an obstacle but as a stimulus of their struggle for social progress. This is reaffirmed by the Chilean experience.

Ever since it was founded, the Communist Party of Chile has been the most influential organisation of the working class, articulating its political interests. Communist ideas, the Marxist Leninist world view, and historical materialism have long deep roots among the people. Luis Emilio Recabarren, Elias Lafertte, Pablo Neruda, and many other leading figures of the Communist Party of Chile are outstanding national personalities. Therefore, the dialogue and joint actions of the Catholics and Marxist-Leninists are by no means concessions but a way of meeting their common strivings and aspirations.

The "communist threat" myths spread by imperialism are coming into conflict with the conclusions being drawn by the believers themselves. They have daily contact with Communists at the place of work, in educational institutions, and in residential neighbourhoods. They have seen Communists at work in trade unions, residents' associations, municipal councils, universities, and the parliament, and most significantly they have seen the exemplary way in which the Communists took part in the country's administration. The mutual respect that existed between the Salvador Allende government, in which there were Communist ministers, and the Catholic Church is in sharp contrast with the despotic methods employed by the fascist administration.

For our part, joint actions are stimulated by the communist cells existing in this or that industry or community. Everywhere their aim is to rally the people, to unite and mobilise different strata of the population for struggle. With this in view, exchanges of opinion are taking place with the political, social, cultural, and religious organisations in the various localities. In this way contact is being established with parishes and various Catholic institutions, especially with communities at the grassroots level and with people of other beliefs.

In the dialogue the party makes it clear that our scientific world view, on the one hand, and religious beliefs, cults, and ideologies, on the other, are social and by no means personal phenomena. We believe that as far as the state is concerned religion must be the private affair of each citizen, and we advocate guarantees of full freedom of conscience and of the rights of churches as absolutely independent associations set up by people united by a single faith.

A Process With Contradictions

The "aggiornamento" (the name the Vatican gives to its efforts to keep the Catholic Church in step with the times in the face of the social changes of our epoch) has been preached by influential religious circles since the First Vatican Council. i.e., since the 1860s. But in those times the bishops expressing this trend abstained from openly expounding their views. Two decades after the Paris Commune, after imperialism had appeared, Pope Leo XIII initiated the elaboration of the Church's basically procapitalist, timidly reformist "social doctrine."

It must be said that accommodation to the changes in the thinking of the believing masses is a slow and complicated process for the Catholic Church. The changes in the Church itself constantly encounter difficulties and violent resistance from the reactionary circles. As it develops, this process of accommodation is sometimes accompanied by retreats that threaten its destiny. The Church comes under continuous and contradictory pressure: both from the social base, consisting of workers, peasants, housewives, and particularly the middle strata, and sober-thinking intellectuals, and from reaction and imperialism that exercise considerable influence at all levels of the

Catholic hierarchy. Those who consider the Church to be homogeneous are obviously making a mistake. It is impossible to achieve this homogeneity, although efforts are being made in that direction by the clerical elite with references to holy and divine predestinations. Among believers there always are "wolves" and "sheep".

The reactionary wing of Catholicism is intent on clinging to its positions. A part of it is taking action that goes so far as to border on insubordination to the hierarchy. For example, with Pinochet's approbation a visit was paid to Chile by the French bishop Lefebvre, an agent of diehard traditionalists. The modernisation of the liturgy⁶ is chilling them with horror. They are fulminating against the removal of Latin from some prayers and ceremonies, demanding a return to the *Missale Romanum* of 1570. But the point is not in facts of this kind, nor is this the main thing. The principal interests of the above-mentioned wing in Chile are articulated by a sort of mafia — a secular Catholic organisation called *Opus Dei*. Enjoying some indulgence from the Vatican, relying on Pinochet, and supporting him, it has seized key posts in the Church and is in fact performing the functions of a religious authority, in parallel to the existing administration. Moreover, there are hit squads formed by the *Fiducia* society of the most anti-democratic Catholics. This society harasses progressive priests and collaborates with Chile's Gestapo-type secret police in organising attacks on premises used for solidarity church services.

US imperialism is conducting massive subversion, galvanising reactionary currents in the Catholic Church and infiltrating its agents into it. The notorious 1969 Rockefeller report stigmatises the progressive position to which, as Rockefeller believes, the Church in Latin America has been gravitating. That same year the Rand Corporation prepared a survey for the US State Department under the heading "Latin American Institutional Development: The Changing Catholic Church". Since then the State Department, the Pentagon, and particularly the CIA have been giving it much of their attention.

Reagan has gone even further in this question. In the Santa Fe document,⁷ which charted the Reagan Administration's policy in Latin America, the religious community is denounced for the penetration into it of ideas that "are less Christian than communist".⁸ In April 1981 the CIA set up the IRD (Institute for the Study of Religion and Democracy). This new organisation, which has a multimillion-dollar budget, coordinates the attacks of the right-wing forces in the USA against the progressive clergy and finances in various countries societies such as *Fiducia* in Chile and *Orden* in El Salvador.

Positive Change

The Catholic Church in Chile, as in other Latin American countries, has been in turmoil for some twenty years, shaken by the broad movement for the reform of the Catholic University, the appearance of the theology of secularisation⁹ and of petty-bourgeois revolutionarism, by glaring discrepancies and people's reluctance to enter the priesthood.

Under these circumstances a large number of priests adopted the way of life of "clergymen workers" of Europe, combining religious functions with work in production and striving by their conduct to show their solidarity with the working class. In Chile people began to talk of a "people's Church" and an "insurgent Church". Clergymen and a large number of relatively organised Catholics began to join actively in broad social movements. Above all, they began to take part in seizing land on which to build townships for homeless families.

However, it should not be forgotten that these were strata brought up by the Church in a spirit of anti-communist prejudices. Relapses of old reactionary concepts acquired unexpected forms of ultra-left Christian revolutionarism. A distinguishing feature of this current, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, was the striving (with its innate infantilism) to speed up events, to dispute and appropriate the role of vanguard of the

masses instead of having any serious intention of joining in the processes of transformations and revolution. This was the period that saw the appearance of a group of young Christian politicians and intellectuals, who, having gained a superficial knowledge of individual Marxist-Leninist propositions, relied basically on patterns evolved by the contemporary French philosophers Louis Althusser and Régis Debray. Utilising anarchist terminology and accentuating anti-Soviet slogans, they tried to adopt a posture "left" of the Communists.

Raising the banner of mutual understanding, collaboration, and joint action between the revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, the Communist party of Chile regarded this as a matter of paramount importance.¹⁰

A short period has elapsed since then, but these have been extremely eventful years. The stepped-up psychological attacks undertaken by imperialism have been unable to halt the inexorable growth of the Soviet Union's prestige. The Cuban revolution is profoundly influencing the Latin American peoples. Socialist Cuba's achievements are delighting all decent people in Chile as in the rest of Latin America. They are helping these people to understand much. The example of Cuba is everywhere giving rise to revolutionaries and teaching them to think and act more effectively. Nicaragua has now become another beacon for us.

The tragedy of the Chilean people has taught us bitter lessons. In particular, the people appreciated on its merits the fact that even in the dreariest years the Communist Party was very closely linked to them, prompting them to resist, display solidarity, organise, unite, and act against the regime.

Some of yesterday's young ultra-left Christian politicians have now gone over bourgeois-reformist or simply right-wing positions. However, many of them are participating in the people's democratic movement jointly with the Communists and Socialists, making a tangible contribution to that movement. The most significant development is that confidence, friendship, and solidarity have been established between the Communists and progressive Catholics in the thick of the working people, in the mass struggle, in the clashes with the tyranny.

The "Theology of Liberation" and the Stand of the Church Hierarchy

When we speak of the Catholic Church we should bear in mind that we are speaking not only of religion and its impact on people but also of the hierarchy that has its own interests, organisational structure, and special links to the state authority.

In Chile the long-standing traditionalist position of the hierarchy led the Church into an impasse. It was becoming more and more difficult to reconcile the various currents, even despite the fact that in the 1920s Archbishop Crescente Errazuriz secured a respite by suggesting the separation of Church and state. At one pole were concentrated the ultra-reactionary bishops and believers, and at the other there was the advanced Christians for Socialism movement, which evoked a response from many clergymen. During the Popular Unity days the resultant difficulties were removed to a large extent due to the great tact and perspicacity of Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez and his constructive collaboration with the government of President Salvador Allende. Later the archbishop denounced the crimes of the fascists, taking the side of the victims and defending them. Although the hierarchy disassociated itself from and rejected the Christians for Socialism, it was forced to heed the sentiments of the huge mass of ordinary believers and of the clergy most closely linked to the people. This helped to preserve the impression of unity in the Church.

Developments have shown that the dust-covered postulates of the right-wing elements and the witch hunt are splitting the Church, for deep-rooted causes are giving rise to renovating currents. Among believers there is now a growing socio-political awareness of the need to rejuvenate their cherished ideals, i.e., to put an end to the exploitation of man by man, achieve social equality, democratise society, extirpate racism, remove the threat of nuclear war, eradicate mass poverty, end imperialist

aggression, and sweep away colonialism and neocolonialism. Under normal conditions these aspirations can no longer be obstructed by anathemas, especially when signs are appearing of a revolutionary upsurge.

The Communist Party of Chile wants mutual understanding with the Church and, on that basis, relations with its leadership. It would like to conduct a dialogue and organise joint action to safeguard the vital interests of the Chilean people, conduct a dialogue, and protect human rights. This will become possible if the Church, in turn, shows goodwill.

It must be noted that the social struggle is reflected in the theological currents themselves. In Chile there have been wide repercussions to the views of Jacques Maritain, a Christian humanist of the present century. Underlying his views is the thesis that on earth a Christian has to act not as a Christian but in a Christian manner, making his choice at his own peril.¹¹

An even greater influence was exercised by the French theologian Teilhart de Chardin (1881-1955). His studies of scientific breakthroughs and the evolution of the human being brought him round to the conclusion that the loftiest duty and calling of a Christian was the labour of the worker, the researches of the scientist, the work of the artist, and the struggle of the revolutionary.

The Church recently began the process of canonising our contemporary — Father Alberto Hurtado. It is expected that he will be the first Chilean saint. He was not only a philosopher (he wrote five widely-read books) but also a man of action. In one of these books, *Social Humanism*, he answers a question that was at one time debated in Catholic circles: Should man be liberated in the religious sense of the word or should there be a change of society's social structures? His reply was dialectical, courageous, advanced, and new for his day: "Relying on people and for their own sakes it is necessary to transform profoundly both the people themselves and the structures."

In the spirit of these ideas there is now in Latin America a ramified current known as the "theology of liberation", which vindicates the struggle for social emancipation and national liberation from the standpoint of Christian ontology. It covers a wide spectrum of heterogeneous views, whose essence is that the Church should undertake greater obligations towards those whom it calls "poor". Members of this current (and this is one of its principal merits) drew up the documents that were approved by the bishops at Medellin. The "theology of liberation" counterposes the odious "theology of war", the "theology of messianism", and the "theology of nations", which were predominant under other historical circumstances, as was once the well-known Christian doctrine that makes no distinction between society and the Church, endowing the latter with priority and the highest authority in all secular matters. Personalism or Christian humanism and, to an even greater extent, the "theology of liberation" came round to recognising the autonomy of politics, culture, and science relative to religion and the Church; to supporting the ideals of civil tolerance; to approving collaboration with non-Catholics in different spheres of society's life.

Some exponents of the "theology of liberation" have gone even further, extending it openly to the struggle against capitalism and giving a Christian substantiation for the economic and political grievances of the working class and also for socialism. Theologians interpret this theory differently. Some speak of a new utopian socialism of a pre-Marxian kind and concerned only with love and the saving of souls. Others, without confusing their concepts with the viewpoint of the Communists, use some aspects of Marxist methodology to analyse society. At the October 1977 Synod in the Vatican the Archbishop of Ho Chi Minh City declared that much as the Church once used the teaching of Aristotle for giving philosophical expression to its evangelical message, it should now use Marxism for evangelisation and catechisation. There are some who, instead of bringing the Christian philosophy up to date, are engaged in a sort of revisionism of Marxism, rejecting many postulates of scientific communism, including that of the role of violence in the social struggle.

