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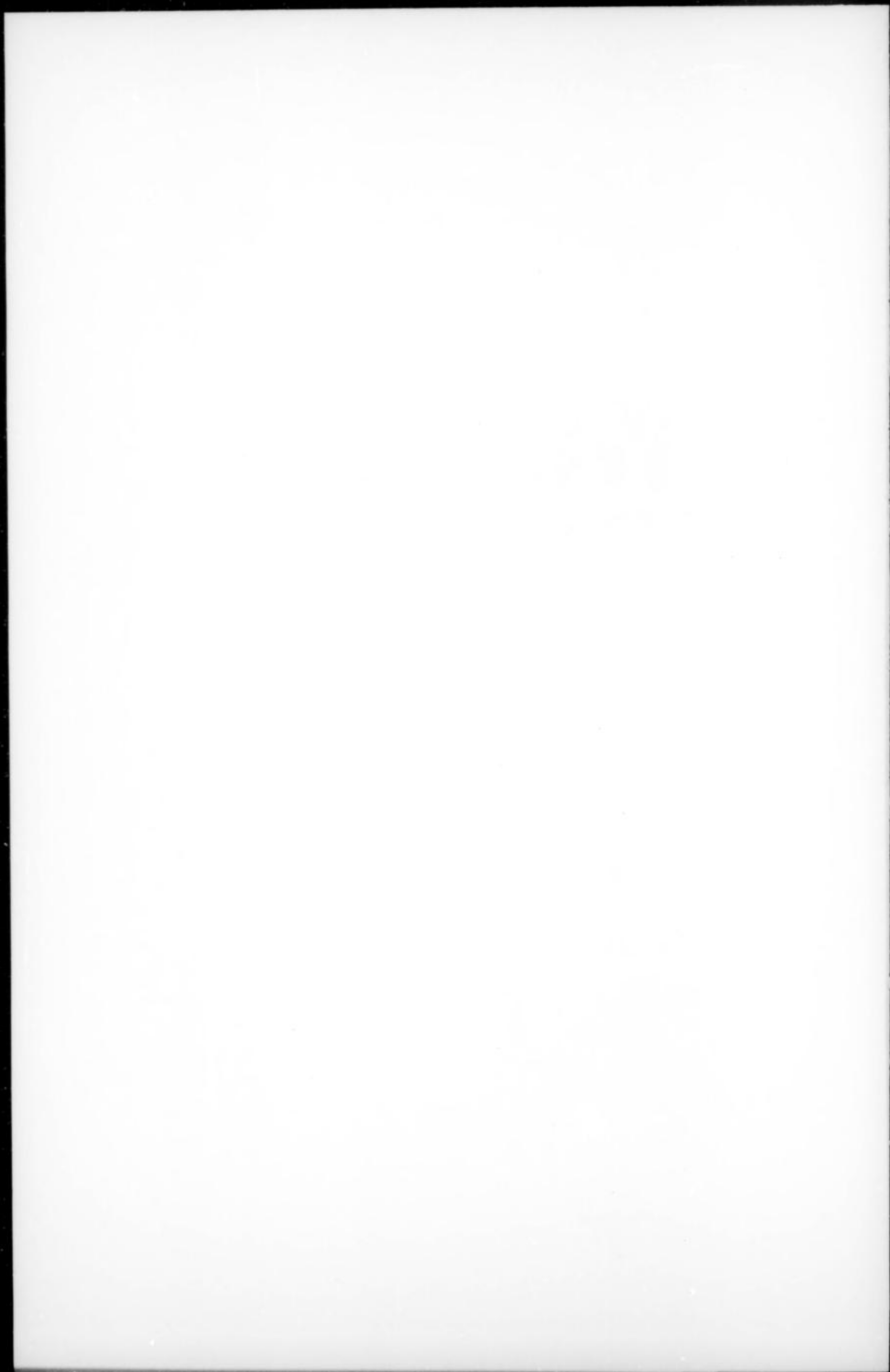
# **MARXIST**

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& Workers Parties Throughout the World*

**WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE**

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# features

## New Vistas of Cohesion and Progress

*Konstantin Rusakov* – Secretary,  
CPSU CC

THE Economic Summit of the CMEA countries held in Moscow last June was a major event both in the life of the socialist community and in the international communist and working class movement as a whole. The closer cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries and the adoption of a common approach to major problems of economy, politics and the fight for peace—for such was the result of the Summit—are actively influencing the situation in the world, helping strengthen the positions of progressive, peace-loving forces.

Material production is the bedrock of any society. The practical experience gained over many years is conclusive evidence that ruling Marxist-Leninist parties can and must effectively influence the economy, the shaping and satisfaction of the steadily growing requirements of the population, and organise the masses to obtain the highest productivity of labour. Operating in the context of a complex class struggle in the international arena, ruling Marxist-Leninist parties approach their economic policy and its implementation both in terms of internal criteria and with due regard to international factors. The whole communist and working class movement is deeply interested in the economic achievements of socialist countries and this is understandable. The enormous attention which the Summit attracted all over the world was logical and will persist in step with the implementation of its decisions.

### **Initiators and Organisers of Socialist Economic Integration**

The organisation and development of economic cooperation among socialist countries and the charting of its paths are always a political matter. After all, it is not a question of merely exchanging material values, of merely carrying on trade. Sovereign socialist states are gradually organising and promoting a planned division of labour between themselves. Its lines and results have to conform to the economic laws of socialism, to the current and long-range goals which fraternal countries set themselves. The development of ever closer relations between these countries corresponds to the objective trend towards internationalisation demonstrated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin pointed out that 'all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international.'<sup>1</sup> Following this road, the CMEA countries fully take account of the historical aspects of contemporary international economic relations under socialism.

There is no room in their mutual relations for the infringement of national interests, the exploitation of one nation by another or disregard of the development prospects of world socialism. Every socialist state is the owner of the basic means of production situated on its territory as well as sovereign organiser of extended reproduction and its foreign economic relations. Any violation of these objective conditions can have a negative impact on the gradual internationalisation of the



socialist economy, on the voluntary drawing together of the unity between socialist nations. On the other hand, disregard of common interests and a slackening of the internationalist approach to the organisation of cooperation would likewise prejudice the common cause and ultimately the realisation of fundamental national interests.

Life has confirmed the ability of ruling communist and workers' parties to successfully combine the internationalist and the national in diverse fields, including the decisive sphere of human activity, material production. It is not accidental that all the more important stages in the development of economic cooperation between fraternal countries, including the establishment of the CMEA in 1949 and the adoption of the policy of embarking on socialist economic integration, involved collective effort by the parties concerned and were a result of relevant party and government conferences.

Historical credit is due to the communist and workers' parties of the socialist community countries for working out and formulating the fundamental principles of a new type of international economic relations. This is a highly creative task whose fulfilment requires collective wisdom, experience and will and a joint contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. Speaking at the Kremlin reception in honour of the participants in the economic Summit, Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted that 35 years ago, when the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was being set up, there were no cut-and-dried recipes, nor could there be any, for organising truly equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between sovereign socialist countries. "Both in building a new, advanced society and in extending fraternal cooperation," he said, "we followed unexplored paths and are still following them."<sup>2</sup>

Drawing on Marxist-Leninist theory and the actual experience of cooperation and taking account of shortcomings and miscalculations inevitable in any undertaking, the fraternal parties of the CMEA countries succeeded in evolving and applying in a historically short time a set of fundamental principles of international socialist division of labour which have passed the test of time and are a dependable basis for the harmonious development of economic relations between states. This set of principles has been formalised in the CMEA Charter and the Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration. It was reaffirmed in the Statement on the Guidelines for the Further Development and Deepening of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Among CMEA Countries adopted by the 1984 Economic Summit. These principles are socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance. A democratic treaty basis and a voluntary combination of common and national interests are, now as before, the permanent foundation on which relations between the CMEA countries are developing.

The 23rd (Special) Session of the CMEA, held in April 1969 at the highest party and government level, was a historic stage in the fraternal parties' active cooperation. Its direct result was the collective drafting of a comprehensive integration programme that was adopted in 1971. The realisation of this political document of strategic significance, which is still valid, is continuing.

The experience of fulfilling the Comprehensive Programme has shown the policy of socialist economic integration to have fully proved its worth. At the same time there crop up, as it always happens, new problems requiring collective assessment and solution. Most of them have to do with the logic of dynamically developing modern productive forces and enhancing the degree of maturity of socialist production relations.

An elaborate system of coordinating actions and views has shaped up in the community of CMEA countries. Leaders of these countries discuss on a regular basis tasks arising from a changing situation. This is facilitated by annual CMEA sessions at



the highest government level as well as by other multilateral and bilateral meetings of the party and state leaderships of the fraternal countries. However, important changes in domestic and international conditions of development in the late 1970s and early 1980s necessitated a more fundamental coordination of the economic policies of the ruling parties and the adoption of collective strategic decisions.

The 26th CPSU Congress (February 1981) proposed a collective discussion of new major problems of economic cooperation among the CMEA countries at the level of their highest leaderships. This initiative was unanimously supported by the other communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries, which is in itself an indication of the pressing need for such a meeting marking a new stage. In-depth estimations of the situation had to be made and agreed decisions adopted on the strategy of further development.

Needless to say, different points of view were expressed on various questions during the drafting of the Summit's documents. But preliminary comradely discussions and then the Summit itself showed that there was agreement on all fundamental problems. As regards particular approaches to this or that issue, they did not prevent the participants from finding mutually acceptable solutions meeting the interests of each fraternal country and the socialist community as a whole. It is perfectly safe to say that each party which took part in the Summit made a worthy contribution to the elaboration of the concept of long-range economic cooperation among the CMEA countries.

During the Moscow Summit, Konstantin Chernenko stressed, 'there was a frank, detailed and fruitful exchange of views on key problems of the life of the socialist community and the international situation. The common estimations and views regarding the fundamental and most important issue were reaffirmed by expressing a collective will to continue building up the unity and cohesion of the fraternal parties and countries.'<sup>3</sup>

The unity and cohesion achieved by the CMEA countries on the platform of socialist internationalism is of great international significance. It strengthens the positions of the forces championing peace and social progress, has a sobering effect on aggressive imperialist circles and shows again the futility of attempts to weaken the socialist community and undermine its power and influence.

The Summit made an important collective contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory, which it carried forward. The programme documents that it approved and the detailed exchange of opinion that took place gave a better idea of ways of developing the world socialist community. The CPSU intends to take account of collective estimations and conclusions in preparing for its next congress, in the new wording of its Programme, which is being vigorously drafted. Of course, one should not infer from the foregoing that all the specific questions concerning future development were unanswered. Communists have never laid claim to the role of a Delphic oracle. The documents approved by the Summit define the main lines of action and imply a further collective quest for ways of furthering cooperation and socialist economic integration and of exchanging experience of economic development. To this end agreement was reached on holding meetings at the level of the highest party and state leaderships on a regular basis.

### **Strategy of Building Socialism and Strengthening Its Positions**

The exploration of the long-range aspects of cooperation between fraternal countries is based on the vast experience of world socialism. This experience, marked by historical successes and victories as well as by miscalculations and losses, has shown that the ability of ruling communist and workers' parties to actively influence the trend of development in their countries and on the international scene is growing as their all-round cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism goes deeper. Internationalism, cohesion and unity of action on



questions of principle have always dependably guaranteed fraternal countries the achievement of major social, economic and political objectives; they effectively serve, now as in the past, the fundamental interests of each fraternal people and the socialist community as a whole.

The meaningful effort to build the future shows clearly in the socialist countries' economic plans, which are a specific form of the economic policy of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties. In the sphere of their mutual relations as well, the fraternal countries consistently set strategic goals that are successfully attained by collective efforts.

When the CMEA began to function, cooperation between the fraternal countries was aimed at promoting socialist industrialisation as much as possible, especially in the less developed countries. This task was accomplished. All the European members of the CMEA made major advances in industry in a short time, which they owed largely to the effect of the international socialist division of labour. Their economic structures drew level. Their industrial production increased sevenfold between 1950 and 1970, with Bulgaria and Romania, once chiefly agricultural countries, showing a 12- and 11-fold increase respectively.

In 1969 the CMEA countries set out to develop socialist economic integration and scale new social and economic heights with its aid. There is every reason to say that this task, too, is being successfully accomplished. With the developments of many forms of international socialist division of labour, trade between the CMEA countries in the 1970-1983 period went up nearly fivefold. This made it possible to double industrial production and carry out extensive social programmes. Real incomes in the CMEA countries rose by a total of 60 per cent.

To be sure, the socialist countries would have been unable to achieve results of truly historic significance but for large-scale cooperation. It may be useful to compare the CMEA and EEC countries according to indicators of industrial power, as regards, say, production of electricity, which reflects the energy potential of modern society, and steel, which is still the chief structural material.

|                              | Prewar period* |     | 1960 |     | 1970 |     | 1983  |       |
|------------------------------|----------------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|-------|-------|
|                              | CMEA           | EEC | CMEA | EEC | CMEA | EEC | CMEA  | EEC   |
| electricity<br>(billion kwh) | 74             | 130 | 410  | 428 | 996  | 860 | 1,879 | 1,274 |
| steel<br>(million tons)      | 24             | 50  | 50   | 98  | 156  | 138 | 210   | 109.4 |

\*This refers to the countries now belonging to the CMEA and EEC.

These data show very well how the CMEA countries gradually caught up with the West European area of the 'economic miracle', now going through a deep economic crisis, and then left it far behind.

By now the majority of CMEA countries have entered a long historical period of creating and perfecting mature forms of socialism. At the same time the fraternal countries will have to continue building up their economic security and dependably safeguarding themselves against imperialist attempts to use the economic weapon. Socialist countries have no intention of losing their superiority in economic growth rates.

To accomplish this set of tasks, it is necessary to define in precise terms the strategy of economic construction and cooperation within the socialist community. The latest congresses of the CMEA countries' fraternal parties called for switching the economy to intensive development. Production intensification is also given priority in the



integration strategy of the CMEA countries for the foreseeable future. It alone can assure the socialist community sufficiently dynamic development plus technological and economic invulnerability to imperialism as well as enable it to render developing countries the aid they need. It was perfectly logical that the Moscow Summit described scientific and technological progress as the main factor in production intensification. Research done by scientists of socialist countries as well as world experience make it possible to single out certain of its priority lines on which resources should be concentrated first and foremost.