Our party sees in these quests a striving on the part of some Christian circles to turn the participation of Catholics in the liberation struggle into a political and ideological alternative. We believe that as it matures this tendency will evolve into new forms of dialogue and cooperation and into joint actions. Approaching this scientifically, the Chilean Communists see it as objectively realistic in its unity and multiformity — realistic also for believers.

However, there is strong opposition to the "theology of liberation". The Puebla Conference rejected the thesis of the Second Vatican Council on the autonomy of secular institutions and attacked Marxism with primitive arguments.

There is also a tendency to return to the traditional "eternal philosophy"¹² and also to reactionary postulates that encourage the subverting of trade union unity and the formation of parallel Catholic trade unions functioning for the sake of "class collaboration". In this context one can mention the "modernising theology" of Lopez Trujillo¹³ that goes deep into abstraction, and the "populist" school guided by nationalism. There are those who want the Church to be preserved as an integral institution, its support for individual grievances of the working people confined to charity assistance. This is unquestionably a complex process and it is being examined by the Communists from every possible angle.

Anti-Fascist Struggle

The unceasing resistance to the Pinochet fascist tyranny will, we believe, be a landmark in the history of the Chilean Catholic Church.

Initially, some Catholic politicians, notably of the Demo-Christian Party, supported the fascist putsch and in fact condoned the assassination of President Salvador Allende and fascism's declaration of war and bloodbath against the Chilean people. We recall this not in order to reproach them, especially as subsequently they began to reconsider their attitude to the regime and are now actively participating in the struggle to put an end to the dictatorship and establish a democratic system. The point is that the situation in which we found ourselves during the critical closing months of 1973¹⁴ require of us a high appraisal of the determined anti-fascist actions of Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez from the very first days following the coup.

On September 13, 1973, when it seemed that everything was collapsing (the oligarchy and imperialism were taking revenge by unleashing a brutal reign of terror throughout the country), the Standing Committee of the Chilean Episcopate issued a well-known declaration expressing sorrow and regret over the "blood that has been spilled in our streets, our communities, and our factories" and called for "respect for the memory of those who fell in struggle, above all of him who until September 11 was the President of the Republic".¹⁵ On September 14 the National Aid Committee was formed. On September 16 at a press conference for foreign journalists the Cardinal spoke sharply against the wave of hatred that swept the country after the coup and, as he put it, "may kill the soul of Chile". The steps taken by the Catholic Church to contact representatives of other denominations produced results as early as October 6. This led to the formation of a Peace Committee. It conducted courageous and very useful work to achieve solidarity. When in November 1975 as a result of pressure by the tyranny, this committee ceased to exist, its noble functions were taken over by the Solidarity Vicariate of the Archbishopric of Santiago.

Things have reached a stage when fascism is harrassing the Church. Every step it makes is countered with a violent campaign of intimidation. However, nothing has succeeded in making the Church change its stand. Of course, in it there are people of the Archbishop Emilio Tagle type, individual parish priests, chaplains in the armed forces, and the people in the Opus Dei and Fiducia — those who behave unworthily. But there is nothing they can do to belittle the nobility of the stand taken by Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez and it is unquestionable that his example has been followed by most of the bishops, the overwhelming majority of the priests, and huge numbers of

believers. He merits special esteem because he did not succumb to the temptation of confining himself to Church activities. Instead he went deep into the essence of what was happening in Chile and denounced the fascist economic model. Under his leadership the pastoral, workers', campus, and other solidarity vicariates extended help and assistance to all who needed it. The Cardinal urged unity and cohesion of the people, supporting their efforts to restore their organisations, unitary trade unions and other associations, and believing that the use of liberation should be in the hands of the people themselves.

Fascism is now no longer in a position to form large parties that it can rely on for support. One of the many reasons for this new situation is that today the Catholic Church is not facilitating the regime's manoeuvres and is uniting with the anti-fascists.

In 1976, when he was in the Tres Alamos concentration camp, Luis Corvalán wrote an article in which he touched upon the subject of the anti-fascist stand of the Chilean Catholic Church. He managed to secretly send it to the party leadership and there were wide repercussions when it was published. It stated: "In these conditions and putting all differences aside, we reiterate our solidarity with the Church, which is subjected to incessant fascist persecution and a continuous hostile campaign by reactionaries. At the same time, we reiterate our determination to step up the struggle for the unity of all anti-fascist forces in order to depose the dictatorship and establish a new democracy, a renewed democracy which will restore human rights, including freedom of conscience."¹⁶

The Great Cause of Peace

There is a sphere of human activity that receives special priority and commands the concern of all humanity — this is the struggle for peace. We see it as the foundation for increasingly broader and deeper collaboration by Catholics and Communists with the most diverse strata of the Chilean people. An analogous situation exists in most other Latin American countries.

The Allende government worked ceaselessly to establish relations of sincere friendship, chiefly between the Latin American republics and especially with Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru, which have common frontiers with Chile. This was the policy of the parties in the government: Socialist, Communist, Radical, United People's Action Movement, the Left Christian Movement, and the Independent Popular Action. As head of state, Salvador Allende set himself the objective of finally settling long-standing border disputes. This policy of friendship is the opposite to the notorious imperialist policy of incitement, of fanning contradictions and conflicts, and even provoking wars on the borders of Latin American states. As befits a fascist, Pinochet aggravated Chile's differences with neighbouring states, imperilling peace with Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru. The military dictatorships that oppressed the fraternal peoples of Argentina and Bolivia acted in the same way. It is to the great credit of the Catholic Church — in Chile and in Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru — that it took the initiative to counter chauvinism and contribute to the struggle for peace between our countries.

Humankind now witnesses the all-out arms race that is being escalated for aggressive purposes by the US military-industrial complex, by the Reagan Administration in the first place. The USA's plans for aggression in Central America and the Caribbean are part and parcel of its barbarous, bloodthirsty policies in all regions of the globe. These policies are daily increasing the threat of a nuclear war which would endanger all life on our planet. In this situation we attach paramount significance to determined action in defence of peace and see it as the cause that conforms to the most cherished sentiments of millions of Catholics and Communists, of the entire Chilean people.

¹ These phenomena are becoming particularly important for Chile and some other Latin American countries. They cannot be assessed uniformly with regard to other regions, given the distinctive conditions of different

countries and acute rivalries within the Church itself between advocates of different, sometimes mutually exclusive trends and currents. — *Ed.*

² Camilo Henríquez (1769-1825), Chilean public and political personality and fighter for independence against the Spanish crown. He was one of the authors of Chile's first Constitution. — *Ed.*

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 14.

⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 86-87.

⁵ *Pacem in Terris*, Paris, 1963, p. 203.

⁶ The conduct of services in the language of the parishioners, in this case, Spanish. This has helped to liberalise the Church. — *Ed.*

⁷ Rodney Arismendi, "Global Madness Once More," *WMR*, No. 7, 1981.

⁸ *Estudios*, No. 78, 1981, p. 30.

⁹ Secularisation refers to the taking of some sphere of activity (i.e., school education) away from the authority of the Church and making it a function of secular authority — *Ed.*

¹⁰ Luis Corvalán, "Alliance of the Anti-Imperialist Forces in Latin America," *WMR*, No. 7, 1967.

¹¹ Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme Intégral*, Paris, 1938, p. 314. (In particular, Maritain was opposed to believers blindly trusting the dogmas of the Church).

¹² The Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. — *Ed.*

¹³ Lopez Trujillo, Colombian bishop and General Secretary of the Latin American Episcopal Council. — *Ed.*

¹⁴ The fascist coup took place in Chile on September 11, 1973. — *Ed.*

¹⁵ *Partido Comunista de Chile. Boletín del Exterior*, No. 47, 1981, p. 18.

¹⁶ Luis Corvalán, "La Iglesia Católica y las Persecuciones Fascistas", *Partido Comunista de Chile. Boletín del Exterior*, No. 22, 1977, p. 34.

US Bases Shading a Medieval Regime

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THE Sudan is going through a tragic period. For more than 14 years now our country has been ruled by a cruel authoritarian regime headed by Colonel Nimeiri.¹ The dictator opted for the capitalist way of development and has conducted a policy of concessions to imperialism, so pushing the Sudan to the brink of economic and financial collapse. The economy is in a state of chronic crisis, with a growing cost of living and spreading unemployment; its external debt went up from \$5.2 billion in 1982 to \$8.3 billion in 1983.²

Political life in the country has been virtually obliterated and the parties have been banned. The Sudanese Socialist Union, the only political organisation, is a faceless adjunct of the regime, willingly doing the whims of the ruler. The repressive machine consisting of state security and military intelligence stamps out every spark of protest and stifles any dissenting opinion, however meekly expressed.

Nimeiri's foreign policy amounts to the Sudan's complete subordination to the imperialist dictates and its conversion into a US bridgehead in the Middle East and Africa.

Editorial Note: This article, reflecting the views of the Communist Party of the Sudan, continues our series on the present state of the Arab national liberation movement and the tasks of the revolutionary forces in the light of the situation taking shape in the Middle East (see Rafic Samhoun, "What the US-NATO Intervention in Lebanon Has Shown", *WMR*, No. 1, 1984; Naim Ashhab, "At a Difficult, Steep Turning Point," *WMR*, No. 3, 1984; Khaled Hammani, "Inexhaustible Potential of the Liberation Struggle," *WMR*, No. 6, 1984).

Following Imperialist Policies

World imperialism, the United States in the first place, is using the Sudan as a pawn in its militaristic policy. In accordance with the Reagan Administration's expansionist line, Washington is trying to build up its own military system on territories immediately adjacent to NATO's southeastern flank — Israel, Egypt and other countries — and on its western flank, notably in Morocco. Bases have been built on the island of Diego Garcia and in Oman, and the US troops stationed there are under the Central Command (CENTCOM), which was recently set up by the Pentagon to coordinate action by US interventionist forces for directly meddling in the affairs of independent states.

Washington's aggressive schemes are also served by the deal between the United States, the South African racists and the Israeli Zionists. Finally, another important aspect of the strategy of imperialism is the attempt to knock together a military-political alliance of reactionary Arab regimes for suppressing progressive democratic movements in the Middle East and Africa.

A look at the map shows that the Sudan lies in the heart of the zone of imperialism's military and political interests, so that its territory is an exceptionally convenient bridgehead for conducting expansionist policies and intervening in the affairs of neighbouring peoples, especially those which have opted for the socialist orientation. That is why the White House is so eager to keep this disgraced regime going.

In gratitude for the support and military aid given to his government, which increased from \$5 million in 1979 to \$100 million in 1982, Nimeiri has allowed the United States to site four military bases on our territory. One can well imagine the danger these bases will pose to the Arabs and Africans once they are complete in 1984.

The first base is situated in the southwestern part of the country near Bantyu, where oil deposits have been discovered. It is to defend the interests of the US oil-extracting company, while serving the purposes of US intelligence. It is highly indicative that the US military attaché in the Sudan was relieved of his duties and seconded as security officer to that company. The zone of the base includes the whole territory of the Sudan and also the neighbouring areas of Western Africa. Another base lies on the border with Chad and is designed for radar surveillance of a vast area of Africa, including, in particular, the territory of Chad, Libya, and Upper Volta. At the same time, the United States plans to convert the base into a bridgehead for provocations against and destabilisation of the anti-imperialist regime in Libya.

The third US base lies in the southeast, in the small town of Gambela, close to the border with Ethiopia. Its main purpose is to train counter-revolutionary elements which are to be smuggled into Ethiopia in an effort to overthrow its progressive government. The fourth base is situated on the coast of the Red Sea, north of Suakin, the country's main port. The Pentagon attaches especial importance to this naval and air base: it is to help the US armed forces patrol the Red Sea area, and control the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. It is also a handy launching pad for sabotage against the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Military and political acts can be coordinated with those of another US base which lies 100 kilometres to the north, on the territory of Egypt.