To begin with, it is a question of up-to-date mechanical engineering and of electronics, or the very foundation of radical progressive changes, not only in productivity, but in the very character of labour by hand and by brain. It is naive to allege that socialism cannot master the 'computer revolution' of our times. Socialism with its social ownership of the means of production and its planned economy is the one system that can use electronics in the production and non-production spheres without crises, competition, unemployment or other negative social effects of the process under capitalism.

The CMEA countries jointly plan to proceed on the basis of achievements in electronics to the creation and wide application of flexible automated production systems, robotics, automated designing systems, and so on. The Soviet Union, for example, is to build in the next five years about 2,000 flexible automated production systems (including fully automated sections, shops and factories), over 100,000, industrial robots and up to 3,000 automated designing systems. In turn, other CMEA countries intend to considerably increase output of new technical facilities on the basis of close cooperation. There are also plans for extensive cooperation in creating fundamentally new materials and technologies, including biotechnologies.

The organising instrument of realising priority lines of cooperation will be the Comprehensive Programme for the Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Countries up to the year 2000, now being drafted. Fulfilment of the Programme will also make it possible to confidently solve such problems as those of energy and food supply.

The community of CMEA countries is the only economic region in the world that can solve the energy problem on the basis of almost complete self-reliance.

The key to solving the energy problem today does not lie in increasing output of traditional energy resources but primarily in saving energy and mastering the use of non-traditional types of energy in each particular country. The development along these lines is certainly calculated for more than a year or even a five-year period. It is essential to effect the very transition to a qualitatively new structure in the power industry smoothly enough. The Soviet Union will continue its large-scale deliveries of traditional energy resources to fraternal CMEA countries.

It is common knowledge that in the past Soviet oil deliveries to CMEA countries grew at a dynamic rate. While in the 1956-1960 period they added up to 22 million tons, in 1961-1965 they went up to 59, in 1966-1970 to 138, in 1971-1975 to 270 and in 1976-1980 period to 378 million tons. Soviet oil deliveries are continuing on a large scale in the current five-year period.

Deliveries of natural gas from the Soviet Union have been growing fast under the past three five-year plans. They went up from 8 billion cu.m in the 1966-1970 period to 94 billion cu.m. in the 1976-1980 period. The new pipeline whose construction was discussed at the Summit could substantially increase these deliveries. The development of nuclear power generation will be even more important for the solution of the energy problem. The Summit reached agreement on working out a vast programme for the construction of atomic power stations in CMEA countries before the year 2000 according to a common technological policy and on the basis of in-depth cooperation in the production of atomic plant. The present aggregate capacity of atomic power stations is expected to increase roughly four-fold.



The Summit set big tasks to solve the food problems within the CMEA area. The indices of agricultural production in the majority of CMEA countries considerably exceed the world average. While accounting for one-tenth of the world's population, the CMEA countries command roughly one-fifth of the world fleet of tractors and produce roughly 700 kg of grain per capita a year, or double the world average. The CMEA countries envisage a substantial increase in agricultural production, particularly animal produce, using primarily their own resources. This is why cooperation between socialist countries, especially in utilisation of the latest achievements in science and technology, will play a notable role.

To lend the integration process proper dynamism, the CMEA countries are going to restructure their reciprocal division of labour to an appreciable extent in the years ahead. Throughout the post-war period cooperation in labour within the CMEA has been chiefly intersectoral. What is needed now is increased intrasectoral cooperation in production, above all in mechanical engineering.

The potentialities of developing the most deep-going form of division of labour are far from being used in adequate measure and speakers at the Summit said so frankly. Experience has shown, however, that the existing potentialities of cooperation in progressive industries can be put to use in a reasonably short time. Coordination of economic and technological policies on the priority lines of cooperation will make it possible in the near future to conclude major agreements on specialisation and cooperation. The organisation of direct ties between branch managing centres of CMEA countries, including direct production between enterprises, could provide a further major potential. The Soviet Union is taking steps to develop this form of integration.

The socialist community is putting an end to uneven economic growth, a legacy of capitalism. The European members have made a considerable headway in this respect. The participants in the Summit see their internationalist duty in continuing to assist Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia in accelerating their economic growth. There is no question, any more than in the past, of imposing any terms of cooperation or aid, as is the case in the world capitalist economy. Socialist developing countries enjoy equal rights within the CMEA and use their resources entirely on their own, sovereignly deciding on the character and forms of their participation in socialist integration. They have favourable internal opportunities and are given preferential terms for active participation in multilateral and bilateral co-operation with European members of the CMEA.

The communist and workers' parties of the fraternal countries constantly concern themselves with the problem of raising the social effectiveness of economic integration. The international socialist division of labour is aimed primarily at meeting the material and cultural requirements of peoples as fully as possible and at perfecting the socialist way of life. This goal is reflected in the main CMEA documents and is being attained in practice, which is facilitated not only by cooperation in the material sphere but an extensive exchange of advanced techniques, steadily expanding local ties and international socialist emulation involving work collectives. More and more working people of the fraternal countries are joining gradually in the integration process.

#### **Real Alternative to the Policy of Confrontation and War**

The socialist community countries have a strong stake in making the international climate healthy. This is promoted by the very nature of socialism, which is motivated by a sense of great responsibility for the future of humanity, since its highest goal is concern for men and the good of man, as the Declaration 'Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation' signed at the Summit points out.



The same idea runs through the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Countries adopted in Prague on January 5, 1983, and the joint statement of party and state leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR adopted in Moscow on June 28, 1983.

The leaders of the fraternal parties and member states of the CMEA reaffirmed the resolve of their peoples to work for peace, which has lately been in greater danger than before. The more aggressive imperialist forces in the USA and, under US pressure, in other NATO countries persist in seeking unilateral military advantages, trying to achieve 'complete and unchallenged military superiority'. International tensions have gone from bad to worse due to the ongoing deployment of new US medium-range missiles in some NATO countries, which has opened a particularly dangerous phase in the nuclear arms race in Europe. This has compelled the Soviet Union and its allies to adopt certain counter-measures.

The NATO policy of arms race also manifested itself in the recent decision to lift the ban on the manufacture of heavy offensive armaments in the FRG. This step is particularly disturbing in view of the upsurge in revanchist sentiments in Bonn's policies. Territorial claims to Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have been revived; more and more provocatively, voices are raised about the 'unsettled German question', the 'non-binding' character of the decisions adopted at Yalta and Potsdam, which collectively define, as we all know, the lines of a just post-war settlement in Europe. In the FRG persistent attempts are made to encroach on the sovereign rights of the GDR and to interfere in its internal affairs.

The policy of confrontation with the socialist countries is not restricted to Europe. In Central America and the Caribbean Washington is escalating its activities against socialist Cuba, threatening to resort to armed intervention. In Southeast Asia, acts of aggression are spearheaded against Vietnam. In this situation effective support for the fraternal peoples of Cuba and Vietnam courageously holding their ground against provocations from imperialist and other reactionaries is steadily gaining in importance.

Certain political quarters in Washington would plainly like to undermine socialism as a social system. US President Reagan has said so in public on more than one occasion. This is the meaning of the new 'crusade' against communism exalted to the rank of official US policy. Plans are calculated to step up pressure on the socialist countries in every way, exhaust their resources by imposing an ever more costly arms race and ultimately make their peoples renounce their social achievements. We wish to stress that these calculations are chimerical, of course, just as declarations about the 'anomaly' of the socialist system existing on earth are absurd. However, these calculations are dangerous to civilisation as a whole, for they are jeopardising its very existence.

As regards the fraternal socialist countries, they are aware, Konstantin Chernenko said, of their responsibility for the destiny of the world and the prevention of nuclear war. The dangerous test of strength which the more reactionary imperialist circles, primarily in the United States, are imposing on us is neither our choice, nor our policy. But we are in a position to defend ourselves; let nobody have any doubts about this.

It will not be amiss to note in this connection that the Soviet Union and its allies have convincingly demonstrated by their achievements in socialist economy, science and technology their ability to equip their armed forces with all that is necessary to achieve and maintain rough military parity. This prevents imperialism from starting a new world war. The socialist countries are not going, as they have repeatedly stressed, to desist from safeguarding their defence on the principles of equality and equal security.

While stating their determination to continue resisting imperialism's aggressive ambitions in coordinated fashion, the CMEA countries reaffirmed at the same time



their fundamental policy of returning international relations into the normal channel of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation. There is every reason to affirm that Lenin's doctrine of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems was carried forward by collective efforts in the decisions of the Economic Summit with due regard to the present situation in the world.

The Summit unanimously indicated ways out of the nuclear impasse created by the USA and NATO, the need to discuss without delay or bias proposals making it possible to take substantive steps towards promoting detente, which is needed by all nations, stopping the arms race and lowering the level of military confrontation.

The new initiatives taken by the fraternal countries since the Summit are likewise in keeping with these collectively stated positions. The greatest publicity was won by the official Soviet proposal to the US government for talks on preventing the militarisation of space. It was appreciated and supported by the most diverse political and social forces declaring for realism in international politics and justifiably alarmed by the US Administration's bid to turn space into a gigantic military bridgehead. To prevent the militarisation of space means making a tangible contribution among nations at the threshold of the twenty-first century, when space and our planet are drawing closer together and becoming increasingly saturated with technology.

As far back as the early years of the Soviet state Lenin, advancing the idea of peaceful coexistence, argued that it was objectively necessary for the development of world economic relations. 'There is,' he pointed out, 'a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us.'<sup>4</sup> The significance of this force has grown. Suffice it to note the global aggravation of such problems as those of meeting the food requirements of a growing world population, making judicious use of energy and raw material resources, exploring space and the oceans for peaceful purposes or protecting and rehabilitating the environment. A further global problem that is equally important is that of economic underdevelopment, a problem on whose solution the destiny of whole peoples and countries and, indeed, the whole of civilisation hinges. All this imperatively demands lasting, long-range and large-scale cooperation among all countries in the economic, scientific and technological spheres. Hence the relevance of the appeal of the Summit to take steps to put international economic relations on a healthy basis, guarantee economic security and create an atmosphere of confidence in this highly important area.

Entirely in accordance with the universally recognised principles and standards of international law, the CMEA Economic Summit sharply condemned all the various embargoes, commercial, credit and technological blockades and other methods of economic aggression. Nor did it do so because existing socialism is 'weak'. The CMEA countries, the Summit noted unanimously, have all requisites for resisting any pressure or discrimination, any attempt to hinder their development or their participation in international cooperation. This ability of theirs will grow. The policy of economic boycott and 'sanctions' against the socialist community countries has no chance whatever of succeeding. It can only poison the international atmosphere and sap the material pillars of normal relations between nations. As for the damage which economic militarists are trying to cause to the socialist community countries, it boomerangs, as experience has shown, and hits the initiators of boycotts and 'sanctions'. True, politicians responsible for this usually try to put the losses and hardships involved on the working people. This makes the appeal of all democratic forces to fight for equal rights and the renunciation of discrimination in economic relations especially relevant.

In planning and carrying out the necessary agreed measures to increase their immunity from the economic and political pressure of adventurist imperialist circles, the CMEA countries are not seeking anything like 'collective autarky'. They hold



solid positions and have ample possibilities of participating in the global division of labour effectively and on the principle of mutual benefit. Indeed, even today, when world economic relations have been deformed by the capitalist crisis and the policy of boycott, the annual volume of foreign trade and services linking together CMEA members and Western countries is worth over 100 billion dollars.

The CMEA countries' proposals provide for extensive use of the potentialities of developing cooperation in business with the Western countries concerned. This cooperation, the Summit pointed out, could be helpful in extending trade, supplying energy and raw materials, accelerating technological progress, developing international transport, protecting the environment and creating more jobs in the capitalist world with its high rate of unemployment.

Characteristically, the CMEA countries reaffirmed their readiness to sign an appropriate agreement with the EEC with a view to furthering trade and economic relations between the member countries of the two organisations. This readiness fully accords with the spirit of the Final Act adopted at Helsinki and the agreements reached at Madrid. In spite of this, NATO countries hastened shortly after the Moscow Economic Summit, plainly under US pressure, to announce new curbs on trade with socialist countries.

It must be stressed that the collective strategy of the fraternal countries' participation in world economic relations set out in the Declaration is of vast international significance. The Declaration, revealing the connection between the struggle for peace and disarmament and the solution of global socio-economic problems, shows a reliable road to normalising the entire situation in the world and answers the most pressing questions agitating the people in trouble spots and other parts of the planet.

The Summit emphasised the imperative need to intensify the restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable and democratic basis and establish a new international economic order. If fully backed the just demands of developing countries. The Summit expressed satisfaction at the increased role of the non-aligned movement as an international factor in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, those forces of war and aggression.

The CMEA countries are backing by consistent practical deeds their statements in support of developing states. They are doing all in their power to help consolidate the economic independence of these states. The struggle for such independence is now more important than ever, as is indicated by the increasingly brutal offensive of transnational monopolies against newly-free countries many of which literally find themselves tied hand and foot by shackling debts to imperialist usurers and neocolonialists. Besides, organisations like the US-dominated International Monetary Fund are operating more and more unscrupulously as instruments of outright interference in the internal affairs of indebted countries. Lenin said that economic liberation is the main thing for peoples seeking real political independence.<sup>5</sup> His words are particularly relevant today.

Socialist-oriented as well as other states constantly stress the beneficial effect of economic assistance and support from the socialist community countries. The range of developing countries with which the CMEA countries are engaged in long-term economic and technological cooperation is visibly widening. While in the early sixties they numbered 40, in 1983 there were nearly 100 such countries. This is indicative, for dependable economic relations with our community help the peoples of newly-free countries consolidate their forces, tighten sovereign state control over their natural resources, industry, finance, banking and foreign trade and improve the standard of living.

The fraternal countries, using the fundamental advantages of socialism and cooperating closely and fruitfully, succeeded in a historically short time in both demonstrating the viability of their system and making outstanding economic gains.

Throughout the history of the CMEA, the community's rate of economic development has been higher than in leading capitalist countries.

As for the outlook, the socialist community countries have all that they need to scale new heights in the competition with capitalism. They possess immense natural resources, a gigantic production, scientific and technological apparatus, an advanced social system and an economic system based on planning. They are making good headway in the sphere of socialist economic integration, the most progressive stage of internationalisation of the economic life of contemporary society.

Much will depend on the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties' ability to mobilise the working people for the attainment of new goals. The CPSU, like other parties, is taking vigorous steps to carry out collective decisions of the Economic Summit.