This bridgehead "geography" enables Washington, on the one hand, to control the interventionist forces it has stationed in various countries, and on the other, to test the combat-readiness of its satellites. It is no accident at all that the joint US-Sudanese exercises code-named Natural Bond, which were staged on our soil in September 1983, almost coincided with the US army exercises in Somalia, Oman and Egypt.

Nimeiri himself is eager to strengthen relations with his reactionary neighbours, for he has a vital stake in an alliance with them, as also, incidentally, with all the pro-imperialist regimes in the Arab East. In the 1970s, he established close ties with Sadat's Egypt, and the Sudan was one of the few Arab countries which recognised the Camp David accords. In 1976, the two states concluded a joint defence agreement, and soon

after announced plans for their full economic and political integration. The Sudanese dictator also has strong bonds with the Saudi monarchy, which is having an ever greater influence on his policy. The Saudi king is prepared to give Nimeiri some handouts (hard currency, oil) in exchange for a tougher political line at home.

But neither the imperialist powers' "aid", nor support from the reactionary Arab rulers can assure the ruling classes of stability or hold back the mounting tide of popular wrath.

Undeclared War in Southern Sudan

The political and economic crisis is most acute in the Sudan's southern provinces, whose population is carrying on an armed struggle against political and national oppression. The principal demand of the movement, which originated in 1955, is autonomy for the South.

In 1972, the government and the insurgents concluded the Addis Ababa agreements, which put an end to the long and bloody war between the North and the South. They provided for the extension of autonomy to the South and the formation of a Supreme Executive Council of the South Sudan (an autonomous regional government). But then Nimeiri scrapped the agreements and destroyed the region's autonomy, carving it up into three provinces on the ethnic principle in the hope of involving the South Sudanese tribes in the web of intestine strife and diverting them from the struggle against national and religious discrimination.

The South is the economically most backward part of the country, where the population is oppressed both by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the North and by the local feudal lords, commercial capital and tribal chiefs. Corruption has assumed unprecedented proportions, and this is admitted even by the Sudanese authorities themselves: bribes are demanded by the local officials and by officials coming in from Khartoum. All the funds earmarked for development in the southern provinces are embezzled.

The Sudanese government has done virtually nothing to bridge the gap in economic development levels between the two parts of the country. In an effort to damp down the mass discontent and to divert it into another channel, the regime resorted to the time-tested tactic of fanning hostility between ethnic groups and regions and stimulating tribalism. It is suggesting to Moslem Arabs that they are culturally and religiously superior to the "animist savages" and the Christianised Negroes.³ Simultaneously, through their puppets in the South, the Khartoum rulers incite the African tribes against each other and artificially inflate their mutual prejudices.

Under the scrapped agreements, half the Sudanese troops stationed on the territory of the South were to consist of native officers and men, but these demands have not been met to this day: only 2,000 of the 12,000 servicemen are natives of the South, while Nimeiri keeps sending in fresh contingents of troops consisting entirely of Northerners.

But for all these efforts, the authorities have not managed to put down the popular movement in the South, and the whole of its territory has been swept by a wide-ranging guerrilla struggle. Terrified of its scope, the authorities have resorted to mass repression and have imprisoned perfectly innocent people. The regime's propaganda organs claim that the guerrillas are "common bandits", but when has a drive against bandits required numerous regular army units equipped with modern US weapons? What is more, reports have come in about the Egyptian army's involvement in the war against the insurgents. The bombing by the Egyptian Air Force of a number of Sudanese towns has come to light. While on a visit to Egypt, Nimeiri asked President Mubarak for even more military aid.

The military operations are growing in scale. Punitive units have been wiping out whole villages and towns whose inhabitants are suspected of supporting or even sympathising with the insurgents. That was the way used to "pacify" the town of Bor, which before the "combat operation" against it had 30,000 inhabitants. It is now a ghost town lying in ruins.

However, the resistance fighters cannot be broken by the repression, and the ranks of the guerrillas have been growing. Let us note in this context that armed struggle has always characterised the popular movement in the South, whereas political forms of protest were mainly widespread in the North. At the present stage, however, the population of the South successfully combines both armed and political methods of struggle. Organisations and parties declaring their adherence to scientific socialism have emerged — an altogether new trend in the region's political life. Thus, the Workers' and Peasants' Party⁴ was set up in 1983. It issued a Manifesto calling for struggle against the Sudan's capitalist orientation and the Nimeiri regime's policy of discrimination.

Southern students enrolled at Khartoum University have set up an African National Front uniting progressive students and also some democratically-minded teachers. The activity of other left-wing movements has been growing.

The regime's war against the southern provinces has dislocated the country's economy and has led to complete degradation of its political system. The situation in the Sudan is similar to that in Southern Africa, in Chile and Paraguay, where avowed fascists are in power. Having lost all sense of reality, the dictator is casting about for a way out of the impasse by even more savagely tightening up the screws and introducing truly inhuman medieval laws. In the autumn of 1983, he announced a "law revolution" in effect signifying the introduction of Islamic law in the country.

Speculating on Islam

A wide spectrum of political forces looks to Islam, some appealing to its generally humanistic ethical tenets so as to condemn the spirit of gain and capitalist exploitation and to clothe their slogans of anti-imperialist struggle in religious form, while reaction seeks to capitalise on Islam by converting it into a weapon for massacring the progressive elements. In many countries, thousands of patriots and democrats are being thrown into prison and savagely tortured, and some of them beheaded or hanged, and all in the name of religion. Behind the demagogic religion-clothed preachings are the purely pragmatic schemes of the exploiter classes, which manipulate the convictions and will of the illiterate and backward masses with amazing cynicism.

In this context, Nimeiri's widely advertised "law revolution" is perfectly transparent. The mass media controlled by the dictator have presented the changes in legislation in the spirit of a revival of medieval laws as being just about the only possible way for solving the country's most acute social and political problems.

Islamisation is being carried out under the slogan of rectifying morals, defending the faith, combating corruption, etc. But it is precisely the regime's anti-people's, pro-imperialist policy that has driven the Sudan into the present impasse. It is the crisis of capitalist development that has caused the decline in morals, and the spread of drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution and brigandage.

The dictator has included in the Criminal Code medieval forms of punishment, like the severing of hands for robbery, flogging for the use of alcoholic drinks, stoning for marital infidelity, and other legal trappings of the Middle Ages. Anyone whose actions are qualified by the authorities as being directed against Islam can be beheaded.

The executioner's axe can, of course, amputate the hand of the petty pickpocket, but it is powerless when it comes to the gangsters operating on the scale of the whole country. Indeed, Nimeiri hardly intends to use Shariat Law against members of his entourage — the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the corrupt officials, and others — or against the exploiter classes — the feudal lords, the big merchants and the entrepreneurs. The dictator is aiming the full force of the repressive apparatus against those whom he regards as threatening his regime: our country's true patriots.

Virtually all the articles of the draconian State Security Law, which suppresses civil rights, including freedom of speech, assembly, and trade unions, the right to strike, etc., have been rewritten into the 1983 Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal

Procedure. Under the new legislation, the chief of the state security service and other high-ranking police officers are empowered to subject any citizen of the Sudan to preventive detention for an indefinite period. Both codes contain laws relating to the imposition of martial law. Thus, one article prohibits not only "unlawful" assembly, but also the holding of meetings involving more than five persons.

Here is another fact to note: the changes in the legislation did not affect the articles written into the Constitution in the period of British colonial rule, for whose abolition the democratic public had fought after the Sudan's rise to independence. By contrast, the provisions designed to protect civil rights which our people had won in the long and bloody struggle for independence have been deleted from the codes.

Behind the smokescreen of Islamisation, the regime wants to settle scores with any opposition, in the hope of delaying its own inevitable demise. But our people will no longer be fooled by any tricks and dodges, including the playing up of religious feelings. Today, a few months after the "law revolution", it is perfectly clear that it has not yielded the desired results. A state of emergency has been imposed on the country. Last Spring, Nimeiri set up nine tribunals specially designed to oversee the observance of his prescriptions. The regime has issued new ultra-reactionary decrees under which the army has been empowered to ban strikes and rallies, inspect the personal correspondence of citizens, search private homes, and so on.

The Communist Party of the Sudan is carrying on a tireless struggle against the dictatorial regime. Despite the fact that Nimeiri dispersed all the political parties back in 1969, the Sudanese Communists have not stopped their hard and tremendously intense activity for a single day, although it has often led to the loss of life. Since 1971, anti-communism has been part and parcel of Nimeiri's policy. Hundreds of our comrades have been imprisoned, and under the notorious Islamic Law any Communist can be accused of godlessness, the penalty for which is death.

The Sudanese people as a whole is rising in resistance to the dictatorship, and we are well aware of the difficulties of this struggle. Our party believes that the unity of the democratic and anti-dictatorship forces is the pledge of victory. That is why the Sudanese Communists call for the unity of all those who cherish the country's future. Since 1977, we have been working to set up a broad opposition front, and here much importance attaches to the development of a dialogue between the patriotic forces of the North and the South. We believe that the trade unions, students and progressive intellectuals should be involved in the front.

An agreement has now been reached between the main opposition forces, including the CP of the Sudan, as the basis for the establishment of such a front. Its participants are demanding a radical transformation of the Sudanese political system, a break-up of the military-bureaucratic police machine, and of other repressive institutions in the course of mass action by the working people. We are fighting for the restoration of all the democratic rights, including the right to set up parties and independent trade unions, and for autonomy for the South. Our objective is to create a totally new system of government and radically to transform the society, something that will require a transition period in the course of which the participants in the front will have to work out a relevant action programme.

Arab World at the Crossroads

The developments in the Sudan should be seen in the context of the overall situation in the Arab world. They are closely bound up with the difficulties faced in recent years by the Arab liberation movement, difficulties caused by the most diverse economic and political factors.

The national liberation movement which developed in the first two post-war decades was led by patriotic-minded members of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. The revolutions which took place in that period under radical slogans led to the emergence

of progressive regimes in a number of countries that got down to radical transformations and pursued an anti-imperialist foreign policy.

However, by the early 1970s, the limited revolutionary potentialities of the petty bourgeoisie became quite evident. As they consolidated their power, its leaders increasingly revealed the duality and contradictory nature of their stand. The ruling circles used power for their own enrichment, departed from the radical line and lost interest in any further progressive transformations. The state apparatus was rapidly bureaucratised. Its corrupt elite moved closer to the mercantile and comprador bourgeoisie.

The shift to the right by the petty bourgeoisie's upper strata and its evolution into a bureaucratic bourgeoisie led to the distortion of its political line towards the abandonment of radical change and a gradual switch to capitalist development, which ensured its domination in the society. The actual assertion of the capitalist orientation inevitably led to the growth of neocolonial dependence on the former metropolitan countries and the world capitalist system. In domestic politics, the authorities stepped up repression and attacks on the democratic forces criticising their anti-people's acts.

The reactionary regimes' command of vast oil revenues was another negative factor, for it enabled them to exert a substantial influence on the pattern of forces in the Arab world. The Arab liberation movement was also influenced by the fact that while the conservative circles steadily bolstered their ties with world imperialism and built up their military-political potential with its aid, some Arab leaders relaxed their efforts in maintaining and consolidating their natural ties with the international progressive forces, the socialist countries in the first place. Indeed, at the end of the 1970s, some even tended to underrate the importance of these ties generally.

Israel's continued occupation of the territories it has seized is a serious obstacle to the development of positive processes in the Arab countries; it makes for sustained tensions in our region, and diverts a part of the liberation movement forces from the struggle for progressive socio-economic changes. Some conservative regimes have used the simmering crisis in the Middle East to bolster their positions in the Arab world.

However, we, Communists, remain optimists. We not only continue to believe in a revival of the revolutionary spirit of the Arab liberation movement, but are working hard to accelerate the process. Recent developments give ground for such optimism. The imperialist plans in Lebanon have collapsed. The attempts to extend Camp David to other countries of the Arab world have proved to be a complete fiasco. As a result of the bitter struggle, which cost tens of thousands of human lives, the people of Lebanon have succeeded not only in scrapping the ignominious agreement imposed on them in May 1983, but also in forcing the imperialists to pull out their armed forces from their soil. That victory was largely predetermined by the joint action of the national-patriotic forces within Lebanon and solidarity with them on the part of progressive Arab governments and world opinion.