It is safe to say that the socialist community will enter the new century as a still stronger entity enjoying greater prestige and influence than ever.

Joining efforts, the peoples of the fraternal countries are successfully building a new society, confidently making further progress in socialist and communist construction.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Pravda*, June 15, 1984.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, p. 398.

## **Economic Policy for the Benefit of the Working Masses**

*Willi Stoph* – CC Political Bureau member, SED; Chairman, GDR Council of Ministers

THE German Democratic Republic marks its thirty-fifth anniversary on October 7, 1984. The history of our workers' and peasants' state shows just how much can be done by a working class liberated from capitalist exploitation, in alliance with the peasantry and the other working people, and under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). It also demonstrates that the ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, our people's two great sons, have been embodied for good in life on German soil in the heart of Europe.

Following its liberation from fascism by the Soviet Union and the armed forces of other states within the anti-Hitlerite coalition, our people took the historical opportunity to eradicate imperialism and militarism, and domination by the monopolies and the Junkers, and to build a new society in the East of Germany. In this effort we were able from the very outset constantly to rely on the selfless assistance of our Soviet brothers by class. The SED pursued a policy of alliance and developed cooperation with other parties and mass organisations within the Democratic Bloc and the National Front of the GDR.<sup>1</sup>

The formation of the German Democratic Republic was a historically necessary response to the splinter policy of the imperialist powers and their West German accomplices, who set up the FRG as a separate German state. Our republic developed in the conditions of the world-wide contest between socialism and imperialism, and it had to advance to every new frontier in bitter class struggle, to stand up for and defend its gains from the overt and covert attacks of the enemy,



above all of the revenge-seeking circles of the FRG, who are trying to reverse the tide of history. Our people's property, the economic foundation of the workers' and peasants' power, emerged in 1946, following a referendum we held on the expropriation of enterprises belonging to nazis and war criminals. Large landed estates had been confiscated in the course of a democratic land reform earlier on, in the autumn of 1945, when hundreds of thousands of peasants and agricultural labourers received land that secured their livelihood and provided the groundwork for the future reconstruction of the countryside on socialist lines.

The German Democratic Republic was built by the working people themselves under the leadership of the SED, the united working class party, and as a result of anti-fascist democratic transformations. When taking office as chief of state, our first President Wilhelm Pieck spoke with admiration about the heroic achievements of the best representatives of the working class: 'With empty stomachs, scantily clothed, often with the bare hands and without any expectation of payment or reward, they got down to clearing the heaps of rubble, to restarting the factories and means of transport, to repairing the farm machines and implements, and to enabling the peasants to cultivate the war-devastated fields.'<sup>2</sup>

More and more working people came to realise and to accept the party's motto: 'Produce More Than Live Better', because it was a motto dictated by life itself and meeting their vital interests. It was a principled approach that steadily boosted the working people's activity, and it has, in effect, been the secret of our successful development over the past thirty-five years. This activity has now assumed the form of the widest mass movement for implementing the SED's economic policy, which is designed for the people's wellbeing and the preservation of peace.

That is fresh confirmation of Lenin's idea that socialism alone ensures 'the truly mass display of enterprise, competition and bold initiative'.<sup>3</sup> Our people's industriousness and inventiveness have yielded remarkable fruit in our economic and social development. In the year the GDR was formed, we produced a national income of 24 billion marks, and in 1983—210 billion. The main credit here goes to the working people of our industry, which now turns out a product that is over 13 times greater than that of 1949. In that period, labour productivity has multiplied more than eight-fold. Industries which, for all practical purposes, did not exist in the early 1950s, have been built from the ground up: ferrous metallurgy, heavy and agricultural engineering and shipbuilding. Our republic now has a powerful industry with a modern structure.

The installed capacity of electric-power stations in the GDR in 1950 was 4,817 megawatt, and in 1983—21,790 megawatt; pig iron output went up from 1,257 million tons to 7,219 million, cement from 1,412 million tons to 11,782 million, while chemical output multiplied 12.8-fold, mechanical and transport engineering output—14.9-fold, and output in electrical engineering, electronics, and instrument-making—as much as 34.6-fold.

Much has also been achieved by our workers in agriculture, and the changes in it over these thirty-five years were much greater than those over the centuries before. The substantial distinctions between town and country have been overcome. A class of cooperative peasants has emerged and is developing in close alliance with the working class. It has a fitting status in our society and ever more fully lives up to its high responsibility in supplying our people with foodstuffs and our industry with agricultural raw materials. Since 1949, grain crop yields have more than doubled; meat output has gone up from about 350,000 tons (slaughter weight) to 2,444 million tons; milk from 2,629 million tons to 8,203 million, and eggs from 878 billion to 5,850 billion.

Science and technology have the crucial role in developing the productive forces, and our state allocates large funds for their needs. Like all the other working people, the GDR's socialist intelligentsia is working actively and creatively to accelerate



progress in this field and displays initiative to match the best world standards.

We have been able to raise the people's wellbeing most tangibly through the creative labour of the working class, the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the other working people. Everyone is guaranteed a job, social security, and certitude in the morrow. Full employment, that is, the realisation of the most important human right—the right to work—is one of the effective values of socialism in our country. By contrast, mass unemployment under capitalism constantly inflicts privation upon millions of men and women.

The economy of our republic is on a steady and balanced upgrade because it is based on social property in the means of production and socialist relations of production; the people's material and cultural standards have been growing steadily. Unity of economic and social policy is one of the SED's fundamental tenets: the results of economic growth and the labour activity of the masses go to benefit the working people—the creators of all the values.

That was the purpose of the social policy formulated by the SED's Eighth Congress in 1971. Its core is a programme of housing construction designed to solve the housing problem, as a social problem, by the year 1990. In the course of fulfilling this truly grand task over the past 13 years, more than 2 million flats have been built, and housing and every-day conditions have been improved for more than 6 million citizens, that is, one in three inhabitants of the GDR, with the workers, large families and newlyweds getting the new modern homes first.

The party's social policy has led to a marked growth in real incomes per head: from 1970 to 1983, they went up by 80 per cent, and retail trade by 60 per cent. The GDR is now among the world's leaders in the per head consumption of foodstuffs: for meat, meat products and sausages it comes, for instance, to 92.1 kg per head a year, butter to 15.7 kg, the number of eggs to 301, sugar and sugar products—39.2 kg, vegetables—90.7 kg, and fruits (including citrus fruits) to 76.3 kg. Last year, the retail marketing outlets received more than 530,000 television sets, including 300,000 colour TVs, more than 25 million pairs of men and women's footwear, almost 17 million pairs of children's footwear, about 12 million pieces of knitted garments for adults, and 17 million for children. The population is well supplied with consumer durables: for every 100 families, there are 99 refrigerators, 91 televisions, and 87 washing machines.

Rising material and cultural standards mean not only higher incomes and the more ample provision of goods and services, but also growing social consumption funds: from 1970 to 1983, the provision of services to the population from these funds went up from 25.6 billion to 62 billion marks. These funds are used to finance housing construction, public education, medical care, assistance to mother and child, and many other social measures which benefit all the working people. Nursery-school places are available for every child, while the care of children in pre-school institutions and extended-day classes does not cost their parents a penny, although they are charged a token amount for food. In the recent period, there has been a marked increase in pensions for labour veterans, and concern for senior citizens is generally one of the prime social principles of our society and state.

The GDR's steady strengthening and prosperity are a visual manifestation of the motive forces of socialism which are qualitatively new, which emerged and are developing on the basis of the socialist relations of production, and which dialectically interact with the productive forces. Among these motive forces are: balanced comradesly cooperation between workers in the process of social reproduction, socialist emulation, socialist ideology, conscious labour, social certitude, community of the vital interests of all the classes and sections of the society, our humanistic goals, and so on. As these forces are augmented, our people develop socialist value-arguments which inspire them to fresh feats of labour. The principles underlying the activity of the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state are to develop the



working people's socialist consciousness, to rouse the people to creative initiative, and to involve more and more citizens in the administration of social affairs and planning. The principles are written into the SED Programme and the GDR's socialist Constitution. At the 10th Party Congress in 1981, SED CC General Secretary Erich Honecker said: "The vast superiority of socialism lies in the fact that it can rely on the conscious and voluntary initiative of the masses, and on their active participation in the exercise of power. That is precisely the crucial historical advantage our socialist social system has over the capitalism system."<sup>4</sup>

Our optimism, which is the optimism of Marxists, springs from our confidence that a working class which has become aware of its historical mission and which leads masses of people with it is invincible. That is why the SED and GDR's organs of state power believe that it is their duty to teach the masses and to learn from them, to develop their socialist consciousness, creative power and initiative, and to promote the development of socialist emulation, collective labour and the innovators' movement. The ties which the SED and our socialist state have with the CPSU and the Soviet state are one of the important springs of our people's strength. The experience of millions gives the whole people confidence that what it has achieved through intense labour effort was made possible and consolidated only in fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other socialist-community countries. This puts a responsibility on us, because by developing the GDR in every way, we help to strengthen peace and socialism, democracy and social progress throughout the world, display solidarity and help the peoples fighting for their national liberation and social emancipation.

The SED's policy aimed at further building a developed socialist society is focussed on economic development and mustering the people's efforts to boost the country's economic development. All-round intensification of social production and intense creative labour by the masses provide the prerequisites for maintaining and gradually raising the people's material and cultural standards. The party continues to pursue its time-tested line in the more complicated international conditions. Erich Honecker told the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the SED CC in November 1983: "With its spiritual potential and its material resources, the GDR is capable of bringing about the necessary economic upswing and further successfully to continue the line of tackling the main task. . . . Stability is also characteristic of our activity in the economic sphere."<sup>5</sup>

The consistent fulfilment of the main task, and the observance of the unity of economic and social policy for the benefit of the people provide a reliable foundation and an inexhaustible spring for the growing creative initiative of the masses. The GDR working people's long experience has convinced them that honest work for the benefit of the whole society brings returns in the form of better working and everyday conditions for every individual and every family, and this, for its part, provides an important impetus for fresh and large-scale achievements.

The economic strategy for the 1980s adopted at the 10th Congress orients the working people towards a switch to intensive expanded reproduction in every sphere of the national economy. This line has proved to be the right one. Practice shows that it is possible to expand production and increase the national income over a long period, while cutting back inputs of energy, and raw and other materials in absolute terms. In 1980, only 6 per cent of national income growth came from a reduction in unit inputs, and from 1981 to 1983, almost 50 per cent. We are working successfully to harness the scientific and technical revolution to the advantages of socialism, and that shows once again that this system alone can use the fruits of creative labour for the benefit of the whole people. Full employment, the citizens' wellbeing and stable economic growth will actually be found only in a socialist society. The working people are aware that when the state organs work to advance science and technology and rationalise production, they are doing so together with them and for their sake. All



such measures are discussed, prepared and implemented jointly, and this helps to enhance confidence in the socialist planned economy and to demonstrate its convincing superiority over the capitalist mode of production with its chronic and cyclical economic crises, and harmful social consequences: economic stagnation, mass unemployment, the dismantling of social programmes, and the social uncertainty among the people.

The creative effort of the masses in our country is going through a new upward phase under the influence of the SED's economic strategy, but it is not a spontaneous process and calls for constant perfection of political leadership at every level. The ideological and political work of the working class party, the socialist state, the trade unions, the youth league and all the other social organisations, and the working people's active participation in management and planning enable them to realise with ever greater clarity that there is a direct connection between their own labour effort and social development as a whole. They come increasingly to understand the importance of their own activity for the collective of their section, enterprise and the national economy. Consequently, persevering, multifaceted and differentiated ideological work helps to shape the working people's views and convictions, so as to enhance their conscious discipline and organisation and to promote their purposeful activity.

Every citizen of the GDR is entitled to take part in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the socialist society and the state on the principle: 'Take work together, plan together, manage together!' This is a constitutional right and it is realised in the most diverse forms. The country's destiny is ruled by the nearly 600,000 popularly elected deputies and members of commissions under the representative organs.

Another 350,000 citizens work actively on National Front committees. Among the diverse forms and methods by means of which the working people exercise their right to take part in administration and management, detailed discussion by work collectives of plan assignments is a highly important one. Such discussions are held at the combines, enterprises, cooperatives and offices on the basis of joint directives issued by the SED CC, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the Association of Free German Trade Unions. It is now a long-standing tradition and a necessary stage in the elaboration of national-economic plans. As workers study the details of the demands made on their plant, factory, section, etc., by the society and the state, they gain a deeper sense of responsibility, and this makes them work with greater vigour. When discussing the plan, they seek to find the most appropriate ways to make production even more efficient and to decide what they themselves can do for the common cause.

More than 80 per cent of the working people in the country were involved in the discussions in the runup to the formulation of the 1984 plan. Over 2 million men and women took part in the debate, and roughly 712,000 proposals were submitted. Their purpose is to keep the pace of economic growth high this year as well, to overfulfil state assignments, and to return to the state a part of the material funds it has allocated. The key to this lies in the intensive factors of economic development, further acceleration of scientific and technical progress, rapid boosting of labour productivity, thrifty use of materials and fuels, deeper processing of energy resources and raw and other materials, and also use of fixed assets with greater effect and their modernisation. When discussing the plan, the working people strove to make a palpable improvement in cost-effectiveness. Thus, 306 proposals were made at the carriage-building works at Dessau, and their implementation helped to save 54,000 hours of working time and to reduce costs by 1.8 million marks. The Einheit team at the silk-weaving mill at Flöha undertook to make better use of machines and other plant units, thereby daily saving 30 minutes of working time, and so making it possible to turn out an additional product worth nearly one million marks. When the plan was discussed at the head plant of the Fritz Heckert machine-tool building combine, it



was emphasised that the potentialities of scientific and technical progress and front-ranking experience should be more fully taken into account in the activity of innovators of production. The work collective of that enterprise decided to raise its productivity by more than 14 per cent, and markedly to reduce material and other inputs by making better use of fixed assets and working time and raising the standard of workmanship. At the same time, the living and working conditions of its members are to be improved.

As a result, following the discussion of the plan and the consideration of the numerous proposals and recommendations, high targets were set before the national economy in 1984 as well. It was decided, for instance, to increase national income by 4.4 per cent, the marketable industrial product by 4.2 per cent, and net product by 8 per cent. These results are to be achieved mainly through growing labour productivity. In the expectation of higher efficiency of the national economy and its further upswing, this year's plan has set extensive tasks in maintaining and gradually raising the people's material and cultural standards. The population's net cash incomes and retail trade are to go up by 2.2 per cent. Nearly 200,000 flats are to be built—and yet another major stride taken towards solving the housing problem. The working people will be able to have a good rest with the 5 million cut-price vouchers for accommodation at holiday homes and hotels run by the trade unions and enterprises.

Following the thorough discussion by the working people, the national economic plan is passed by the People's Chamber, the GDR's supreme organ of state power, which makes it the legal basis for the activity of all the state and economic organs, combines and enterprises, institutions and individuals in implementing the SED's economic policy.

The Association of Free German Trade Unions, with 9.2 million members, has an important role in involving the masses in the effort to realise the SED's policy. Erich Honecker remarked at the SED's 10th Congress that millions of men and women are directly involved in the management and planning of social processes through the trade unions, the broadest and most massive organisations of the ruling working class, which bring together the owners of the means of production. 'They participate daily in the exercise of socialist democracy. The trade unions guide socialist emulation, giving support above all to initiatives aimed sharply to raise labour productivity and ensure high efficiency and top quality. They direct the working people's creative efforts into accelerating scientific and technical progress.'<sup>6</sup>

Socialist emulation in our republic has a history of its own: it has gone a long way since the shock shift of miner Adolf Hennecke on October 13, 1948, and from the call issued by weaver Frida Hockauf for better work, because "tomorrow we shall live the way we work today". It has greatly benefited from the creative application of the experience of the shock-workers' movement and socialist emulation in the USSR: Alexei Stakhanov and Pavel Bykov will always remain a model for us. Emulation in our country has now become truly massive: in 1970, 132,000 work collectives with 2.5 million workers were involved in the contest for the title of 'Socialist Work Collective'; in 1983, the number of such collectives was over 270,000, involving 4.8 million men and women.

The emulation is now aimed primarily to conduct—in the changed international conditions—the SED's economic strategy with ever greater effect and to work to give the all-round intensification of production ever greater scope. This is most evident in the commitments which the directors-general of combines who attended an SED CC conference-seminar presented to Erich Honecker on behalf of three million workers, scientists, engineers and economists. These commitments provide for an increase of this year's labour productivity growth plan by one per cent through broader intensification of production, scientific and technical achievements, and more rational use of production assets. They intend to turn out goods worth three billion



marks over and above the plan, to extract more locally produced raw materials, and to cut costs by half a billion marks.

The working people's creative role in scientific and technical progress is most pronounced in the development of the innovators' and inventors' movement, which has grown from year to year: from 661,000 participants in 1970 to 1.875 million in 1983. The annual effect of their new ideas in that period went up from 2.456 billion to 5.277 billion marks. As compared with 1978, when the party and the government took the decision to promote the development of inventions, the number of claims put in last year and their economic effect have doubled.

The 265,000 members of the Technical Chamber, an organisation of the country's engineers, have done much to speed scientific and technical progress. The main line of their activity is economising on raw and other materials and energy, increasing the pace at which production is renewed, accelerating the installation of key technological processes, notably in the field of microelectronics and robotics, and rationalising engineering work. The members of the Technical Chamber have helped to master many basic technologies in the production of microelectronic circuits in a short period.

Young people, who are organised in the League of Free German Youth, have a considerable part in implementing the SED's economic policy and in fulfilling the tasks of the socialist revolution generally. The party has always believed that young people must be fully trusted and allowed to assume serious responsibilities. That is why the GDR has special youth projects, so-called, which are construction sites of crucial national-economic importance. Throughout the thirty-five years, League members have fulfilled responsible tasks in key sectors of our social development: they built the 'peace dam' at Sosa, the large-scale land improvement facilities in agriculture, and the nuclear power plant Nord. They are now taking part in laying a gas pipeline on the territory of the Soviet Union, developing microelectronics, and electrifying the GDR's railways. More than 14,000 young men and women from every part of the country are engaged in building and renewing Berlin, our capital and the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural centre of the GDR.

The SED's 10th Congress oriented the young people's initiative above all towards the solution of scientific and technical problems, and of especial importance in this context is the organised technical creativity of young 'masters of the morrow'—the innovators who help their enterprises to realise important projects. This movement now involves nearly half the young workers in the country. The emulation of young inventors and the activity of the League's more than 2,000 creative collectives in which the graduates of higher and secondary specialised schools work to solve scientific and technical problems, thereby providing new impulses to creativity among the young, are also important in accelerating scientific and technical progress.

Young people are doing much to help fulfil and overfulfil plan targets by coming forward with valuable initiatives for the national economy, such as suggestions for economising on materials in industry and building, and on feedstuffs in livestock breeding, helping to save working time and reduce the number of workplaces, organising the collection of raw material waste, taking part in remodelling and modernising flats, and so on. In 1983 alone, the League's Save Materials Action yielded more than two billion marks. Young people have remodelled and modernised more than 15,000 flats, which were then made available to those who took part in the work. The 42,000 youth teams are a powerful force in implementing the party's economic policy: under the leadership of the SED and together with the trade unions, they are setting the pace in the socialist emulation drive.

Friendship teams, a well-tried form in which the GDR Youth League expresses its anti-imperialist solidarity, are known far beyond our country's borders. The members of these teams, together with their friends from the newly-liberated countries, carry on a struggle to overcome the colonial legacy and to eliminate every



form of neocolonial dependence. Over the past 20 years, these friendship teams have worked in 22 countries on four continents, helping to set up occupational training centres, train thousands of skilled workers and specialists, and carry out many important national construction projects.

The implementation of the party's economic policy and the GDR's development generally is closely bound up with the mass initiative of the GDR's National Front under the motto: 'Join in making our towns and villages more beautiful!' It began in 1952 and now involves many millions of people from all our classes and strata. Its national-economic importance has been growing, and evidence of its role in improving working and everyday conditions and strengthening the republic in every way comes from the results of the voluntary and mainly no-pay work done by its members from 1979 to 1983 which were summed up last spring in the runup to the elections to the local organs of representation. Our citizens carried out repairs in flats worth 14.5 billion marks; they renewed 590,000 flats of elderly people and disabled persons, and repaired more than 517,000 schools, nursery schools, polyclinics, clubs and houses of culture. But the importance of their effort goes beyond the economic effect: it also lies in the citizens' personal activity and loyalty to their state. Cooperative and individual artisans and traders are also doing much to develop the national economy and meet the people's requirements in consumer goods, and repair and everyday services.

The development of the socialist society keeps providing evidence that people, with their knowledge and capacities, are the main productive force, and so also the crucial spring of social wealth. The steady raising of the working people's skill standards, their acquisition of the new knowledge and techniques, the unfolding of all their capabilities—all these are the primary concern of the party and the government and the duty of all state organs and economic units. This is required by scientific and technical progress and the improvement of management and planning. In the GDR, diverse forms of work are used to fulfil the task, both on the scale of the state as a whole and at individual enterprises.

Great advances have been made in raising the working people's skill standards: in the mid-1950s, only 30 per cent of those employed in the national economy had complete occupational training; in 1970, it was 59 per cent, and in 1983—83.3 per cent. This is even more obvious when we consider the women of our society who enjoy equal rights. In 1950, only five per cent of the women working in industry had completed training in their trade, whereas in agriculture the figure was even less than one per cent. Today it is nearly 80 per cent. Every other skilled worker in the republic is a woman. The number of female students has also been growing: from 1950 to 1983, the number of women in secondary specialised schools went up from 25 to 73 per cent, and in higher schools, from 19 to 50 per cent.

The working people's ever wider involvement in state administration and planning, and especially in the management of material production, is highly important for the development of the socialist society and of each of its members. The further successful realisation of the SED's economic strategy implies that the working people are to take part ever more effectively, with a knowledge of what they are about and with a sense of responsibility, in preparing and implementing decisions and verifying their fulfilment. Sound prerequisites for this have been created by the socialist Labour Code, the Statute of the Combines, the measures for improving management, planning and material incentives, and other laws of the GDR.

Annual progress reports by the leadership to the working people on the implementation of the policy of the party and the socialist state, notably on the fulfilment of national-economic assignments in expanding production and intensifying it, are a most important element of socialist democracy in production. They are provided for in law and have been tested in practice. Social organisations, including the trade unions, have the right to assess how those in authority cope with



their duties. Our dynamic economic growth and the masses' ever broader participation in putting through the SED's strategy are a guarantee of the socialist society's prosperity, the optimism of our citizens, and their certainty in the future.

The thirty-five years of the GDR's successful development indicate that our party's economic policy is in line with the interests of the working class, the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and all the other working people. It has the people's support and is translated into life by the creative labour effort of the masses. The SED's decisions and the activity of the socialist state are designed to enable our society to go on advancing along this way just as consistently in the future.

<sup>1</sup> For details see, *WMR*, No. 4, 1984.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> W. Pieck, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1950, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 407.

<sup>4</sup> *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1981, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> Erich Honecker, *In kamferfüllter Zeit setzen wir den bewährten Kurs des X. Parteitages für Frieden und Sozialismus erfolgreich fort. Rede auf der 7. Tagung des ZK der SED*, Berlin, 1983, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, p. 124.

## Turning Point in Romania's History

Constantin Dăscălescu — Member, CC  
Political Executive Committee, Romanian  
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of the SRR

THIS year the Romanian people have marked in an atmosphere of great patriotic enthusiasm the 40th anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution, which brought our country social and national liberation. The armed uprising on August 23, 1944 played a tremendous role in the nation's destiny. Speaking of the significance of the revolution, Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the RCP CC, President of the SRR, stressed that it 'ushered in a new epoch in the history of the country, the epoch of materialisation of the ideals of justice and freedom for which many generations of our predecessors fought and gave their lives, the epoch of the fullest exercise of the Romanian people's sacred right to be free and sovereign in their country as real masters of their national resources and conscious shapers of their own socialist and communist destiny'.<sup>1</sup>

The will shown by our people during the great August revolt reflected a historical necessity and was in keeping with the exigencies of Romania's progress. The long succession of heroic social and national struggles culminated in the revolutionary victory of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of a broad front of all anti-fascist, democratic and patriotic forces led by the Communists. The strategy and tactics of our party as leader of the working class and the mass of the people were proved correct as far back as the thirties, a period of hard class struggles and major demonstrations when fascism was reaching out for power. Those actions demonstrated the strength and revolutionary character of the working class and its staunchness in the fight for progress, national independence and sovereignty, for a new, socialist Romania.

The communist party organised the struggle against the bourgeois-landowner system, the military fascist dictatorship and the war. It took the lead in forming a



broad anti-Hitler alliance and strove for the unity of the working class and patriotic movement. It worked perseveringly among the national armed forces, extending cooperation with officers of the high command and the royal court to lead the country out of the war being waged against the Soviet Union and turn the nation's arms against the fascists.

The RCP deeply analysed the situation in Romania, the stage of history through which the country was passing and the significance of the victories won by the Soviet Union, other states of the anti-Hitler coalition and the Resistance and came to the conclusion that the international climate was favourable to an uprising. It planned and directed operations aimed at overthrowing the Antonescu dictatorship, restoring the independence and territorial integrity of the country, realising the ideals of freedom and justice and transforming society on socialist lines.

The anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution, which brought the people national and social liberation, proceeded according to a plan evolved by our party together with other political forces that were cooperating with it. On August 23, 1944, Antonescu and the members of his government were arrested in the royal palace, whereupon troops and patriotic units occupied all important government offices in Bucharest and blocked military installations of the German fascist Wehrmacht. A determined battle with it by the Romanian army and patriotic formations ended in freeing the capital and other major centres of the country.

Thereby Romania made a tangible contribution to the nazis' defeat in the Balkans. The uprising facilitated the development of the offensive of the Soviet army, which bore the brunt of the war, and hastened the final downfall of fascism. The whole manpower, economic and military potential of our country was switched to the war effort against Germany on the side of the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition. For more than eight months, over half a million Romanian troops fought alongside the Red Army, making heavy sacrifices to free parts of Romania still occupied by Horthy's fascist forces as well as to liberate neighbouring Hungary and Czechoslovakia and part of Austria. The working class and the people as a whole shared the hardships of the struggle till the final victory over Hitler Germany, toiling devotedly under the slogan 'Everything for the front, everything for victory'.

Romania's contribution to the war against fascism was duly appreciated by world public opinion. Our people's heroism and courage confirmed their earnest aspiration to bring down fascist and imperialist rule and win independence for their country, the right to free development.

The triumph of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, social and national liberation revolution led off deep-going changes in the life of our society. The resistance and sabotage of reaction were overcome in intense class battles waged under the RCP leadership; all state power was transferred to the working people under democratic reforms. This made it possible to abolish old economic and social structures based on injustice and exploitation and to set about building a socialist society and then comprehensively developed socialism.

In this anniversary year it is particularly evident that the great changes which have come about in our country, the impressive achievements registered in every sphere of life, are a result of the correct policy of the RCP, of the party's ability to mobilise and organise the workers, peasants and intellectuals, the people as a whole, for the revolutionary reorganisation of society and to lead them along this road.

The Ninth RCP Congress (1965) opened a new and most fruitful period in Romanian history. This stage was decisive in the construction of the new society and all the major achievements by which it was marked are inseparable from the theoretical and practical activity of Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the RCP and President of the SRR, who is leading the country along the road of socialism, wellbeing and peace, to the victory of communism.

When it was only just beginning to build the new society, Romania was an agrarian



country with poorly developed industries and a backward countryside. Today it is an industrial-agrarian state with a powerful, steadily growing industry and a socialist agriculture which is going through a period of modernisation, a country showing an increasingly high level of material and intellectual culture.

Industrial output in the SRR since the construction of the new system began has increased 100-fold, agricultural output nearly sevenfold and the national income 32 times over. Over 80 per cent of the fixed assets of the economy has been created in the past two decades. Last year Romanian industry generated 76.2 billion kwh of electricity (against 1,410 million in 1945 and 17,215 million in 1965); it produced 14,842,000 tons of steel (against 125,000 in 1945 and 3,426,000 in 1965), 2.9 million tons of chemical fertilisers (against 11,000 in 1955 and 293,000 in 1965), 82,700 tractors (against 3,469 in 1950 and 15,836 in 1965) and 1,189 million square metres of fabrics. It now takes our industry 12 days to produce as much as it did in the whole of 1945.