In the present difficult conditions, when the revival of the revolutionary character of the Arab liberation movement is a primary task for all the sound elements in the Arab world, there is the most acute need to set up a united national-democratic front to bring together all the patriotic elements sincerely desiring radical and positive change. The importance of organising such a front is largely determined, we believe, by the fact that there is as yet no political force in the area that could independently tackle the problems facing the society. In a sense, this situation could be defined as a crisis of leadership of the Arab liberation movement.

We believe that it is now up to the working class to undertake the function of uniting the popular masses. This calls for a principled scientific strategy based on Marxism-Leninism, combined with a flexible tactical line. At the present stage, when the attempts by the non-proletarian socio-political circles to act as leader of the revolutionary movement in the Arab world are ever more glaringly ineffectual, the

proletariat is especially in need of a broad programme as an alternative to any action, whether bourgeois or petty-bourgeois.

That being so, the communist parties inevitably become ever more important as the vanguard of the working class. The Communists have to play the leading role both in establishing a national-democratic front and in conducting its activity. They have to work hard to promote the spread of the Marxist view of the acute socio-economic problems and to sum up and spread in every way the experience gained in the struggle.

It will, of course, take time to solve these problems, but no time should be lost in acting right away, because every day that goes by may subsequently mean heavy losses. Let us bear in mind that our ideological and political adversaries, that our class enemies are not idle. With their instruments of power and their economic positions, together with aid from imperialism, they are trying to mislead the masses, to get them to hate communism, while spreading attitudes of religious intolerance and bigotry.

In a situation in which internal and international conflicts are entwined and with the two opposite social systems in confrontation with each other, the crucial factor for success in the liberation struggle is an alliance of the democratic and progressive forces of Asia and Africa with the socialist countries.

Every people's urge for freedom, democracy and socio-economic progress at home is now a component part of the overall struggle against those who are trying to reverse the tide of history and to plunge the world into nuclear war. Is not our people's movement against US military bases on Sudanese soil a part of the struggle for peace and for international detente? Are not the actions by the Sudanese public forces against the coalition of the two regimes — Cairo and Khartoum — ultimately aimed against the imperialist plans to set up military-political blocs in the Arab East and Africa?

In their everyday work, the Sudanese Communists seek to explain to our people the importance of their struggle not only for the benefit of their own country, but also for the unity of the progressive forces of the Arab world.

The Sudan is now going through a difficult period. But we are sure that all Sudanese who cherish their country's honour and future will unite to find the way to its salvation. They are fully determined to get rid of the hated dictatorship and to frustrate the attempts to turn the country into an imperialist base aimed at the heart of the Arab liberation movement.

¹ Gaafar Nimeiri took power in a military coup in May 1969; from 1971, reactionary trends gained the upper hand in the regime's domestic and foreign policy. — *Ed.*

² For details on the Sudan's socio-economic condition, see: Ahmed Salem, "No Longer a Dead-End, but a Pit", *WMR*, No. 6, 1982. — *Ed.*

³ The Sudan's population is 21 million, 60 per cent of whom are Moslems. — *Ed.*

⁴ The Nationalist Action Movement of the Southern Sudan, the United Movement for the Total Liberation of the South Sudan and other organisations are also operating in the South.

Topical Notes Under Surveillance

Niall Farrell – Communist Party of
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IN recent years in a number of developed capitalist countries more and more attention has been focussed on the gathering and pooling of vast amounts of personal information, both sensitive and trivial. This has led civil liberty groups to express their concern that such information might be used against its subject. It should be stressed, however, that the storing of information in itself would not be of concern if the governments were committed to safeguarding the interests of the mass of the people. But the reality is that there exists no guarantee of this under capitalism, because by its very nature it operates in the interests of a minority. So in the days of economic crises and political instability the warnings of the civil liberty activists do seem to have a valid ring to them.

Northern Ireland is in a state of crisis, economically and politically, and, despite the bluster of the British government about the "fight against terrorism", British troops are primarily there to defend the interests of capital. It is worth focussing on how they go about their *work*. The police and British army squads which patrol the streets of Northern Ireland are in direct contact with the British army computer, which in a matter of seconds can supply them with detailed information on 750,000 people, that is half the population. The extent of the intelligence available is staggering: it can range from a detailed description of an individual to the colour of the settee in the living room of his or her home. It is little wonder therefore that one expert in the field of state intelligence gathering described the British army's computer as "the most extensive surveillance operation in any country".¹

Altogether there are six indexes on computer: personal files, an almost complete record of Northern Ireland dwellings, indexes for vehicles, vehicle movements, weapons and incidents. The latter is the most mysterious: it is believed to store not only information about crimes committed but also rumours and gossip overheard by the "security forces". Each person on computer has security rating from grade one (detain immediately) to grade five (clear, no action). This makes for a more "efficient" checking out of "suspects".

The sources for all this information are varied. The police and army make use of spies and informers, while much of the intelligence gathered on political activists comes from the monitoring of the press, public meetings and demonstrations. Widespread use is made of mail interception and telephone tapping.

The technology of eavesdropping, in particular taps on phones, has proved labour-consuming and therefore expensive, requiring too many people to sift through the recordings, many of which are of no value from an intelligence viewpoint. So research began in the early 70s to create an apparatus to record automatically the voice of only those of interest to the security services. Some NATO countries were involved, the Pentagon earmarking \$7 million for this work in 1973. The result is a "voice print" which reflects an individual's speech pattern, enabling the security forces to choose from the mass of recorded telephone conversations only those which they need. In a May 1984 press statement, the Irish Communists drew attention to the fact that British soldiers had recorded the voices of people stopped and questioned on the streets of Belfast. It can be assumed that these recordings were needed to make "voice prints".

The introduction of new telephone exchanges in Northern Ireland and Britain is another means by which the secret services gather information. These exchanges provide a new facility: each number dialled on any phone is recorded automatically, the aim supposedly being to make billing easier, but the police and army have found other uses for it.

To acquire the vast wealth of information on such a large section of the population, as the British army has achieved in Northern Ireland, a necessary ingredient is the "law". The frequent patrols with powers to arrest and search houses means that there is a regular flow of new intelligence reports. The most recent study on people being arrested and interrogated shows that 75 per cent of them were questioned in detail about their personal lives, members of their families and their associates and not about alleged involvement in specific offences. This type of information gathering is occurring on a large scale, more than 22,000 people were arrested and interrogated in the six years up to the end of 1982.²

This coincides with the recommendations made by the mentor of British army theorists, Major General Frank Kitson, in his book *Low Intensity Operations*, which was first published in 1971 while the author was head of military intelligence in Northern Ireland. In it he argues for the need to establish an effective system of intelligence designed to obtain a large volume of "low grade" information in order to counter insurgency and subversion in Northern Ireland. In his view similar tactics would also have to be employed by the army in Britain by the late 1970s, because he believed that the economic crisis would cause a revolt against the existing order.

The inaccuracy of his predictions might lead one to conclude that he is a living caricature of the British military, a modern-day Colonel Blimp.³ However, his subsequent career as second in command of the UK Land Forces would indicate that some people in the establishment share his views. It is perhaps no mere coincidence that police activity is now taking on a paramilitary character, as evidenced by the use of force during this year's miners' strike.

At the same time, the British police are making use of advanced technology for gathering, storing, assessing and disseminating information along their channels. The policeman on the beat in Britain has at his disposal the Police National Computer (PNC), which was introduced in the mid-70s. The bulk of the information it contains consists of all the motor vehicles in Britain, including the name and address of each owner, and personal files on anyone who has ever been convicted of an offence. At first glance it might seem innocuous, but a closer look will reveal that there is free space on both the personal and vehicle files for notations of a political nature. Because the vehicle index consists of over 20 million names and addresses, it is the most effective for surveillance activities hence it contains a section to record the owner's association with organisations. By 1978 the PNC was receiving 160,000 messages per day, 58.4 million per year, which exceeds the size of the population.

The forthcoming passage of the new *Police Criminal Evidence Bill* will give the police much greater powers to stop, search and detain, and to set up road blocks. In combination with the PNC, the law will further increase the police's ability to keep under surveillance and to harass all those whom they consider to be of "longterm interest".

The computer age is upon us and with the advent of the *Data Protection Bill* police powers will also enter this new technological era. This legislation will allow for the wholesale transfer of confidential information from the computer data banks of doctors and social workers onto police files. This is all part of Kitson's ideas on the need to assemble large quantities of "low grade" information.

Another reservoir of confidential material is the National Intelligence Computer, which, in addition to secret intelligence, brings together onto one computer files on individuals gathered by the Drugs and Immigration Intelligence, the Fraud and other crime squads and the Special Branch. It is estimated that by January 1985 this computer will have just over 2 million people on file, the bulk of them, 1.4 million, will have been collated by the Special Branch. The total number of Special Branch files on computer is expected to rise by 2,700 per month in 1985. This section of the police is also believed to have some 2 million manually indexed personal records, notably of anyone who has exercised the democratic right to sign a petition to parliament.

In order to assess material, including that reaped from the medical and social work data banks, the National Intelligence Computer is programmed to monitor periodically the behavioural patterns of each individual on file. This technological innovation, combined with a powerful retrieval system, makes this computer a very efficient means of surveillance and therefore ideal for the Special Branch.

The main purpose behind the compilation of information is to recognise and then neutralise those who are politically a threat and in this, repressive laws are a necessary concomitant. Today it is not only the political and trade union activists that have been warranting so much attention, but also the peace campaigners. The experience of Madeleine Haigh is a case in point. Back in 1981, she and a number of other women active in the peace movement had a letter printed in their local newspaper on the question of world peace. A fortnight later Madeleine Haigh was visited by two detectives purporting to be investigating a case of fraud. They questioned her about her personal life and then left. It was later discovered that the case of fraud was a bogus one and the detectives were actually members of the Special Branch. The police, after an attempted cover-up, apologised, saying that it was: "Absolutely standard (that) people who submit letters to newspapers are visited and checked out. . ."⁴

The British scene has not yet reached the scale of its neighbouring colony, but with the introduction of draconian legislation, combined with the already vast network of intelligence and the sophisticated technology to exploit it, the basis has been created for an extensive computerised system nationally. That this will be used in the interests of capital is beyond doubt. Kitson's plans and the surveillance of those considered in any way anti-establishment are sufficient proof of that. In the crisis-ridden days ahead for capitalist society, the development of the repressive apparatus jeopardises the vital rights and interests of the working people, of all citizens.

¹ Duncan Campbell, "Society Under Surveillance" in the book *Policing the Police*, Vol. 2, London, 1980, p. 115.

² *Irish Times*, February 25, 1984.

³ A satirical figure popularity interpreted as a type of diehard reactionary. — *Ed.*

⁴ *New Statesman*, October 28, 1983.

the book scene

Staunch Vanguard of Soviet Society

Konstantin Chernenko, *The People and the Party Are One*. Selected Speeches and Articles, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, 496 pp. (in Russian).

The new book by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, features selected speeches and articles delivered and written from 1976 to April 1984. This was a period of our party's vigorous ideological and theoretical work, political education

drive, organisational and economic efforts to implement the decisions of its 25th and 26th Congresses.

The book covers a broad range of topics of basic importance: the role of the CPSU as the vanguard of the Soviet people, the tasks of Communists in ideological and political work among the masses, the Leninist style of party work, improvement of developed socialism, fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR, proletarian internationalism, and the struggle to prevent nuclear war, for durable peace. Each of these topics is highlighted through the summing-up of the rich experience accumulated by Lenin's party and the Soviet Union.

The reader is offered a graphic description of the party's current strategy, the life of its organisations and the trail-blazing work of Soviet Communists. The most complex theoretical problems are discussed in close connection with the development requirements of socialist society, its economy, science, technology, culture, and social and ethnic relations.