Romanian industry manufactures a wide range of high-standard articles from precision mechanisms to river boats and sea-going ships and from heavy machinery and plant to electronic equipment and computers. The achievements and increased power and potentialities of our economy are exemplified by a great new project, the Danube-Black Sea Canal. Speaking at its opening ceremony, Nicolae Ceauşescu, General Secretary of RCP, said that no socialist project of Romania (many such projects have been accomplished to date, including industrial giants and new towns and villages; even the map of our country has changed) is comparable to this canal, a symbol of our people's revolutionary spirit.

The policy of distributing the productive forces judiciously and of advancing the economy and public life has fostered the progress of urban and rural areas and helped provide the material basis for the social and national equality of all the citizens of the SRR.

Our country today has ample opportunities for scientific and technological research ensuring steady economic progress. Science is developing fruitfully under the leadership of Academician Elena Ceauşescu, finding original solutions to many social and economic problems. Our scientists are cooperating with foreign colleagues in various spheres of knowledge, exchanging R&D data with them.

Our public education system trains national personnel for every sphere of activity. Besides, over 20,000 young men and women from various countries, mostly developing ones, are studying in Romania today.

The party's strategy of building a comprehensively developed socialist society provides for a thorough transformation of its every sphere, for it regards our system in its revolutionary dynamic development as a logical intertwining of quantitative growth and deep-going qualitative changes.

The 12th RCP Congress (1979) and the National Conference of the RCP (1982) noted the people's gains in building socialism and called for a further rise in the quality of labour and life. Reaching the targets of the current five-year plan (1981-1985) is seen as an important stage in carrying out the programme of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing to communism. This stage is characterised primarily by a rapid modernisation of economic and production structures, chiefly in industry and agriculture, a rapid increase in labour productivity, great utilisation of raw materials and energy resources, a considerable reduction of expenditures and a continuous rise in the quality of output and in the competitive capacity and effectiveness of Romanian exports on the world market.

The policy of steadily perfecting the structure of industry brings to the fore the task of consolidating our raw material base and gradually making the republic self-reliant in energy supply. This is why we stress the need to develop the extracting and power industries and to save materials and fuels by cutting their consumption. We are also making a special effort to develop an up-to-date manufacturing industry, giving



priority to branches featuring automated production and high labour efficiency and turning out high-standard and competitive products.

Romania is accomplishing a new agrarian revolution, which means perfecting the material and technical basis of agriculture and the organisation of labour and production. The qualitatively new problems facing us are reflected in a national programme whose purpose is to guarantee the supply of agricultural produce on a lasting and dependable basis. The key to solving this problem is to raise soil fertility and, consequently, to use the stock of land wisely, extend land reclamation (irrigation is to cover from 55 to 60 per cent of the cultivated area), combat erosion, and so on. All this will enable us to make farming highly productive and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

Modernisation of the economy also requires steps to systematically perfect production relations, the organisation of economic activity and economic management. Experience has shown that the developed economy of socialist and communist society must be based on a harmonious, balanced and integrated national plan combining the needs of industry, agriculture, construction, trade, transport, the services sector, science and technology in an optimum way and linking all this with the advancement of culture, education and public health.

Life has shown the close connection between economic progress and the growth rate of the national income as a solid basis for a higher standard of living, on the one hand, and the proportion of the national income that can be allocated for social and economic requirements, on the other. An optimum rate of accumulation plus effective utilisation of available funds accelerate the all-round progress of the country. Under the three latest five-year plans, 30-odd per cent of the national income has invariably been diverted to the accumulation fund. This is a long-term aspect of our economic and political course, of the overall concept evolved by the RCP to solve the main problems facing society.

Last June the RCP CC discussed and approved draft guidelines for the social and economic development of Romania under the next five-year plan (1986-1990); they will be examined by the 13th party Congress. The fundamental objective of the plan is to provide conditions for solving, in outlines, the main problems of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. By drawing on the latest achievements of science and technology, making fuller use of all material and manpower resources, taking an active and effective part in world economic activity and increasing the national income, we want to intensify the development of the productive forces, raise the standard of living and lend labour and life a new quality on this basis. The draft guidelines, which include a section on the main lines of Romania's socio-economic development till the year 2000, will be submitted to the party and the people for discussion.

Last year a programme intended to raise the technical level and quality of manufactured articles and covering the period from 1983 to 1985 and also, up to 1990, was worked out on the initiative and under the direct guidance of the General Secretary of the RCP. Its fulfilment will improve the technological and economic standards of output and heighten the competitive capacity of Romanian exports on the world market.

Intensive factors for economic development receive priority under the current five-year plan and will also be given preference in the future. This is why we have also adopted a special programme covering the same period as the previous one and aimed at perfecting labour organisation and rate-setting and at rapidly increasing labour productivity. Productivity in industry today is 16 times higher than in 1945; in the current ten-year period we expect to double it in conformity with the programme.

Romania puts the emphasis on mobilising its own potentialities, in particular on solving problems of energy and raw materials mainly by using its own resources. But along with this the party and the government are furthering cooperation with CMEA



countries and other socialist states.

Fully approving of the documents adopted by the CMEA Economic Summit (June 1984), the Political Executive Committee of the RCP noted that they offer ample and effective opportunities to step up trade and cooperation in all economic fields and to solve by the joint efforts of the ten states problems of importance for their economic and social progress. These problems include dependable supply of raw materials and energy, greater specialisation and cooperation in key industries, the promotion of agriculture and food production and intensified cooperation in science and technology. "Romania is resolved," Nicolae Ceaușescu said, "to proceed in a way helping perfect the activity of the CMEA, develop relations with all CMEA countries, all socialist states, with a view to promoting cooperation, increasing the economic and political weight and international influence of the socialist countries, of socialism throughout the world. This is an important factor in the policy of detente, peace, independence and international cooperation."<sup>2</sup>

At the same time Romania advocates more extensive economic, scientific and technological cooperation with developing countries and all other states irrespective of their social systems, on the principles of international law and in the interests of peace, mutual understanding, cooperation and social progress.

Our republic today commands a powerful technical base and a well-trained cadre of specialists knowing how to use up-to-date machinery and plant efficiently. The working people, who under socialism are at once masters and producers, show a keen sense of responsibility in labour, doing their best to make proper use of the technical facilities and material resources entrusted to them.

The highest goal of the party's policy and the main objective of our social development is, as we have pointed out, to continuously raise the standard and quality of the working people's life. Each new stage in economic development marks a new level of the people's wellbeing. In the 1950-1983 period growing material production and its increasing effectiveness made it possible to raise the incomes of the population 8.7 times over. The past year has seen wages go up, contributing to the working people's purchasing capacity and real incomes. Consumer goods supply and services for the population have improved. The state appropriates more and more money for housing, the municipal services, education, culture and public health. As many as 5.6 million flats were made available between 1945 and 1984; 3.1 million of them were built in the past two decades. Over 80 per cent of our citizens have moved into new homes since the revolution. Most towns and villages show favourable changes.

The rising standard of living is a reflection of the revolutionary humanism of socialist society, of its innate ethics and social justice. Man's freedom, dignity and happiness and the harmonious development of his personality are always in the focus of the Communists' attention. The growing material and cultural requirements of the population are met to an ever greater extent, the quality of life is rising and fundamental human rights—the right to work, rest and leisure, education, economic and social security, free participation in politics and the management of public affairs—are exercised more and more fully as our country advances.

The triumph of the new system, the formation of an integrated socialist economy and the rapid growth of our productive forces have greatly changed the structure of Romanian society. Relations based on the community of the fundamental interests of all social classes and sectors have shaped up. Internal cohesion and steadfast consolidation of the socio-political unity of the working people irrespective of nationality are a powerful motive force on the road to comprehensively developed socialism and communism.

The Romanian working class has come a long way in forty years. Its composition has changed noticeably with the setting up of new high-technology industries. The workers' proficiency has increased and so has their social consciousness. This class



has become the largest in our society—it accounts for more than half of the economically active population. The overall result is a further increase in its importance; the workers are discharging their constructive leading mission with credit.

The composition of the peasantry has changed too. This class was for centuries the main force in the struggle to form our people, our nation, our independent statehood. True, its proportion decreased with the growth of the productive forces, in particular, the rise of developed industries. Even so, it is still second to none but the working class in numerical strength and in terms of its socio-economic role.

Over the past four decades, a fast-growing economy and progress in science, education and culture have added to the proportion of intellectuals, especially engineers and technicians, who now hold an important place in both material production and creative effort.

The achievements of our society have strengthened the unity of the socialist Romanian nation and made its new features more palpable than ever. It is a fact of history that Romanians are not the only inhabitants of our country. In settling the national question, the RCP has been steadfastly pursuing a Marxist-Leninist policy guaranteeing all citizens complete equality irrespective of nationality and offering them equal opportunities to participate in the management of every sphere of public life. Today's Romania is a united family of fraternal peoples in which all working men and women are free. They are real masters of their fortunes and are cooperating to further the prosperity of their common socialist country.

The RCP approaches the construction of the new system dialectically, in the spirit of the revolutionary theory of the working class. It is perfecting relations of production and social relations, improving forms and methods of organisation and management and fostering socialist democracy. The state is coming to play an increasingly important role as direct participation of the working people and their mass organisations in the solution of problems gains in scope.

The continuous deepening and enrichment of socialist democracy create organisational possibilities for the masses to join more and more actively in management, using such forms as general meetings and councils of the employees of this or that enterprise or national councils, congresses and conferences of working people engaged in different spheres of socio-economic and cultural life. Under our revolutionary working class democracy, all this enables working people to speak out directly on any question relating to plans for the development of production and participate in the adoption of key economic and social decisions, including the drafting of programmes specifying the main lines of building socialism and communism in Romania. The Democracy and Socialist Unity Front, the broadest and most representative political, patriotic and revolutionary organisation embodying the unity of all citizens and their cohesion around the RCP irrespective of nationality, is a powerful instrument in this respect.

The party is the leading political force of our society, or its vital centre, to use Nicolae Ceaușescu's definition. It has won the working people's confidence and affection by selflessly serving their interests, consistently applying the principles of socialism and seeing unfailingly to the continuous improvement of the people's living and cultural standards and to the further consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of Romania.

The leading role of the RCP has assumed a comprehensive character and manifests itself in every field: the production of material values, political and organisational activity, the effort to perfect relations of production and social relations, science, art and culture, the moulding of the new man as a conscious builder of socialism and communism. In performing this function, the party acts together with the workers, peasants and intellectuals, with the people as a whole, whose activity it organises and guides in the interest of the country's social and economic progress. Its influence is



particularly strong in the sphere of material production, in which 76 per cent of Romania's 3.4 million Communists are engaged. Party organisations are seeking perseveringly to join together the efforts of work collectives in building comprehensively developed socialism.

Romania has invariably declared for the development of international relations on new foundations, for the solution of global problems of our times. It is carrying on an active foreign policy fully meeting the interests and aspirations of both the Romanian people and other peoples and serving the cause of socialism, peace, national independence and international cooperation.

Our foreign policy is pivoted on promoting friendship, alliance and solidarity with all socialist countries, all the peoples building a new life. This follows naturally from the policy of building a comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. We devote special attention to relations with the Soviet Union and our other neighbours. The past four decades have shown better than ever before the Romanian people's age-long aspiration for peace, mutual understanding, friendship and good-neighbourliness. In steadily extending ties with socialist countries, the RCP is convinced that these have a historical mission to fulfil by setting in practice an example of a higher type of international relations based on equality, mutual respect and close cooperation. This is particularly important when solving fundamental problems of today, such as the struggle against the imperialist policy of force and diktat, for the removal of the war danger, for a world without arms and military blocs, a world where every nation can live in freedom and security and freely choose the road of its socio-economic development.

The foreign policy of our state is invariably aimed at steadily fostering friendship and solidarity with developing countries and cooperating actively with them, which helps end underdevelopment, colonialism and neocolonialism, oppression and domination in any form, and create a new international economic order. In line with its active policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, Romania is also expanding its relations with industrialised capitalist countries and exchanges of material and cultural values in the common interest. We declare for lasting peace, detente, security and international understanding.

It is indicative of the policy of our party and state on the world scene that Romania maintains diplomatic relations with 140 countries (against 67 in 1965) and economic relations, with 150. We invariably base these relations on respect for national independence, sovereignty, equality, mutual benefit, non-interference and non-use of force or the threat of force. The bilateral and multilateral political documents signed by the republic have made important contributions to the vindication of these fundamental principles of international law, to their effective application in tackling various foreign-policy problems.

Today, when the destructive force of nuclear arsenals is so great as to endanger civilisation itself and the existence of humanity, the chief task is to resist the arms race, primarily the nuclear one, avert war and defend peace. Our state considers that the road to military equilibrium does not lead through a continuous buildup of a country's military potential but through its reduction. Bearing in mind the marked deterioration of the international situation in recent years and realising the causes of this trend, Romania and its President have repeatedly called on the states and peoples of the world to do everything possible in order to stave off war, check the arms race and proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

We are taking an active part in the search for a way out of the extremely grave situation created by the deployment of US medium-range missiles in some West European countries, which has led to counter-measures on the part of the Soviet Union, as everyone knows. Romania is a consistent advocate of ending the deployment of US missiles in Europe, withdrawing the missiles already installed there, resuming the Geneva talks and reaching agreements conducive to the removal



of all medium-range missiles and to the abolition of all nuclear weapons in Europe and the world.

Our country has made numerous specific proposals to increase the role of the UN and settle international problems solely by negotiation. We believe that there is no conflict in the world justifying the use of arms, force or the threat of force, and that any problem can and should be solved by peaceful, political means.

Putting an early end to underdevelopment and to the division of the world into rich and poor nations is an urgent need if humanity is to make further progress. This is why Romania stands for a new international economic order that would fully abolish imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policies and pave the way for the rapid progress of developing countries and the elimination of economic inequality in the world. This order would make it possible to establish just relations between countries on the basis of respect for the right of every nation to fully control its resources and choose the road of its development freely, of its own accord.

The internationalist position of the RCP is clear and consistent. By upholding it, our party is fulfilling its duty to the working class and other working people of our country. It invariably declares for the extension of friendship and cooperation with all communist and workers' parties, all revolutionary movements, all progressive, anti-imperialist forces. The role of fraternal parties in organising and leading the revolutionary struggle to transform society is growing. This is why our party advocates the achievement in the international communist and working class movement of cohesion based on unfailing application of the principles of relations between parties, that is, complete equality, respect for the right of every party to work out its general-policy line, strategy and tactics independently, with due regard to the conditions in which it is operating.