The creative and businesslike style of the CPSU Central Committee, a critical approach to shortcomings, thorough and comprehensive tackling of problems, ready identification of and support for what is new and progressive — is also the style of the book. The author does not evade complex issues but analyses them in depth, evaluates all their aspects and, most importantly, draws practical conclusions both for everyday work of party organisations and for the CPSU's long-term policy.

The main theme of the book is the multifaceted work of the party which developed Lenin's theoretical, ideological and organisational legacy and geared it to the new conditions. "All that we have achieved," the leader of the October Revolution said, "goes to show that we base ourselves on the most wonderful force in the world — that of the workers and peasants."¹ Directing society in all its activities and providing the backbone of its political system, the CPSU exists for and serves the people. The author of the book notes that "the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of our society is an objective but by no means spontaneous process. It is ensured by the many-sided and purposeful activity of the Communist Party throughout the social fabric" (p. 180).

The party sees the prime objective of ideological work in making each Soviet citizen an active and conscious participant in the building of communism, in blending his knowledge, convictions and practical action into a single whole. This is a difficult task of many dimensions. Here there are and there can be no solutions worked out once and for all. Here an obsession with campaigns and spasmodic crash effort will produce no results. Our work must be systematic and continuous, the author concludes.

The party's policy, which embodies the unity of theory and practice, of goal and action, is the most important instrument for uniting the masses. "We can administer only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of," Lenin noted. "Unless we do this the Communist Party will not lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses, and the whole machine will collapse."² The party uses this behest of the great leader as the cornerstone of its policy which is justly called truly popular. This is the reason, the book stresses, why it enjoys complete support in the masses and why it pools and directs their efforts in the common struggle for communism (see p. 182).

Of great importance for the entire party and for its theoretical and political work, for its constructive and educational efforts was Konstantin Chernenko's speech in the CPSU Central Committee commission charged with preparing the new edition of the CPSU Programme. As a member of this commission, I had good knowledge of the preparatory work done according to the instructions of the 26th Party Congress. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee treated the collective effort of his party comrades with great respect, paid due regard to the materials provided and, at the same time, laid down fundamental guidelines of a general theoretical and political nature for soberly and realistically assessing the progress achieved and for highlighting the social vistas which were the party's goal.

"The crux of the matter," he said, "is to identify the degree of the socio-economic maturity of the new society we have attained. In the documents adopted in recent years the party has made a fundamentally important conclusion to the effect that we are now at the beginning of a historically protracted period — the stage of developed socialism. This is what determines the essence of the current and long-term tasks of the party and of the Soviet people. Given the present conditions, our Programme should be a programme for perfecting developed socialism. It is in the course of perfecting developed socialism that we are gradually moving towards communism. This is what we should proceed from in all our party work, including the work to develop the consciousness of the masses" (p. 455).

There were several other important guidelines: the Programme should carefully avoid any unfounded promises or forecasts of fast and easy successes; minor matters must not obscure what is of prime importance; attention should be focussed not on the quantitative but on the more essential qualitative characteristics of our dynamic society. The new edition of the CPSU Programme must be clear, precise and as succinct as possible, so that each Communist and each Soviet citizen could understand it easily, grasp its meaning and make it the ideological compass of his life.

Steady improvement of the people's well-being remains an invariable objective of our Leninist party. Hence the primacy of developing a highly efficient economy as the basis for meeting more fully the material and spiritual needs of our people, for increasing the might of our country. The CPSU Programme will duly reflect the idea of the merger of two revolutions — the scientific and technological and the social.

The Programme will deal primarily with the Soviet internal development issues. The way we deal with them will, in the final analysis, determine how successful we are in our foreign policy, in the struggle for peace and in our competition with capitalism. Naturally, the Programme will also include an assessment of the external conditions in which the CPSU will have to operate. The party will continue to work for greater unity of the socialist community, for stronger positions of world socialism. The Programme will also "expound the point that, like other Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist community, the CPSU considers itself an integral part of the international communist movement. Like every fraternal party, we want to play an active role in it and do our utmost to promote its growth and success" (p. 460).

The new Programme will emphasise clearly our selfless dedication to peace, our striving to do, together with other fraternal parties of the socialist community, everything possible to prevent nuclear catastrophe.

The drafting of the new edition of the Programme is an organic element of the CPSU activities in preparation for its 27th Congress. But even now, the points made by Konstantin Chernenko are exerting a profound influence on the party's collective theoretical thought, on political decision-making.

The book offers a succinct reflection of the positions of the CPSU and the Soviet government on major international issues of today's world. The author notes that, unfortunately, the world situation is not improving but remains quite dangerous. The reason is that the US Administration is still relying on armed force, on securing military superiority and imposing its own ways on other nations.

For people to be free of their constant concern about the future, it is above all imperative that nations, especially those possessing nuclear weapons, orient their policies on removing the war threat and strengthening peace. First and foremost, efforts should be undertaken to stop and reverse the arms race. It is time, the book stresses, to switch from general talk about the usefulness of negotiations to the removal of the serious obstacles placed in the path of arms limitation and reduction, confidence-building and mutually beneficial cooperation.

The author notes that a pledge by all nuclear countries by which they would renounce first use of nuclear weapons and freeze their nuclear arsenals in both quantitative and qualitative terms would definitely promote a turn for the better in

world affairs. This does not call for any complex talks but for political will.

World public opinion has been recently extremely concerned over the US Administration's plans to extend the arms race into outer space and to launch preparations for "star wars". Replying to an appeal by US scientists after the book was published, Konstantin Chernenko said: "The Soviet Union is a firm opponent of any arms race, including a race in space armaments. At the same time it should be clear that, facing a threat from outer space, the Soviet Union will be forced to take steps to effectively ensure its security. The belief that the road to military superiority lies through outer space is illusory. But this belief persists, and it is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences."³ Man's peaceful future depends to a great degree on whether outer space is peaceful or militarised through the deployment of the latest means of mass destruction. The Soviet Union is ready to do all it can to keep the sinister plans of extending the arms race to space from becoming a reality. A policy aimed at securely barring weapons from outer space must become a binding norm of conduct for all states, a universally recognised international obligation.

The collection of Konstantin Chernenko's selected speeches and articles shows the dynamism and purposefulness of the CPSU. By providing clear and precise answers to today's key problems, to questions concerning our Leninist party's foreign and domestic policy, this book enriches the ideological experience of Communists and mobilises them for new endeavours in the name of the victory of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Lev Tolkunov (Dr. Hist.),
CPSU Central Committee member.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 117.

² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

³ *Pravda*, May 20, 1984.

The New Life of the Arats

Socialist Cooperation of Agriculture in the Mongolian People's Republic. Experience, Lessons and Prospects, Ulan Bator, 1983, 287 pp. (in Mongolian).

After the revolution in our country one of the main and most difficult tasks which confronted the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was to help the *arats* (cattle-breeders), who comprised the bulk of the population, embark on the way of socialism. A quarter of a century ago this task was successfully accomplished: the mass cooperation of individual cattle-breeding farms was completed.

"Socialist Cooperation of Agriculture", a collective monograph by Mongolian scholars analyses the content, forms and results of this profound socio-economic transformation, whose consequences are comparable to the victory of the people's revolution of 1921.

During the revolution's democratic stage, which continued till the late 1930s, our party's policy was aimed at freeing the *arats* from feudal exploitation and supporting their efforts to develop their individual farms. Eventually, the *arats* farms ceased to be

of a natural character and became small commodity economies; the middle peasants occupied the dominant position in the countryside.

With the start of the socialist stage of the revolution the party steered a course towards preparation of the conditions for the gradual cooperation of the *arats*. These conditions matured by the mid-1950s as a result of the laying of the foundations of a modern industry and transport, the country's increased overall economic potential, the growth of the working class and the people's intelligentsia, and the spread of the simplest forms of cooperation in the form of associations engaged in joint cattle grazing and hay-making, and the building of housing for livestock. The state supported the small and middle peasant farms in every way possible by restricting the development of the exploiter strata by means of a tax and procurement policy. International factors were also conducive to transformations: the threat to the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic from outside had been liquidated, the world socialist system had emerged and the economy of the states comprising it had gained in strength, above all that of the Soviet Union, which rendered great assistance to the Mongolian people in building the new society.

The monograph shows how, guided by the general regularities of the socialist restructuring of agriculture, the MPRP tackled this task in a creative way with due regard for the country's specific conditions. The party relied on the Leninist cooperative plan and its principles: the voluntary nature of a cooperative economy and the need to demonstrate its advantages, gradual steps in the transition from lower forms of cooperation to higher ones, and comprehensive support by the state.

As the book points out, the socialist cooperation of agriculture in Mongolia had a number of specific features. It took place in a country which did not have its own heavy industry and drew on the industrial and technical assistance of the USSR. Since the land became the property of the whole people after the revolution it was mainly the cattle that was socialised. Cooperation, which the overwhelming majority of *arats* actively supported, was resisted by the remnants of the feudal class and some well-to-do farmers. However, their opposition did not assume an organised character and, therefore, together with the bulk of the *arats*, the well-to-do section was also drawn into the cooperatives on the general principles.

Because of the low initial level of Mongolia's development, the long struggle to liberate the *arats* from the exploitation of the feudal lords and the mistakes made in the early 1930s, which manifested themselves in the attempt to collectivise agriculture when the prerequisites were lacking, it took a long time for the cooperative movement to be victorious. "Whereas the cooperation of agriculture was completed 17 years after the victory of the revolution in the Soviet Union, 12 years in Bulgaria, 11 years in the GDR and Hungary, in our country it was after almost 40 years" (p. 15).

The *arats'* transition to a new road ensured the undivided domination of socialist ownership in the entire economy and led to the formation of the political basis of our state — the alliance of the working class and the cooperated *arats*. The general line of the MPRP towards the non-capitalist way of development triumphed once and for all. The possibility presented itself to speed up the rates of progress of the productive forces in agriculture and steadily to raise the material wellbeing and cultural level of the rural workers. The monograph gives prominence to a study of the MPRP's work to translate this possibility into reality.

The book offers convincing evidence of how the party concentrated its main efforts on creating and strengthening the material and technical basis of animal husbandry and crop-growing, and on providing the conditions for their stable development. As a result, the agricultural associations become large socialist commodity enterprises. At present each of them has on average 441,000 hectares of land, more than 10 million tugriks of fixed assets, 70,000 heads of livestock, 15 tractors and 13 motor vehicles (see p. 245). The associations account for more than half of the country's farm produce.

The consistent introduction of socialist principles of the organisation and

remuneration of labour is an important direction in the party's policy of developing agricultural cooperatives. Primary attention is paid to the constant strengthening of the public economy of the agricultural associations, which is the chief source of the wellbeing of the cooperative members, and to its correct combination with the personal farms, which are of subsidiary importance.¹ In 1980 the association members received 60 per cent of the entire income from the public economy. Over the last 20 years the average remuneration of the cooperative members has grown by 670 per cent (see p. 187).

The MPRP does extensive work to educate the *arats* in the spirit of the socialist attitude to public property and labour, and to raise the level of their education and culture. Now over 80 per cent of the association members are involved in socialist emulation and about 40 per cent participate in the movement for the "team of socialist labour" title (see p. 204). Dozens of the republic's heroes of labour have come from among them.

All the agricultural associations now have eight- or ten-year schools, kindergartens, medical centres or clinics. Among the rural workers 12 per cent have an eight-year or ten-year schooling and more than half have a four-year or seven-year schooling (see p. 280).

As the book notes a matter of special concern to the party is a further rise in the efficiency of agriculture, its intensification through the introduction of scientific and technical achievements and the utmost use of the advantages of cooperation. The 18th Congress of the MPRP (1981) stressed the need to elaborate a long-term comprehensive goal-oriented agricultural development programme. It is planned substantially to strengthen the material and technical basis of agriculture, irrigate all pasture lands by 1990 and expand the irrigated crop areas.