The RCP, stressing the need to strengthen the unity of the international working class, is furthering cooperation with socialist and social democratic parties. It declares for closer solidarity with national liberation movements and progressive, anti-imperialist parties and organisations and is working for extensive international cooperation in the struggle for freedom, peace and democracy, for the solution of peoples' problems in accordance with their national and social interests.

Current events increasingly emphasise the decisive role of the working class, the masses, all peoples in international affairs, in the solution of international problems by democratic means and in the spirit of peace and cooperation. The cohesion and close cooperation of all progressive forces are a decisive factor hastening change, the renewal of contemporary society and the shaping of a new policy, one of confidence and extensive cooperation, a policy aimed at creating a better, more just world.

The RCP will hold its 13th Congress in November 1984. The Congress will decide on the country's new tasks in carrying out the Programme for the Construction of a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society in Romania and the Advance to Communism. These days Romania's Communists and our people as whole, united around the party and its General Secretary, Nicolae Ceauşescu, are demonstrating by deeds, above all by heroic labour, their indomitable will to implement the home and foreign policy of the RCP and the state, a policy serving the cause of socialism and communism, the cause of the working people's wellbeing, independence and peace.

<sup>1</sup> Nicolae Ceauşescu, *România pe drumul construirii societăţii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, Vol. 19, Bucharest, 1980, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolae Ceauşescu, op. cit., Vol. 24, 1983, pp. 428-429.



## In the Name of Peace and Prosperity

Hoàng Tung – CC Secretary,  
Communist Party of Vietnam

The Vietnamese people are preparing to mark two momentous anniversaries: next year will be the 55th anniversary of the Communist Party of Indochina, which inaugurated the activity of the CP Vietnam and the People's Revolutionary Parties of Kampuchea and Laos, and also the 40th anniversary of the August Revolution, in which the history of the first socialist state in Southeast Asia had its beginnings.

However, even today, as the peoples of Indochina build their new society, they have to carry on a hard struggle beating back armed encroachments on their sovereignty, overcoming the effects of the political and economic blockade mounted by international reaction, and exposing the imperialist forces' diverse attempts to divide the ruling parties and the masses, and to undermine the authority of the socialist states.

What are the CP Vietnam's political goals in these conditions? How does it view the connection between the people's national and internationalist interests? What are the prospects for turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation among its peoples?

Hoang Tung considers all these questions at the request of *WMR*.

THE main goals which the CP Vietnam has always set itself were best expressed in the most general form in the Testament of Ho Chi Minh, the founder of our party and state, when he said: "Let the whole of our party and the whole of our people rally closer together in the struggle to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, and so make a fitting contribution to the cause of the world revolution."<sup>1</sup>

These are simple precepts, but they contain much meaning, and it is no easy thing to translate them into practice. Still we are fully entitled to say that much has already been done to fulfil our tasks. United, independent and socialist Vietnam lives, carries on the struggle and is developing. *Peaceful and prosperous* are the two words that need to be emphasised in Ho Chi Minh's Testament, for they express just what he wanted for his dearly beloved country.

The Communists of Vietnam have always reaffirmed their loyalty to the goals put forward by the revolution. The CPV CC General Secretary Le Duan said from the rostrum of the party's Fifth Congress in 1982: "After 30 years of war, our people now have one cherished desire: to live in peace, independence and freedom so as to rehabilitate the war-ruined country and re-establish normal life."<sup>2</sup>

But one should not regard the Vietnamese people's urge for peace and prosperity as signifying a readiness to bend to pressure from foreign aggressors. For our people and for our party, peace and prosperity constitute an indivisible whole with freedom and independence, and we shall never give up any of its component parts.

In assessing the present situation in the Indochinese Peninsula, the Communists take a sober view of their successes, and so do not claim that lasting peace and full prosperity reign in the area. Peace in Indochina is not yet sufficiently reliable. China has been ceaselessly shelling our frontiers, and has occupied a number of heights on Vietnamese territory. Five Chinese army corps and a part of the Air Force are concentrated along Vietnam's border. Pol Pot gangs, supported by Beijing and Thailand, continue to operate in some frontier areas of Kampuchea. Thai regular army units have occupied some villages in Laos.

The military alliance of reactionary states in the Pacific is being built up, with the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle beginning to play the pivotal role in it, and the



PRC being ever more closely involved. No wonder, military operations were markedly stepped up along the borders of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos during US President Reagan's visit to Beijing. The trips by China's Defence Minister Zhang Aiping to the United States and of his Thai counterpart Arthit Kamlangek to China were far from innocuous.

The situation demands of the countries of Indochina constant efforts to strengthen their defences at great cost, and this affects the people's wellbeing. But that is the only realistic way of defending our freedom and independence, and we shall never depart from it. We are fully determined to defend our independence, sovereignty and socialist gains, unsparing of our lives and with the support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and all the progressive forces of the globe.

Vietnam comes to play an ever weightier and more fruitful role in international relations as it realises its plans for the transformation of its society, the economy in the first place.

Following the long years of war and after reunification, our people enthusiastically got down to their peaceful endeavours. The Fourth Congress of the CPV in 1976 mapped out the correct general policy and economic line in accord with the uniformities of the period of transition from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. But in that same period our enemies launched a massive offensive in an effort to make use of all the means at their disposal: political, economic and even military. The United States broke off its ties with Vietnam and stopped rendering material assistance. This was followed by China's withdrawal of its specialists, its refusing to give assistance, and its scrapping of the long-term treaties. Moreover, in 1979, China started a war in the north of our country. The aggressor called it a limited war, but the battles, in which the Vietnamese army and people displayed great courage, led to the destruction within a month of the product of the labour of more than two decades: the total losses then came to billions of dong.

On top of all that, the elements wreaked havoc in the country: Vietnam was hit by floods and hurricanes which sometimes destroy within hours that on which millions of people had worked. Such were the grievous calamities of 1978 and other years.

Let us also note that some mistakes, mainly in planning and administration, were made in concretising and fulfilling the party's correct line.

This set of difficulties and blunders led to a decline in economic development, which was most keenly felt in 1980. The 1976-1980 five-year plan was not entirely fulfilled.

One has to bear in mind yet another of Vietnam's peculiarities. Its population is rapidly growing, and although measures are being taken to regulate the process, population growth still comes to about two per cent a year, or more than one million. The growing population with the lower national income growth in the late 1970s naturally complicated the key problem of our development: food supplies.

Vietnam's enemies expected to see the country's economic dislocation. We were frankly told so, among others, by the members of a delegation of Thailand's National Legislative Assembly led by former Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan, who visited Vietnam this year. However, the collapse expected by the reactionary forces did not come about. The party's Fifth Congress drew up a realistic programme for implementing its general line and correcting the mistakes. The main goal of these plans continued to be the same: stabilisation and higher living standards for the people.<sup>3</sup>

The party believes that improvement of economic management and economic development planning are the key source for socio-economic success, and these matters were dealt with at the latest plenary meetings of the CPV CC: the Fifth in November and December 1983 and the Sixth in July 1984. They emphasised that the last two years of the five-year period—1983 and 1984—were crucial to the fulfilment of the adopted plans. The key to this, Le Duan said, should be more skilful collective



economic management and the pooling of efforts by the three main elements of administration: the central administration, on the level of the whole country and its two main cities: Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City; local administration, on the level of the provinces and districts; and grass-roots administration, on the level of the communities and *phuongs*.<sup>4</sup> Administration on these three main levels does not at all mean that one of the three tends to dominate the others. On the contrary, they all engage in economic management together. The economy must be a single whole, but it is important that each of its units should display more independence and creatively realise its potentialities, while the centre should create the most favourable conditions for doing so.

We believe that socialist enterprise, economic calculus and the creative initiative of the masses should be further developed, and the mechanism of administration and management improved with a fuller blending of the interests of the various groups of working people. Efforts should simultaneously be made to combat the still existing bureaucratic practices and administration by fast, indiscipline and elements of anarchy, and the tendency to live at the expense of others.

The growing unity of the people, the party and the state is acting as an important motive force of progress. When the masses are confident that policy is correct, their strength is multiplied, and so one of the most popular slogans in the country is: 'Each works for two'. The working people's enthusiasm is growing, but the party and the state also seek to make fuller use of the economic instruments and material incentives to boost production both in agriculture and in industry.

Much remains to be done in ordering the relations of production. There are now three economic sectors in the North of the country, and five sectors in the South.<sup>5</sup> The bourgeoisie has been liquidated as a class, but its remnants—petty traders and businessmen—still survive.

Our main concern is, of course, to develop the state sector, which is the material and technical basis of the new society, but the problem of relations between the state and the private sector continues to be a pressing one. The relatively numerous class of petty traders (they number over a million and are mostly in the South) is aware that the socialist transformations cut across its interests, and so tends to resist them in every possible way. The socialist state does, of course, hold all the main economic forces in its hands, creates the bulk of the means of production and articles of consumption, and controls foreign trade. But with its material reserves and manipulation of prices, the 'free market' tends to weaken the positions of the state sector in the distribution and circulation of material values. The party and the state are now engaged in putting through a set of measures which correctly combines administrative, economic and educational methods of influencing the members of the private sector. A state of the proletarian dictatorship—the socialist Republic of Vietnam—will continue to accomplish its class mission to an ever larger extent.

Alongside the selfless efforts of the people, the party and the state, Vietnam's steadily strengthening cooperation with the CMEA countries (Vietnam has been a member of CMEA since 1978), the Soviet Union in the first place, has a tremendous role to play in helping to develop our economy. They gave Vietnam assistance gratis in the war years. Today, within the CMEA framework and on the basis of multilateral and bilateral agreements, Vietnam is receiving easy credits, diverse equipment, structural materials, assistance in training specialists, prospecting for minerals and in many other fields.

The recent CMEA economic summit once again declared that the fraternal states 'believe that it is their internationalist duty to continue extending assistance to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic on the established fair basis in accelerating the development and raising the efficiency of their national economies in the light of these countries' tasks of socialist industrialisation, and to promote their broad participation in the international



socialist division of labour'.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast to the division of labour in the capitalist system, the international division of labour under socialism helps to even out the economic levels of all the community members and raise the lagging countries to a higher level.

The fraternal states, notably the Soviet Union, have been rendering aid to Vietnam in developing the basic sectors of its economy. For the time being, for instance, we still have a weak power industry, but the thermal electric-power plant at Pha Lai, whose capacity is over 600 megawatt, is already generating electric power for industry in the North of Vietnam and Hanoi. There is rapid construction of Southeast Asia's largest hydro-electric power plant at Hoa Binh on the Song Da River (about 2,000 megawatt), and of the Tri An hydropower plant in the South. Oil has been struck on the South Sea shelf some 100 kilometres offshore by a joint Vietnamese-Soviet enterprise called Vietsovetpetro, and this will help to solve the problem of the country's oil supply. The CMEA countries have decided, in particular, to help Vietnam remodel the railway line which runs between the north and the south of the country under a credit of many million roubles.

Our republic's contribution to the international socialist division of labour is, naturally, not yet very great, but with the fraternal countries' assistance we have been rapidly enlarging our rubber plantations, especially in the areas where the US interventionists used defoliants to wipe out large tracts of forests, and we are, for our part, increasing deliveries to these countries of tropical fruit, groundnuts, coffee, marine products and valuable species of timber. The time will come when we shall get down to working our minerals, in particular, our apatites. That will all help to effect economic equality in the socialist world's family of nations.

It is ridiculous, to say the least, to read in the Chinese newspaper *Beijing ribao*, for instance, that the Soviet Union is allegedly deepening the 'ancillary character' of the Vietnamese economy, making use of our republic's natural resources and manpower for its own interests. If large electric-power plants are 'ancillary' enterprises, one will realise what a far cry from the truth that is. As for the manpower, thousands of young Vietnamese are, indeed, working at enterprises in the USSR, Czechoslovakia and other countries, where they were sent to receive high-skilled training in a short time. After a few years of work among our friends, our young men and women return home as well-trained specialists whom the country so badly needs.

Both these main factors of our socio-economic development—the internal and the external—have already yielded tangible results.

There is a firm trend towards stabilisation and upturn in our agriculture. Over the past three years, food output, in terms of rice, has been growing by an average of one million tons a year, rising to 17 million tons in 1983. Despite the highly unfavourable weather in the north of the country this year, there is every indication that the present plan of 18 millions tons will be fulfilled.

None of this does, of course, make the food problem less acute. Vietnam now has 300 kg of rice per head a year, and that is not enough, but the whole range of successful measures, including more extensive use of mineral fertilisers, irrigation, turning up of virgin soil, introduction of new varieties and consolidation of the material and technical basis of agriculture, will help to stabilise and then to improve the supply of food to the population. Meanwhile, our food imports have gone down from 1.7 million tons (in terms of rice) from 1978 to 1980, to 200,000 tons in 1983.

From 1981 to 1983, industrial output grew at an average of 11.8 per cent a year. From 1980 to 1983, gross national product increased by 26 per cent, and national income by 23 per cent. This year we intend to increase industrial output by 9.5 per cent, and the value of exports by 22 per cent.

Many serious problems and contradictions naturally remain and these need to be brought out in due time and tackled, bearing in mind the fact that one problem inevitably gives way to another, often an equally formidable one. For instance, a



so-called piece-wage scheme under which some stages in the growing of rice (notably weeding and harvesting) are being done entirely by families has been introduced in the agricultural cooperatives, which pay for and distribute the crop taken in according to plan, with the family keeping everything that is over and above the plan. We think that this is a form of production relations which well accords with the present stage of our development. It has helped to muster additional labour efforts among the rural working people, and the rice crops and rice yields have gone up.

The family contract makes the organisation of manual labour in the fields more efficient and that is highly important, because for the time being it is still impossible to make wide use of machinery. The time will come when the country will have large quantities of farm machines at its disposal, and then other forms of labour organisation in the cooperatives will have to be found in accord with the following stage of development. Socialist construction is a vibrant, creative process, and that is how the Vietnamese Communists see it.

While tackling the intricate tasks of internal social progress, the party and the state are also mindful of Ho Chi Minh's precept: the need to make a fitting contribution to the cause of the world revolution. Our view of this precept is of course, a far cry from the distorted notion of internationalist duty which our class enemies ascribe to us: they insist that for us internationalist duty means exporting revolution to other countries. However, we take the Marxist-Leninist approach and believe that the socialist and national liberation revolutions of the twentieth century constitute a fairly protracted but irreversible progressive historical process, which started with the Great October Revolution and is still under way. It is absurd to claim that all the revolutionary developments on the various continents and in different periods of time are the result of some kind of 'export'. Social revolutions cannot take place unless the peoples, the masses of working people themselves act as the motive force. It is another matter when, at the request of a people's truly revolutionary forces, of their communist and people's democratic parties, leading the liberation struggle in their countries, the victorious parties of the proletariat and the socialist states can and will give them selfless internationalist assistance in various spheres, both material and ideological. The CP Vietnam and the Vietnamese state are rendering such assistance above all to Laos and Kampuchea and to their ruling people's revolutionary parties.

Our support of the fraternal countries of Indochina is due, apart from everything else, to the fact that our bonds of sincere friendship are specific in that they have deep roots. For a long period, the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Laotian peoples toiled under the heavy burden of French colonisation and all together fought against it. In 1930, the Marxists-Leninists of the countries on the peninsula set up the united Communist Party of Indochina, from which all three vanguard revolutionary contingents of the fraternal states later originated. The fraternal parties and peoples are united by common goals, ideology and political interests, all of which, taken together, constitutes a sound basis for their unity.

The main principles of our relations were formulated in a joint statement by the leaders of the three states of Indochina at last year's meeting in Vientiane. First of all, it is solidarity and cooperation in national construction and defence, and that is a contribution to the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and throughout the world, which does not affect the interests of other countries. The bonds between Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, which imply unconditional respect for each other's sovereignty and national independence. Socialist internationalism also makes for the flowering of each people's patriotism. These two principles—internationalism and patriotism—constitute a dialectical unity. The fraternal countries of Indochina take a common stand in defence of their socialist national interests against the great-power ideology, chauvinism and reactionary nationalism. The leaders of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos have declared that the most cherished urge of their three



peoples is the urge for peace, national construction and wellbeing.

These principles are being translated into practice. We regard the liberation mission accomplished in 1979 by the Vietnamese troops at the request of the patriotic forces of Kampuchea's United Front of National Salvation<sup>7</sup> as our internationalist assistance to the Kampuchean people. Together with them, we have taken a stand against the blood-soaked Pol Pot gangs, which killed over three million of their compatriots and which were the first to start massive attacks across Vietnam's southwestern borders.

At that time, the traitors to the revolution in Kampuchea—Pol Pot, Jeng Sary and Khieu Samphan—claimed that they were building 'their own socialism' (which was in fact a sinister parody of the new society) and were preparing a bridgehead for the consolidation of great-power positions in Indochina. If they had succeeded in maintaining that bridgehead, our country would have found itself surrounded by the forces which refuse to accept the independence of a united and free Vietnam and its loyalty to the principle of internationalism and cohesion within the framework of the socialist community. However, those insidious schemes were frustrated.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea is now confidently rising again under the leadership of its government and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea. We are helping it both in building the new society and in defending it, but our top leaders have repeatedly declared that, as the Kampuchean republic and its own army are successfully strengthened, and as the external threat to it are reduced, the Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from the country. These statements are being unequivocally and consistently fulfilled. The Vietnamese military contingents in Kampuchea have already been reduced on three occasions, and once again this year as well.

Socialist Vietnam has never had any intention of subordinating Kampuchea, as reactionary propaganda claims, or of incorporating it into some Indochinese Federation, an idea which the French colonialists fostered in the 1950s. Those who accuse Vietnam of having 'taken over' Kampuchea have themselves tried very hard to weaken it once again and to draw it into their sphere of influence.

Evidence of such intentions comes from the support which the forces of imperialism and reaction are giving to the so-called 'coalition government of democratic Kampuchea', a headquarters of counter-revolution including representatives of three once warring groups, with the Pol Pot men wielding the main political and military force, and the 'coalition' being no more than a mask used to cover up their man-hating face. This odds-and-ends mix shows very well that the 'coalition government' has no concern for the wellbeing of the people or for Kampuchea's sovereignty; it merely wants to restore its ruling positions in the country at all costs. That is why the 'members of the government' agree to any kind of deals, and take orders from foreign states. The Kampuchean counter-revolution has no prospects before it; its potentialities are waning, the people do not support it, and it is also losing weight in the international arena. But as it receives generous handouts in cash and weapons from the enemies of the people's republic, it tries to vindicate these handouts by fighting a war against its own people: now hurling its gangs into piratical raids into the jungles of Kampuchea, now withdrawing them for a breathing space on Thai territory.

The Vietnamese and Kampuchean army units try to avoid international complications and do not violate the Thai border in hot pursuit of Pol Pot's gangs. But they have fought and will continue to fight relentlessly against the counter-revolutionary forces.

Vietnam has also helped and continues to help Laos to build a new life and to rise from its age-old backwardness. With the fraternal countries' support, the Laotian people are transforming their economy, culture and social relations on new principles. We regard the all-round strengthening of the friendship of the three



countries of Indochina and their steady upward development as constituting the main results of our internationalist contribution to the cause of the revolution.

The conversion of Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation does not, of course, depend only on the strengthening of fraternal relations between the socialist countries, although it is, in itself, one of the key conditions for attaining that goal. What is needed is also the successful development of a dialogue with all the states in the region, regardless of social system.

Southeast Asia, let us emphasise once again, remains a zone of heightened international tension, above all because the imperialists and the Beijing hegemonists refuse to give up their hopes of spreading their influence in the area. It is a part of the world where dozens of peoples speaking different languages inhabit 12 countries with a total population of nearly 400 million, and where there are two main blocs: the three fraternal Indochinese countries, and the ASEAN states.

We are sure that our way of social development is the right one, and we gain fresh conviction of this from the fact that we are successfully tackling the problems which some ASEAN countries find it hard to cope with. Take Thailand. It is a rich country, with almost 50 million people, which reaped advantages from the Second World War and which has not been subjected to any attacks. But masses of people in that country drag out a miserable existence in poverty, while the propertied classes wax rich. The class inequality and the exploitation of the working people are the main causes for the people's misfortunes, which are being exacerbated. Masses of people in Thailand remain illiterate, deprived of social security and medical care, indeed, of everything that the Vietnamese people already have at their disposal, even if still to an inadequate extent.

The ruling classes of the ASEAN states fear the spread of the Vietnamese example and insist on confrontation with the countries of Indochina. It is true that in the recent period, thanks to our peace policy, there has been evidence of some encouraging, even if still insignificant signs of growing understanding, although the confrontation is still there. For instance, some statesmen in Indonesia are increasingly inclined to a dialogue with Vietnam.

We fully share the peace policy of the fraternal states of the socialist community. Together with us this was once again reiterated by Kampuchea and Laos at this year's tripartite meeting of our foreign ministers. As for its relations with China, Vietnam is maintaining the line of negotiations in settling all disputed issues and re-establishing normal relations between the two countries. Vietnam has made concrete proposals aimed to reduce tension in the frontier areas and to bring about the signing of a mutual non-aggression pact. We have proposed on more than ten occasions a resumption of negotiations with the Chinese side in any place, at any time, and at any level.

The Vietnamese people has always respected its long standing friendship with the Chinese people, which gained in strength when our two neighbouring countries jointly carried on their revolutionary struggle. Unfortunately, for the time being, these friendly feelings have not met with understanding on the part of the Beijing leaders, and this year military operations on the Vietnamese-Chinese border reached another high point.

Supported by China, the United States and Japan, the ruling circles of the ASEAN countries continue largely to follow the line of confrontation with the socialist republics of Indochina, as a statement issued by the ASEAN foreign ministers at a meeting this year said.

Vietnam's leaders have always come forward with proposals for a general settlement of the situation in Southeast Asia envisaging a withdrawal of all foreign forces and a dismantling of all foreign bases in the region. If such a comprehensive settlement cannot be reached, Vietnam's Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said, there could be several provisional solutions: a non-aggression pact between the fraternal



countries of Indochina and China; a similar pact with Thailand; an agreement with ASEAN on the principles of peaceful coexistence and a pacific settlement of conflicts.

For the time being, however, none of these proposals has met with any response. That being so, Vietnam and the other socialist states of Indochina are forced to remain vigilant and to strengthen their defence capability.

We have faith in our people, we believe in the strength of socialism, and we trust our allies. The Soviet Union and the whole socialist community are a mighty bulwark of the national liberation struggle and the struggle for peace, which are indissolubly bound up with each other. The Vietnamese Communists consistently stand for the wellbeing and freedom of progressive mankind as a whole, while advancing towards the invariable goals of their own revolution. That requires, Le Duan says, that "peace—the common gain won by the peoples of all countries—must be defended. The joint efforts of the socialist and non-aligned countries, of the democratic and peace-loving forces and of all the peoples add up to a tremendous potential for averting the threat of nuclear war and containing the militaristic and aggressive policies of the forces of imperialism and international reaction".<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Hanoi, 1980, p. 544 (in Vietnamese).

<sup>2</sup> *Tap chi Hoc tap*, Hanoi, No. 4, 1982, p. 24 (in Vietnamese).

<sup>3</sup> See the article by Hoang Tung, 'Strategy of Building Socialism and Defending Its Gains', *WMR*, No. 9, 1983.—*Ed.*

<sup>4</sup> Phuong is the lowest unit of the administrative and territorial division in the country.—*Ed.*

<sup>5</sup> In the North there are the state, collective and individual sectors of the economy, and in the South, also the state-private and the private-capitalist sectors.—*Ed.*

<sup>6</sup> *Pravda*, June 16, 1984.

<sup>7</sup> It is now called the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence.—*Ed.*

<sup>8</sup> *Tap chi Hoc tap*, Hanoi, No. 4, 1982, p. 74 (in Vietnamese).

## Win the Struggle for Democracy

Mohammad Farhad — General  
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THE year 1975 saw the beginning of a trend towards capturing power through killing and coups d'état. On August 15, 1975 the reactionary pro imperialist wing of the Awami League founded by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman staged a coup d'état in collaboration with certain sections of the armed forces. Mujib himself was brutally killed with his family.<sup>1</sup>

Since then or for nearly nine years out of our thirteen and a half years of independent existence, our national life has never been free from turmoils and instability. Throughout this period real power has been in the hands of the army, directly or indirectly. After Mujib's killing, followed by a chain of events full of turmoil, Major General Ziaur Rahman came to power. He took no steps to put the killers on trial. Instead, every effort was made to erase the very name of the 'Father of the Nation' from our history. Subsequently Ziaur himself was killed by a rival section of the armed forces. His killers, too, went unpunished. Lastly, Lt. General Hossain Mohammad Ershad seized power upon imposing martial law in March 1982.

He declared that to stop for once and all bloodshed and transfer of power by violent



means, it was necessary to evolve a formula. He suggested that certain provisions be incorporated into the Constitution to assure the armed forces a permanent position in the exercise of legislative and executive power. He claimed that since the members of the armed forces are the 'best brains' in society and since the army is not an alien force but a national institution, everybody should recognise its right to have a share of state power. While expressing these ideas, General Ershad certainly had in mind the examples of Indonesia and Turkey and was thinking of pushing the country on to the same path.

He also said that to put the economy on the right track, it was necessary to do away with corruption and make economic management more efficient. And he explained that this could only be done by putting the army in power permanently. It does not require much explanation what General Ershad meant by 'putting the economy on the right track'. To him, it means following the directives of imperialism and ensuring dependent capitalist development. To 'combat' corruption means the right to take part in corrupt practices, and as for making economic management more efficient, it means replacing the civil bureaucracy by a military one. For more than two years, we have seen this policy vigorously implemented.

We have never said that the armed forces as a whole are hostile to the people. They are our national forces but vested interest groups extend many privileges to the military to use them for their selfish ends. The ruling coterie, who have taken power in the name of the armed forces, are pushing an anti-popular policy serving the interests of imperialism and its local agents, especially the compradors and those who have made a fortune by looting the treasury. They have curtailed the democratic rights of the people. This is the basic characteristic of military rule in our country and every time there is a change of government the anti-popular trend of official policy becomes more marked.

The progressive achievements of the early years of independence have been nullified. The military rulers are forcing the country under the yoke of neocolonial economic exploitation, in collaboration with imperialism. Emerging under their protection and with their full blessing is a class of parvenus engaged in rampant looting of public property. They have taken loans and credits of hundreds of millions of taka<sup>2</sup> from nationalised banks, nor have they repaid anything. Businessmen who have failed to repay earlier loans are granted new ones. With what is virtually stolen money, they buy at a throwaway price banks and factories formerly owned by the state.

According to our estimate, Bangladesh has so far received 270 billion taka in foreign aid. As a result of investment in unproductive sectors and rampant corruption among the government officials, the aid money was pocketed by bureaucratic chiefs and newly rich looters, the life style of this new class of rich people is so extravagant that they sometimes spend more than their Western counterparts. They do not hesitate to spend a million taka just to make a modern bathroom and this in a country which is the second poorest in the world.

Annual per capita income is only 90 dollars in our country, where 87 per cent of the population live below the poverty line and more than half of them live in sub-human conditions, in the direst poverty.<sup>3</sup> A few more figures can be added here to depict the harsh realities of our life. One-third of our population is unemployed. The rate of literacy is only 20 per cent. At the time of liberation, 30 per cent of the rural population was landless; by now the figure has risen to 60 per cent. The purchasing power of our currency has decreased tenfold and real wages fourfold.

Bangladesh is an agrarian country. But no major land reform was carried out to change age-old land relations. Very little progress was made in modernising agriculture. Industrial development is also at a low level. The economy is virtually in a stagnant position. While the population is growing fast, little effort is being made to develop industrial production. The only activity is the transfer of industrial units from



the public to the private sector. Shortfall is common in both agriculture and industry. On the other hand, this crisis situation proved to be a great opportunity for comprador businessmen because the country has to depend on import to meet the shortages, and aid-supported import activities are a big bonanza for them.

The foreign policy pursued by the respective governments since the 1975 coup d'état, including the present government, is one of unscrupulously following the dictates of imperialism, mainly US imperialism, and pleasing those who will provide aid, such as rightist Islamic regimes, including that of Saudi Arabia, or Beijing. At the same time, relations with socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, have sharply deteriorated. In November-December 1983, when the movement for democracy and the lifting of martial law gained momentum, the government discovered by a fantastic flick of mind the 'hand of Moscow' working behind the movement. They closed down the Soviet Cultural Centre in Dhaka and carried out other anti-Soviet actions.