Great importance is also given to improving the production relations in the countryside. The monograph traces processes which have taken place in this sphere over the last two decades, from a higher degree of socialisation of property in individual agricultural associations and the creation by them of joint enterprises to inter-economy cooperation and specialisation. The party deems it necessary to strengthen the existing intereconomy forms of cooperation and introduce new ones with a view of switching over to cooperation's highest stage of agro-industrial integration.

Constant attention is paid to closely dovetailing the economic development with the solution of social problems, and especially with the interests of the young people, whose share among those engaged in agricultural production has grown substantially and now makes up more than 40 per cent. In the next few years priority will be given to the building of schools and other institutions for children in large teams and on the farms of the associations; ensuring boarding school accommodation for the maximum number of the stock-breeders' children; the organisation of service centres; and the expansion of home building and the construction of cultural institutions.

The collective monograph is written on the basis of documents of party, state and public organisations, archive materials and reminiscences of veterans of the cooperative movement. It makes a valuable contribution to the scientific generalisation of the experience of the socialist restructuring of Mongolia's agriculture and the elaboration of important problems of its further development.

Badamyn Lhamsuren
Doctor of History

¹ According to the Model Rules of the agricultural associations, their members enjoy the right to have on their personal farms up to 75 heads of cattle in the Gobi areas and up to 50 heads in the rest of the country. — *Ed.*

When Masks are Torn Down

Yuri Gvozdev, Rudolph Puchkov, *The Target: Trade Unions*, Profizdat Publishers, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Moscow, 1983, 80 pp.

At the close of last June over 12,000 British miners came to the funeral of Joe Green. He died at the age of 53 not of disease or an accident. A militant participant in a courageous and persevering struggle for the right to work, he died at his post in the picket line.

The Conservative government's repressions against striking miners compellingly affirm the topicality of this small but meaningful book. Its genre and contents are accurately defined on the dust-cover by the words: "Events, Hard Evidence, Facts." Based on information supplied daily by the mass media of many countries, it was published in Moscow in the English, French, Spanish, Russian, and German languages.

The authors have succeeded in tying together scattered events and showing one of the most typical features of the life of capitalist society today — the growing violence of the attacks of the government and the monopolies against the interests of the working class, against the gains won by them in their determined struggle for trade union freedoms.

Not very long ago it was the fashionable thing among bourgeois ideologists to use the expressions "social partnership" and "class harmony". They spread the myth that all classes were taking part in administering the state. However, the democracy game is played "only while capitalist domination is not being threatened" (p. 9). At the first signs of the approach of social storms, they tear off their masks to reveal their real nature.

The book examines the means and methods used by monopoly capital to safeguard its privileges. It has at its service the entire state mechanism, including the army, the police, the judiciary, and powerful propaganda media. In addition, it uses such "unofficial instruments" of pressure as the mafia, ultra-right and neo-nazi gangs, death squads, and hired killers.

The authors cite the most typical examples of trade union harassment in the USA. Six years ago, the Carter Administration invoked the anti-labour Taft-Hartley law to forbid a national strike by miners. The miners of Virginia and Maryland fought back with the result that the state of emergency was declared to suppress them. In 1981 President Reagan ordered brutal repressions against an air traffic controllers strike. More than 11,000 trade union members were dismissed and blacklisted, 70 militants were put on trial, and the trade union itself was heavily fined and dissolved (pp. 15-18). These and other facts eloquently illustrate the opinion that the Washington Administration "is obviously pursuing a policy of making the trade unions little more than obedient tools of the authorities and monopolies" (p. 19).

The working people and their organisations are being attacked along a wide front in Western Europe. Not only in Britain but also in Portugal, Belgium, Italy, the FRG, and other countries the ruling circles are more and more frequently calling out the police and other repressive forces against the working class movement. Moreover, baiting in the press and illegal dismissals of trade union activists have become customary in many West European countries.

Brutality is carried to extremes in suppressing the rights of working people along the periphery of the capitalist world. This book gives a good idea of the scale of the persecution, tortures, and killing of leaders and rank-and-file members of trade unions in South Africa, Sudan, Pakistan, Turkey, Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala, and some other countries. In Chile more than 30,000 people have lost their lives at the

hands of the Pinochet butchers since 1973 (p. 60). These include many prominent figures of working people's organisations.

This book is addressed to the mass audience. The data in it reflect the working people's common interests in the struggle against the arbitrary actions of the monopolies. "Capital," Lenin wrote, "is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed."¹ The experience of the class struggle between labour and capital in our epoch reaffirms this view of Lenin.

George Briquetier

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

Through Walls of Lies

A SURVEY OF BOOKS ON WAR AND PEACE PUBLISHED IN NATO COUNTRIES

The number of US Pershing-2 and cruise missiles being stationed in some West European countries is growing steadily. The NATO decision to bring this first-strike weapon in from across the Atlantic was preceded by an intensive propaganda campaign orchestrated from Washington. The accent was on spreading the "Soviet military threat" myth.

Socialism's enemies had not ceased to use this myth even during the period of detente. Even then there were large printings of books alleging that the socialist countries were "aggressive" and that hence there could be no peaceful coexistence between states of the two opposing socio-economic systems. Only two years passed after the signing of the Helsinki European Conference Final Act when a book *Is Europe Defenceless?* by the Belgian Major-General Robert Close came off the press in Brussels.¹ In this book the main argument is that the NATO forces are so weak that Soviet tanks can reach the Rhine in 48 hours. Consequently, "salvation" lies in an arms buildup. Anti-Soviet politicians liked Close's sophistry. His book was translated into almost all the languages of the NATO countries. The bourgeois mass media gave it wide publicity.

Another general, this time John Hackett of Britain, appeared on the literary scene a year later. Before his retirement he was in command of a NATO army group, but his bellicosity evidently did not leave him when he was put to pasture. Hackett's book, which bore a horror-mongering title,² was written with the help of innumerable consultants. It, too, was quickly translated into several languages and massively touted by the media. James Callaghan, then the British Prime Minister, presented the book as a gift to the then US President Jimmy Carter. The *New York Times* has mentioned that this is also one of Reagan's most favourite books.

Falsifying the data on the armed forces of the North Atlantic bloc and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Hackett presents the same argument as Close, namely that NATO is poorly prepared to repulse "aggression from the East" and for that reason has to arm whatever the cost.³

With imperialism having sharply aggravated the international situation, writings of this sort have flooded the bourgeois book market. In an article headed "Taking Their Cue From Goebbels". Leon Baya wrote in the *Daily World*: "Some major US book publishers appear to have modelled their current book lists after Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, who claimed that the bigger the lie, the more people would believe it."⁴

Baya drew attention to the spate of cheap (both in content and price) spy thrillers, most of which chewed over and over again one and the same theme: the allegation that the Soviet Union was planning a sudden nuclear strike, chiefly at the USA. Whereas in the books of Close and Hackett lies are spun with pseudo-scholarly pretensions (juggled statistics and claims to having had access to some mysterious sources of information), in these thrillers the authors gave free rein to their imagination, without caring about offering even the semblance of arguments.

But what sense of responsibility can be expected from them when Washington has elevated lies to the rank of official policy! One of the numerous facts testifying to this is the Pentagon brochure *Soviet Military Power*, brought out in its third printing last April.⁵ This opus of 136 pages in a glossy cover is, as are its two predecessors, packed with fabrications and deceptions. It repeats the slander that the Soviet Union is planning a sneak nuclear attack and that the USA has no alternative but to build up armaments. Characteristically, this brochure was ballyhooed personally by the US Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger at a specially convened press conference.

The public pretext for the NATO decision for the nuclear buildup in Western Europe was that during the detente years the Soviet Union had, in secrecy from the "euphoria-ridden" West, broken the military-strategic balance by deploying its SS-20 missiles. It is unlikely that the NATO generals expected the heaviest criticism of their actions to come from former colleagues.

Within days of the NATO session in December 1979 Nino Pasti, who in 1966-1968 was the Allied Supreme Vice-Commander in Europe for Nuclear Affairs, took the floor in the Italian Senate. He demonstrated authoritatively that the SS-20s had not violated the equilibrium and that the USA's desire to deploy Euromissiles sprang from a change in the strategy of the Pentagon, which had now decided that it could win a nuclear war on foreign territory with impunity. As could have been expected, Washington went to all lengths in its effort to refute this judgement by experts. But in October 1983, *The Observer*, a British weekly, wrote about top-secret Pentagon documents, which made it quite obvious that the USA's determination to station new missiles in Western Europe had nothing to do with the presence of the SS-20s. The hue and cry that was raised over the latter served no other purpose than to reconcile West Europeans to the escalation of the nuclear threat.

At the close of last year Nino Pasti published a book,⁶ which opens with the following dedication: "To my three granddaughters and to all the children of the world. May they live long and happy lives." In the introduction Pasti writes that this book is a follow-up on his first anti-missile speech in the Italian Senate on December 12, 1979. "The need for correct information in this crucial period in the history of our planet," he says, "has led me to undertake this new task in the hope that it may serve to strengthen all the movements in the world truly dedicated to preventing a nuclear holocaust" (p. 9).

Pasti lays bare, among other things, the background of the USA's stonewalling behaviour at the Geneva talks with the USSR on intermediate-range missiles. "One of the most absurd US positions," he writes, "is the refusal to consider French and British nuclear arms. . . In the past all the important NATO leaders, beginning with President Carter, had agreed to take them into consideration" (p. 60). Pasti pinpoints the reason why the USA subverted these negotiations: "The fundamental element to reach significant agreements is the political will to do so. When this political will was there, coupled with consistent and honest intentions, agreements were reached with

comparative ease overcoming all bureaucratic difficulties" (p. 71). But it is precisely this will that the US government lacks, whatever rhetoric it now uses for a cover on the eve of the presidential elections. Policy is judged by what is done, not by what is said.

Nino Pasti is a founding member of Generals for Peace and Disarmament. Set up in 1981, this group of the anti-war movement attaches great significance to books and brochures that competently explain to the mass reader the danger of the escalating arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and expose the aggressive plans of the military-industrial complex of the NATO countries.

This group has already brought out several publications. A volume headed *Generals Against the Arms Buildup*, published in the FRG at the close of last year, substantively and compellingly reveals the US Administration's motivations for its policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries "We," the authors write, "have tried to show what a fatal mistake Europe is making by blindly following in the wake of the Reagan Administration's policies. . . The West has tried to 'contain' and then 'roll back' communism. . . It failed, and in the long run we had to acknowledge the limits of our power. But the cold war took a heavy toll: economic losses, escalation of the economically and socially senseless arms race, militarisation of thinking, discrimination against dissenters, and the poisoning of intellectual life — all of which, taken together, signified the loss of democracy. . . With the aggressive policy that seeks to 'change' the communist system and consign it to the 'ash heap of history', we (the generals speak on behalf of the people in the NATO countries. — J.A.) are jeopardising the lives of all of us. . . The only alternative to the present tension brought by United States policy to the brink of a hot war, is to return to the policy of detente and equilibrium" (pp. 86-87).⁷

Let me make the point that these are words written not by Communists nor by sympathisers of socialism. Their authors are far removed from this. But these views about the explosive nature of the present international situation coalesce with those of the Communists, for they stem from a sober analysis of actual facts, from an understanding of how close the human race has come to the edge of the nuclear precipice. That is why the fact that the anti-missile movement in the capitalist world has begun to be joined by military men is not only noteworthy but also natural.

The heterogeneous peace movement states its opinion also in other books published by members of its various contingents. Let me list just a few that were printed in Britain in 1983: *War Plan UK* by Duncan Campbell, *The Nuclear Casebook* by members of the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, *Europe's Folly* by Owen Greene, and *Greenham Women Everywhere* by Alice Cook and Gwyn Kirk.⁸ What have these books in common? First, their appeal to a wide readership and hence their clearly stated facts that allow even a poorly informed person to see the overhanging threat. Second, criticism levelled not only at the Washington warlords but also at the Thatcher government that takes its cue from the USA. And, third, the conviction that vigorous anti-war actions are imperative.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has been particularly productive in bringing out printed matter — from leaflets to books. It enlists the cooperation of well-known public figures, prestigious academics, and experts on problems of war and peace.

Typical of the West European anti-war movements is a book entitled *Nuclear War. The Facts* by the British physicist and astronomer, member of the Royal Astronomical Society, Peter Goodwin.⁹ The point is that members of the anti-war movement in capitalist countries are attacked in the bourgeois press for their pacificism, the charge against them being that they pour grist on the 'Soviet mill'. To refute accusations of this kind, Goodwin has chosen to stick to bare facts and let readers themselves draw the conclusion whether a nuclear war is permissible. He writes that "greater public awareness diminishes the risks and is more likely to prevent nuclear war than covert discussions among politicians" (p. 7).

Goodwin describes the nuclear bomb, how it explodes, what causes the shock wave, radiation, and the mushroom cloud, and what effects they cause. He cites data on the results of the use of this weapon by the United States against Japanese civilians in 1945. Even people with no knowledge of physics or medicine will realise how dangerous a nuclear conflict will be. The book gives a long list of recommended reading and is illustrated with drawings and photographs. The latter include stills from "The War Game", a television film made in the 1960s but still banned by the British government censor: it is based on exercises to train the police, government officials, and physicians on what to do following a "nuclear bombing" of Britain.

The foreword is by the CND General Secretary Monsignor Bruce Kent, who stresses the responsibility of each person for the destiny of the world. If every person, he writes, were to ask himself "What can I do?", the reply would be -- join one of the contingents of the anti-war movement. "But to join is not enough -- it is important to become an active member. We have to raise the awareness, not of an exclusive few, but of the vast mass of the population in this and every country. This means discussion groups, film shows, speaker meetings, leafletting, petitions, and even street theatre. It means letters to the press and calls to phone in radio programmes. It means visits to other countries and the twinning of towns, schools and churches. It means urging multilateral negotiations and unilateral independent initiatives. It means work with trade unions, political parties, and the poverty agencies. The arms race is not only dangerous: it is also unbelievably expensive and a major cause of the poverty in which so many of our fellow human beings live" (p. 4).

A clergyman addressing his flock with a passionate anti-war sermon--this is yet another noteworthy phenomenon of the anti-war movement in NATO countries. Every year the movement is joined by greater and greater numbers of religious people who realise with their hearts and minds that militarism, especially in the nuclear age, is incompatible with the postulates of any of the world's religions.

Even people who had only recently been in favour of the arms buildup are beginning to understand that the threat hanging over the world must be removed. A transformation of this nature was undergone, for example, by Franz Alt, a leading radio and television commentator in the FRG, a church-going Catholic, and a member of the Christian Democratic Union. Beginning in 1979 he zealously supported the notorious NATO double-track decision and urged his fellow countrymen to prepare to repulse the "Soviet threat." But then in 1983 Franz Alt published a book under the title *Peace Is Possible. A Sermon on the Mount Policy*,¹⁰ in which he asked viewers to forgive him for having misled them and declared that he saw no justification for the arms race, particularly for the nuclear arms race.

Changes of mind of this kind are, of course, not an easy process, and they do involve contradictions. In the case of Alt he has not renounced the mistaken view that the "two superpowers are to blame" for the threat to humankind, but he emphatically condemns those who attribute to the Soviet Union the intention to invade Western Europe (let us recall that Close and Hackett peddle this lie). He urges a freeze on nuclear arsenals and the creation of nuclear-free zones. He writes that the NATO countries have no right to attribute to the USSR a "reluctance" to disarm when they are themselves arming feverishly. "He who wishes to induce the USSR to disarm," he writes, "should first himself stop arming and adding to his arsenal" (p. 81).

Alt was not forgiven for this volte face. He was helped neither by his membership in a ruling bourgeois party nor by the fact of his being a celebrity. The Sudwestfunk television station barred him from its political programme when he began accurately commenting on the aims of the anti-war movement. Democratic journalists in the FRG organised a protest campaign. Alt was reinstated in his job but he is not allowed to deal with the problem of the nuclear threat and the peace movement.

In this survey I have mentioned only a few of the many books published recently in the NATO countries. A comparison of the attitudes of those who use falsifications to

advocate a further arms buildup which brings a nuclear catastrophe nearer, and of those who expose this criminal course and strive to halt this escalation of insanity, to avert what may prove to be irreparable, shows how acute the ideological struggle has become over the question of war and peace.

Much of the credit for the fact that the anti-missile movement is growing and gathering strength in the capitalist world despite the intimidation and the harassment is due to those who have the courage to tell people the truth about where the real and not mythical threat of another world war comes from and what must be done to avert this threat.

John Alexander

¹ Robert Close, *L'Europe sans défense?*, Brussels, 1977.

² General Sir John Hackett and others, *The Third World War. August 1985. A Future History*, London, 1978.

³ See Eugene Yorgen, "Who Needs the World War 'Games' and Why", *WMR*, No. 6, 1979. — *Ed.*

⁴ *Daily World*, January 6, 1981.

⁵ *Soviet Military Power*, 3rd edition, Washington, 1984.

⁶ Nino Pasti, *Euromissiles and the Balance of Forces. Propaganda and Reality*, Helsinki, Published by the Information Centre of the World Peace Council, 1983.

⁷ *Generale gegen Nachrüstung*, Berlin, Verlag der Nation, 1983, Lizenzausgabe des Hamburger Verlages Hoffmann und Campe.

⁸ Duncan Campbell, *War Plan UK*, Paladin, 1983; *The Nuclear Casebook* by members of the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, Polygon, 1983; Owen Greene, *Europe's Folly*, CND, 1983; Alice Cook and Gwyn Kirk, *Greenham Women Everywhere*, Pluto, 1983.

⁹ Peter Goodwin, *Nuclear War. The Facts*, Papermac, London, 1982.

¹⁰ Franz Alt, *Frieden ist möglich. Die Politik der Bergpredigt*, Piper, Munich-Zurich, 1983.

New Books

L.I. Golman, *Engels-istorik* (Engels the Historian), Moscow, Mysl, 1984, 416 pp.

This monograph examines the main stages of Frederick Engels' work as a historian and his contribution to historical materialism. It analyses the great scholar's methodology of investigating key problems of world history and its division into periods. The central theme is Engel's materialist views on the evolution of primitive and antique society, his exposition of general problems of feudalism, the genesis and development of capitalism, and the liberation movement of the people, primarily the proletariat.

Ricardo J. Machado Bermúdez, *Formacion de cuadros y direccion cientifica* (The Training of Personnel and Management of Science), Havana, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1983, 252 pp.

Cuba was a backward country when, in 1959, the revolution triumphed. One of the most acute problems that made itself felt at once was the shortage of competent personnel to take charge of nationalised factories, banks and transport. Most of those appointed to managerial posts in the 1960-1965 period lacked training. In spite of

extraordinary difficulties, the revolutionary government set out to solve the problem of training economic executives. The author, a noted sociologist and expert in management, tells how this was done, how the experience of fraternal socialist countries helped shape a personnel policy and what new demands the scientific and technological revolution puts to executives.

Zhak Aroyo, *Ikonomicheskite protivorechia pri sotsializma* (Economic Contradictions Under Socialism), Sofia, Partizdat, 1984, 320 pp.

The author, a Bulgarian scholar, probes into economic contradictions under socialism and shows their non-antagonistic character. He singles out several groups of contradiction: general and specific, fundamental and particular, and internal and external. Their solution is the motor of social development and the basis for social progress. In describing the mechanism of eliminating economic contradictions, Aroyo calls attention to the proper combination of the public with the personal, the distribution of the national income in strict accordance with the economic functions of society and the individual, and promoting cooperation among socialist community countries.

surveys, information and mail

The Reader Wants to Know CMEA Member Countries' International Economic Organisations: Expanding Forms of Cooperation

"Now and again, articles on socialist economic integration mention the CMEA member countries' collective organisations in various spheres of the economy, science and technology. Please describe them in greater detail."

U. Karvonen, Finland

In view of similar requests from other readers, we have asked the International Institute for Economic Problems of the World Socialist System to prepare a review of these organisations, and it is published below.

International Economic Organisations (IEO) are among the basic forms of cooperation and integration of the countries which are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). They differ in type and form, and are set up by concerned countries in various industries and spheres of cooperation on the basis of

treaties concluded by governments or agreements between state agencies or economic organisations.

All IEO participants have equal rights, regardless of the partners' financial contribution or economic strength. Recommendations and decisions are taken with the consent of all the concerned states (or duly-empowered economic institutions). In the process, each party freely determines the limits and extent of its participation in tackling any matter. The parties' international-law obligations are written into the relevant treaties, agreements or contracts.

The fraternal countries' IEOs have no supranational prerogatives and operate on the principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty and national interests, non-interference in internal affairs, complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance. This work does not affect internal state-planning and does not, of course, restrict the independence of the participants in any way. These are, as a rule, open associations, and some of them involve economic organisations from Yugoslavia, while Democratic Yemen, Afghanistan, Laos and India have acceded to agreements setting up some institutions of this type.

Within the framework of the CMEA countries' cooperation, there are now (apart from CMEA itself) 32 multilateral¹ and 20 bilateral organisations. Of these, 31 are in industry (including geological exploration), 10 in transport, 2 in communications (including space), 2 in foreign trade, 5 in science and technology, and 2 in credit and finance. The actual form of each organisation depends on the level of representation, the nature of its activity and the sources of funding. Accordingly, provision has been made for two basic types of IEO: a) those set up under interstate treaties, and b) those set up under agreements between state agencies or economic organisations (associations, companies, joint enterprises).

Interstate economic organisations were the first to be set up. The Railway Cooperation Organisation and the Organisation for the Socialist Countries' Cooperation in Electrical and Postal Communications appeared in the latter half of the 1950s, and were followed by the Central Dispatching Board of the Unified Power Grids (1962); the Organisation for Cooperation in the Bearings Industry, and Intermetal (1964); and also the international society Agromash, initially set up (1964) as a bilateral one (by Bulgaria and Hungary) and subsequently joined by the USSR, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia; Interkhim, an international organisation dealing with fine chemicals, and the Inter-governmental Commission for the Socialist Countries' Cooperation in Computer Facilities were founded in 1969; and following the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA countries (1971) there came Inter-elektro and two organisations in the sphere of geological exploration: International Geological Expedition to the Mongolian People's Republic, and Petrobaltic (with the participation of the GDR, Poland and the USSR).

Interstate economic organisations have various functions, concentrating on the elaboration and implementation of projects for deepening the international socialist division of labour in agreed sectors of the economy and spheres of cooperation for the fullest satisfaction of the participating countries' requirements in various types of products. Such organisations set up in industry for that purpose carry out joint prognostications and do much for the drafting and conclusion of agreements on specialisation and cooperation of production, mutual deliveries, scientific and technical cooperation, etc.

There are many examples to show the results of the coordination activity of interstate economic organisations. Thus, with the establishment of Interelektro, which handles a wide range of electrical-engineering products, the specialisation of production in the sector has been markedly accelerated. When the organisation was set up, only 117 types of products were covered by various recommendations for specialising production; in 1975-1980, the figure went up to 346, and under the

agreements for 1981-1985-to 746. In the current five-year period, the exchange of specialised products between the Interelektro participants will nearly treble.

The year Intermetal was set up, cross deliveries came to 780,000 tons of iron and steel products; in 1966-1970, they averaged 1.5 million tons a year, in 1971-1975, 2-3 million tons, and since then — 3.5-4 million tons. The exchange in industrial-purpose metal products has been growing even faster. There is also a marked increase in the share of specialised products and the volume of commodity exchange within the framework of other organisations of this type.

Some interstate organisations have specific functions. The activity of the Central Dispatching Board of the Unified Power Grids, for instance, which ensures the parallel operation of the participating countries' unified power grids, includes instant conferencing on the reserve power capacity allocated by the power-grids concerned and the use of these reserves, and also of temporarily uncommitted capacities for the purposes of mutual assistance. In the Board's 20 years, the capacity of inter-grid electric-power transmission lines has increased 6.5-fold, power generation by plants within the Unified Power Grids increased 5-fold, and the exchange of electric power by the countries—9.8-fold.

Apart from the Railway Cooperation Organisation, there are two other interstate organisations in the field of transport: the Common Freight Wagon Pool of the CMEA countries, set up in 1963, and the Board of Joint Utilisation of Containers in International Communications, set up in 1974. The activity of these organisations, which help to enhance the efficiency of foreign-trade traffic, is being steadily developed. Since the establishment of the Common Freight Wagon Pool, the number of freight wagons available for collective use by member countries has increased more than 3-fold, and the annual volume of freight carried—roughly—5-fold. The joint use of freight wagons has helped markedly to reduce empty runs and to accelerate the turnover.

In addition to the Organisation for the Socialist Countries Cooperation in Electrical and Postal Communications, Intersputnik, the international organisation for space communications, has been operating successfully for more than 12 years in coordinating the partners' efforts in the design, establishment, use and development of a satellite communications system. It also cooperates with the International Electrical Communications Union and other organisations involved in the use of communications satellites.

There are also two banks among the CMEA countries' interstate organisations: the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, set up in 1963, and the International Investment Bank, set up in 1970. In contrast to the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, which engages in multilateral settlements and extension of credits mainly for foreign trade operations, the International Investment Bank provides long and medium-term credits for projects relating to the international division of labour, specialisation and cooperation of production, inputs into the enlargement of raw-material and fuel facilities, and construction of economic installations in the participating countries. From 1971 to 1982, i.e., in its first 12 years, the International Investment Bank provided credits for 83 projects. Both the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the International Investment Bank develop contacts with the major banks of many countries, each having almost 300 banking institutions throughout the world as their correspondent banks.

CMEA countries have concluded inter-governmental agreements in scientific and technical cooperation to set up the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in 1956, the International Centre for Scientific and Technological Information in 1969, and the International Research Institute for Management Problems in 1976. Among the interstate scientific and technical organisations there is also the International Laboratory of Strong Magnetic Fields and Low Temperatures set up in 1968 by the academies of sciences of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and the USSR.

With the exception of the Bulgaro-Hungarian Intransmash association, which was founded in 1964, *international economic* associations, were set up after the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme and, for that reason, still have relatively little experience. Together with coordination work, they carry on joint economic activity. Within their framework, countries can set up economic and production branches directly subordinate to the administrative and executive organs of the corresponding associations.

At the initial stage, the expenditures of the associations are funded mainly by the participants' contributions. As they develop their own economic activity, they gradually go on to paying their own way. The deadlines for doing so are set by the governing bodies of the associations, depending on the scale and prospects of economic activity and, accordingly, of their revenues.

There are now 8 international economic associations: 4 multilateral, 4 bilateral. Among the former are Interatominstrument (set up in 1972) which deals with nuclear instrument-making; Interatomenergo (1973) handling coproduction, delivery of equipment and extension of technical assistance in building nuclear-power plants; Intertekstilnash (1973) deals with the manufacture of technological equipment for the textile industry; and Interkhimvolokno (1974), with the production of chemical fibres.

The coordination functions of these associations boil down mainly to formulating proposals and drafting long-term obligations on specialisation and cooperation of production, scientific and technical cooperation and mutual delivery of products, and also on organising joint economic activity. For the time being, such activity is under way only within Interatominstrument, which has set up, among others, branches for the technical servicing of instruments and nuclear-engineering products. Its branches and their stations now operate in 10 cities in Bulgaria, Poland and the Soviet Union.

In addition to Intransmash, bilateral economic associations include two set up by the USSR and the GDR—Assofoto (1973) and Domokhim (1974), and also Interport (1973), an organisation for cooperation in port facilities by Poland and the GDR. Assofoto operates in the photochemical industry, and Domokhim handles household chemicals. In these lines of production, they deal with matters of specialisation and cooperation, optimal use of investments, coordination of development of new products and of their technical and technico-economic indicators, mutual delivery, exchange of scientific and technical achievements, and so on.

By contrast, Intransmash engages in the design, development and commissioning of various types of storage facilities, in-plant transit systems, remote-control and freight and passenger cable lines. Realisation of its projects in the associations and enterprises of a number of countries has markedly increased labour productivity (a 2.9-fold increase from 1975 to 1981), reduced the number of personnel handling in-plant transit, storage and freight-handling facilities, promoted higher labour standards, better accounting, etc.

International economic societies, most of which also emerged but recently, perform coordination functions in cooperation and now and again also engage in joint economic activity. The society differs from the association mainly in that it is not vested with the powers of a juridical person and does not, as a rule, require the establishment of an international agency upon its institution, a practice which helps to minimise the costs incidental to the foundation and activity of a society.

The following international societies are now in operation.

Multilateral: Interetalonpribor (1972) produces standard and model measuring devices; Interelektrotest (1973) deals with cooperation in large-capacity and high-tension laboratories; Medunion (1966) handles delivery of complete sets of medical equipment; International Service for Repairs of Oil Processing Installations (1976); Intervodoochistka (1977), development, installation and running of equipment and plant for purification of sewage and for preparation of water; and Internefteprodukt (1978) turns out fine petroleum products, additives and catalysts.

Bilateral: Interkomponent (Hungary and Poland, 1973) coordinates the fabrication of electronic elements; Elektroinstrument (Bulgaria and the USSR, 1975), scientific, technical and production cooperation in electrical hand-tools; Dunaitrans (1976) and Intermorput (1979, both Bulgaria and the USSR), and also the Polish-Czechoslovak Spedrapid, which has been in operation since 1946.

As these societies develop their activity, some of them may be transformed into international economic associations, something that is envisaged, for instance, in the agreement on the establishment of Internefteprodukt.

Joint enterprises are set up to carry on their own economic activity in a given field (or fields) and are run jointly by the participants. They have their own assets, initially constituted by contributions from the participants, and have to pay their own way.

There are now 11 joint enterprises set up by the CMEA countries, but only one on a multilateral basis: Interlikhter, an international shipping line. Among its participants are the Danube shipping lines of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the USSR. It was founded in May 1978 and has been functioning most effectively. With its progressive technologies, it assures its members of direct "river-sea" carriage of freight between ports on the Danube and ports in the Indian Ocean and the Mekong River delta.

The other 10 joint enterprises are bilateral. Seven of them are in the mining industry, four of these being on the territory of Mongolia, and one each in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Vietnam. In manufacturing there is still only one joint enterprise: the Druzhba cotton-spinning mill (GDR and Poland), which is located in Poland. Finally, there are two enterprises in foreign trade and technical assistance: the Soviet-Mongolian joint-stock company known as the Ulan Bator Railway Line, and the mixed Bulgaro-Romanian company for economic cooperation and trade called Danube.

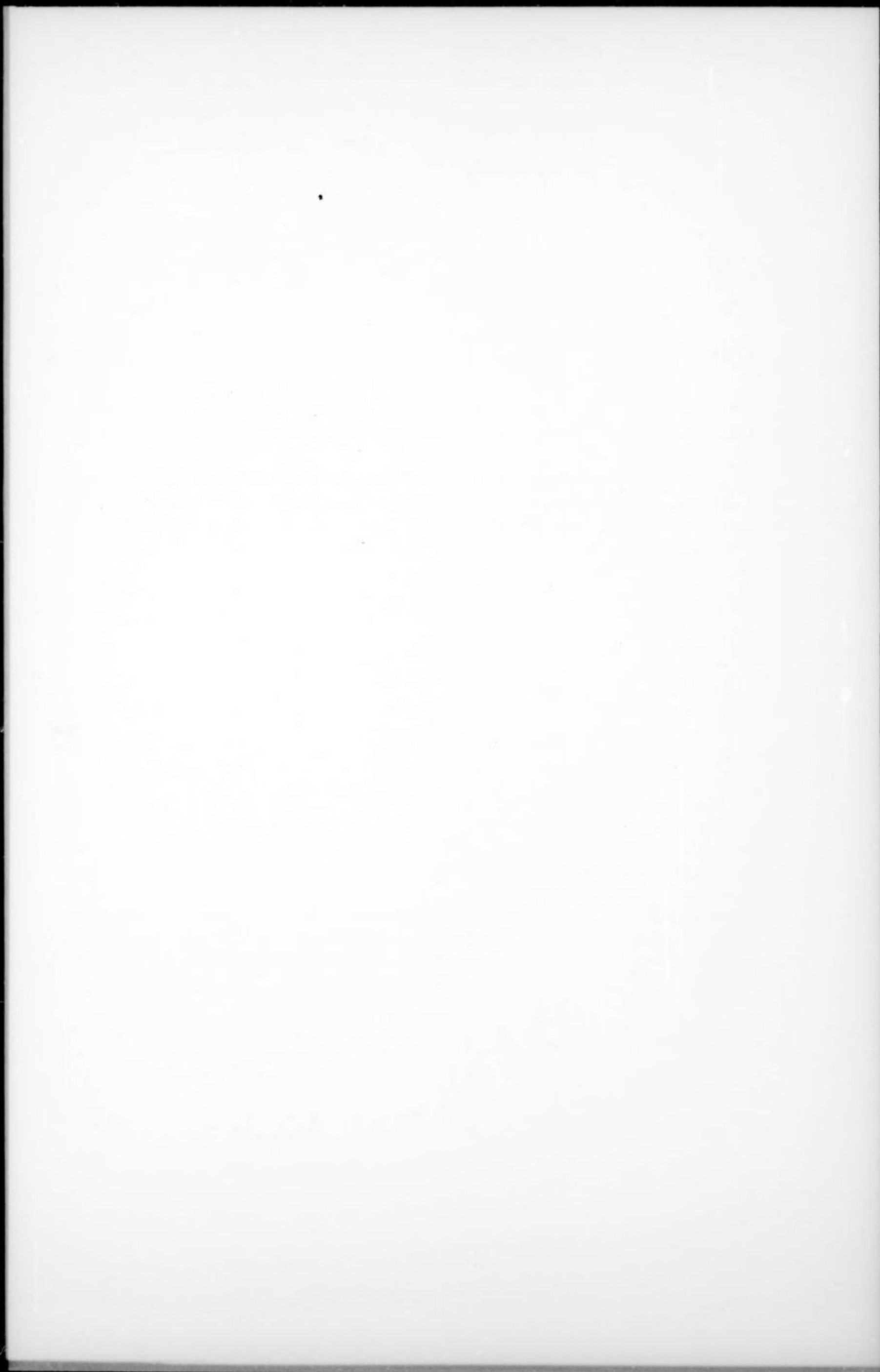
Five enterprises were set up from three to five years ago and are just taking shape. The joint enterprises set up earlier are already making their contribution to the economic development of the countries involved. Thus, Erdenet, the Soviet-Mongolian mining and ore-dressing enterprise, gave the Mongolian budget in 1983 a net profit of 130 million tugriks, and processed 16 million tons of ore, which is above the designed capacity. The operation of the enterprise at full capacity has doubled Mongolia's export potential. In the current five-year period, its output is to go up by 150 per cent.

The joint enterprise called Mongolsovtsvetmet, which deals with non-ferrous metals, is also economically very effective, both in terms of profitability and in the recoupment of capital investments.

The Druzhba Mill (GDR and Poland) has been yielding a profit and so has been enlarged without any additional investments, which came from the development fund constituted from profits and depreciation write-offs. The Polish-Hungarian joint-stock company Haldex (coal extraction) has been regularly yielding a profit for many years.

Those are the main types and forms of international economic organisations within the framework of the CMEA countries' cooperation. Most of them are still young and have to perfect the mechanism of their activity and seek optimal approaches helping to harmonise the common interests with those of each participant. Meanwhile, the specific features and requirements of the present stage of socialist economic integration call for new forms of cooperation, among them the establishment of economic-calculus firms (associations and enterprises) for the joint development of production of high-quality goods.

¹ Apart from two international institutes which are CMEA agencies (the CMEA Institute for Standardisation and the International Institute for Economic Problems of the World Socialist System) and three international centres of the socialist countries' academies of sciences.



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