The topsy turvydom of our foreign policy found a stark expression in our attitude towards the US 7th Fleet. At a time when our people were engaged in a grim struggle of liberation, we saw ships of that fleet patrolling our territorial waters in the Bay of Bengal, as a demonstration of force against our struggle. But their intentions were foiled by the strong support and help extended to our liberation struggle by India and the socialist world, primarily the USSR. Now the government has agreed to open our seaports to the 7th Fleet.

To put the foregoing in a nutshell, a reverse process is going on to take the country back from the path it was following after liberation, so that we are now far removed from the aims and ideals of that period. The result is a deep national crisis.

This policy of the government has made life miserable for the people. Military rule, the absence of democracy and the grave economic crisis are a source of strong popular discontent. In recent times our people have been coming forward more and more resolutely to challenge the regime. A wide-based democratic movement has developed in the country. It demands above all the immediate lifting of martial law and the holding of a general election.

On this background, when General Ershad declared in January last year that he would make the country an Islamic republic this infuriated the educated and middle sections of the population. The people of Bangladesh heard enough of such 'Islamic' slogans under Pakistani rule.

The major democratic parties promptly united in a bloc known as the 15-part alliance. The alliance groups, besides our party, the National Awami Party (NAP) and the Awami League, organisations which once had a leaning towards a pro-Beijing line as well as those whose main political stand was opposition to the Communist Party of Bangladesh and the Awami League. The past period has seen significant changes in their political views.

The Awami League is the main force in the alliance. This means that at present the leadership of the movement is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. But it is perfectly clear that without the CPB and other left organisations the Awami League and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties like it cannot further the movement—this is more than bourgeois leaders can do.

In our country students have traditionally been the shock troop of major social movements. In February last year they came out in unity against the anti-popular education policy of the government and demanded the lifting of martial law and the formation of a democratic government. The military government's response was brutal repression. Many students were shot down by the police. Leaders of the 15-party alliance, including the author of this article, were put into the dungeon of the military intelligence headquarters. They even arrested Hasina, the daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (she now heads the Awami League).

However, this only intensified the struggle, which soon spread all over the country.



The government had to make some concessions. It released the opposition leaders from custody and slightly relaxed curbs on political activities. (With the imposition of martial law, all political activities were banned.)

The 15-party alliance consolidated its unity and formulated a joint political programme whose highlights were: the lifting of martial law and the re-establishment of democratic, parliamentary forms of government by holding elections on the basis of the 1972 Constitution (prior to the adoption of the 4th amendment).<sup>4</sup> Later on some other important demands were incorporated into the programme. They include restoration of the progressive achievements of the liberation struggle, reintroduction of the nationalisation policy and a land reform. The alliance advocates satisfaction of the just demands of the landless agricultural labourers, share-croppers and poor peasants, pay increases for workers and other employees, and recognition of their right to form trade unions and participate in management. We call for the adoption of an independent anti-imperialist foreign policy for peace, the settlement of problems with India and other neighbours by peaceful means and better relations with socialist states. The growing activity and mass campaigns of the 15-party alliance soon raised the militancy of popular actions.

Alongside this there were other developments on the political scene. General Ershad was successful in creating a rift within the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), which was in power prior to his ascent, and in taking the breakaway faction under his aegis. It is appropriate to note that the policy of the BNP government was no better than that of the present government. That government, too, leant towards right reaction and resorted to particularly brutal repression against our party. But still it was a government which had come to power through elections, whatever their shortcomings. General Ershad ousted it from power and is now forming a new party, using all the power he enjoys as military ruler. He has a Cabinet composed of generals, a few civil servants and some handpicked people from this party (including the Prime Minister). Thus, without any sort of election, he removed one party and put another in power by openly using force.

After the BNP had split, the wing led by Begum Khaleda Zia, the widow of the slain President Ziaur Rahman, organised itself and began under the influence of the growing militancy of the people to think of joining in struggle. However, its programme does not call for parliamentary democracy, a land reform or an anti-imperialist policy. Moreover, it criticises the Ershad government for its 'subservience' to India, which is a friend of the the Soviet Union. It follows that the BNP has no real differences with the present government on fundamental policy matters. Nevertheless, it is opposed to military rule and is talking about democracy. Under its leadership there has emerged another alliance of seven political parties.

To extend the social base of the movement as far as possible, steps were taken on our initiative to reach a degree of understanding between the 15-party alliance and the new bloc. This effort gave rise to a common programme containing the following main demands: (1) lift martial law; (2) re-establish democratic rights, including the right to political activity; (3) hold parliamentary elections prior to any other election and transfer power to the elected parliament which will decide on the form of government; (4) release all political prisoners; (5) set up a commission of inquiry into the killing of students in February 1983 and mete out exemplary punishment to those responsible for the crime. This important political document is now known all over the country as the five-point programme. Support from all sections of the population has made it the nation's charter of demands.

The understanding reached by the 15-party and seven-party blocs expressed in the five-point programme gave the people great hopes of success of the movement and at the same time increased the isolation of the government. But though the two coalitions have found common ground in their struggle against military rule and for democracy, there still are fundamental political differences between them. That is



why we have never tried to extend the understanding by, say, forming a united front. Ours is a policy of coordinating parallel actions and it bears fruit.

Sticking to the policy of ignoring the demand 'parliamentary poll first', the military junta tried to hold elections to local administrative councils in order to build a power base for the ruling government. Both blocs—those of 15 and 7 parties—called for a boycott of the elections. To ensure the success of its action, the government was prepared to bring the whole strength of its coercive machinery to bear, but resolute popular resistance made it abandon its plan. This victory of the people, won on the initiative of the two party coalitions, changed the situation on the political scene.

Nor was this the only gain. Mention may also be made of the legalisation of political prisoners, including Communists, the withdrawal of the fabricated sedition case filed previously against this author, etc. The workers, office employees, landless peasants and share-croppers had some of their demands met as the movement grew. But it should be remembered that the government has not yet met the fundamental demands of the five-point political programme.

The success of the boycott movement made Ershad call for a dialogue with the 22 parties to resolve the political crisis. We have never closed the door to efforts to come to a peaceful solution of the problem. Both blocs joined in the dialogue but it failed completely, for the head of the usurper government refused to give up his plan to become President through some sort of farcical election. During discussions he agreed to announce parliamentary elections first. But this was obvious bluff, for his speech to the nation on May 12, 1984 indicated that parliament would not meet in session till he got himself elected President. This is why both party blocs rejected the plan set out on May 12.

The law of our country forbids members of the armed forces to join any political party or engage in politics. Today's rulers have no respect for any such law and interfere directly in politics. Unless this trend is checked at once it will be meaningless for the opposition parties to take part in elections.

We will continue protesting against this naked interference of the army in the political process. We are hopeful that the forces of democracy will emerge victorious again, for we have the people on our side. But if the government does not yield to the people's just demands and deploys troops against them, an extremely grave situation will follow. The country is at a critical juncture now.<sup>5</sup>

A significance feature of the present situation is that the working class is now more united than ever before and playing an important role in the national political movement. The workers are fighting unrelentingly for higher wages, the right to form trade unions and other demands. The 16 trade union federations joined together to form a United Action Committee of the Working Class and Employees and defend the working people's interests. In response to its call, a strike unparalleled in scale took place throughout the country on April 28.

As the government refused to give in, the Action Committee called for a 48-hour strike on May 22 and 23. The working class took a firm stand and so the government had no other way but to admit defeat before the workers' united strength. In the late hours of May 21 the government signed an agreement with trade union leaders raising the minimum wage from 270 to 460 taka and conceding many of the workers' rights.

All who have any knowledge of current events in the country—from members of the ruling group to the common man—will say that it is the Communists and the trade unions led by them that are playing the leading role in the worker's movement. Ours being an agrarian country, as we have said, we have put the emphasis on organising the agricultural workers and also the peasants. We have scored some gains of late. The government was forced to fix a minimum wage for agricultural workers, meet the demand of farm labourers and share-croppers to two-thirds of the crop and formalise their rights in regard to the land they till.

Communists are active in the youth and student's movement. Our comrades



helped found the largest women's organisation. They are in the forefront of actions by intellectuals, engineers, doctors and others. The peace movement is not very strong in our country but the recent period has seen some anti-war demonstrations and other actions.

Still, the main political struggle in Bangladesh is for democracy, as we have pointed out. Our party holds a very important place in this respect. A recent plenary meeting of the CPB Central Committee noted that the Communists play a pivotal role in all phases of the struggle. This was clearly expressed in our efforts to build up the political unity of democratic forces and foster the militancy of the masses.

In pursuing its line, the CPB shows unshakable firmness on questions of principle and flexibility in tactical matters. We attach great importance in the present situation to the preservation of the 15-party alliance. At the same time we are taking resolute steps to promote understanding among the left or potentially left parties in order to ensure that in future the movement for social changes becomes dominant.

Imperialism, its local agents and reactionary circles resort to conspiracies and killings and have shifted Bangladesh far away from the ideals and aspirations for which we fought during the liberation struggle. Today we are in need of another national resurgence. This requires the direct participation of the working masses. Bearing this imperative in mind, we Communists are now making a sustained effort towards uniting progressive democratic forces on the basis of a national-patriotic programme and towards strengthening their positions. It is a good sign that the balance of forces within the 15-party alliance is favourable to this trend of development.

The political and socio-economic realities of Bangladesh show clearly that the main thing is to free the country from the shackles of imperialism, consolidate national independence and sovereignty, achieve a peaceful and just settlement of outstanding problems with neighbours, close the wide gap of class differences, and stop the steady exacerbation of social problems. It is necessary to end the plundering of the nation's wealth, ensure economic progress, call a halt for ever to the policy of killings and coups d'etat and restore democracy and stability. There is no alternative to basic social transformations or a social revolution holding out the prospect of socialism. We believe the issue of such a revolution is the order of the day.

There is no barrier like the Great Wall of China between the present anti-dictatorial movement and the task of attaining a national resurgence and accomplishing a socialist-oriented national democratic revolution. The document 'Road to Socialism in Bangladesh', approved by the latest, the Third CPB Congress (1980), points out that by fighting for democracy, our party helps at the same time unfold actions of a class nature, working perseveringly for the broad-based unity of all patriots and democrats and for understanding among left forces with a view to building up the movement for social change.

Communists are now doing all in their power to implement the guidelines of the Congress. The difficulties standing in our way are easy to understand. They are aggravated by a complex international situation in which the Reagan Administration, being engaged in feverish war preparations, has declared a 'crusade' against communism and national liberation revolutions. Imperialism's conspiratorial, subversive activity takes particularly drastic forms in our region. It should also be remembered that for the last nine years power in Bangladesh has been wielded by pro-imperialist circles.

However, we are firmly stepping up our struggle in spite of all obstacles. We often have to pay with our blood to make gains. Many CPB members and leaders have added their names to the already long list of fallen heroes. Tajul Islam, a Communist proletarian leader who organised the workers at the Adamjee Jute Mills, the largest industrial enterprise, to participate in the struggle for democracy, fell at the hands of government agents. Fazar Ali, another of our comrades, lost his life in class battles in



the countryside. Recently one of our student activists, a bright boy of 17 years, was murdered in cold blood in his sleep by a member of Jamaate Islami, the arch-reactionary Moslem group.

Such sacrifices are nothing new to us. The party has had to make them in fighting its way forward ever since it was founded in March 1948. Thanks to its glorious past and its correct militant policy today, the influence and prestige of Communists among the masses are growing and party organisations spring up and gain strength in urban and rural communities. The situation is now favourable to the party extending its base.

We continuously come to grips with the enemy. We have vowed that thousands of new comrades will come forward to take the place of Comrade Tajul and to raise the red banner of revolution still higher. No force on earth can divert the Communists of Bangladesh from their goal—consolidating national independence and building socialism to emancipate the working man, nor can it shake our loyalty to the ideals of proletarian internationalism.

The people of Bangladesh, primarily its working men and women, have begun to rise. Their awakening has changed the situation for the better and we are confident that no amount of repression, no barrier can check the struggle of our people for lasting peace, freedom and social progress.

<sup>1</sup> The President's two daughters escaped the tragic fate because they were abroad at the time.

<sup>2</sup> Our national currency; 23.75 taka equals \$1.

<sup>3</sup> These figures date back to 1979; the situation has become worse since then.

<sup>4</sup> The amendment, adopted on Mujibur Rahman's initiative in 1975, provided for the concentration of all executive authority and important legislative powers in the hands of the president of the republic. Experience has shown that in our conditions this tends to become virtually one-man dictatorial rule. Moreover, it is easier for conspirators to create a vacuum and bring about a transfer of power since they only have to eliminate that single man. On the basis of this experience, we have decided to uphold again the demand for a parliamentary form of government.

<sup>5</sup> This article was received in July 1984.—Ed.

# the party

## Our Only Privilege: to be Where it is Hardest

*Stoyan Karadzhov* — Chairman, Central  
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Communist Party (BCP)

THE BCP's whole experience in building and further developing socialism in our country shows that the party's concern for improving its quality composition, for the moral makeup of its members, and for the continuous enhancement of the Communists' vanguard role is a component part in and an important prerequisite for improving the party guidance of the society. Our efforts in this sphere rest on the traditions of the international and Bulgarian revolutionary movement.

The demands made on party members were already clearly defined by Marx and Engels in the Rules of the first working class organisation, the League of Communists, when they said that their whole way of life and activity should accord with the communist ideals. In the light of the theoretical propositions of Marxism and the experience gained by the working class in its social battles. Lenin worked out his coherent doctrine of the new type of proletarian party and defined the most



important prerequisites for the exercise of its leading role. The party can play such a role successfully, he wrote, 'if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it really comprises all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch Communists who have been educated and steeled by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and, through it, with the whole mass of the exploited, and in completely winning the confidence of this class'.<sup>1</sup>

The founder of the BCP, Dimitr Blagoyev, who was known as Grandfather, kept stressing that if the party is to fulfil its political tasks, there must be strict discipline, which he regarded as the actual expression of the close connection between singleness of thought and act, i.e., the voluntary acceptance of party decisions and directives by all the Communists. Much attention to this matter was also given by Georgi Dimitrov. Immediately after the victorious uprising of September 9, 1944, he sent the BCP CC a telegram about the moral make-up of the Communist and member of the Patriotic Front (PF): 'It is desirable to carry out an inner-party explanatory campaign in the press against the tendency towards careerism and self-seeking, against the danger of any degeneration in everyday life, while the Patriotic Front parties are in power . . . PF functionaries and employees of the new democratic state must set an example of honest and loyal service to the people, and the Communists must be above all the others in this respect.'<sup>2</sup>

The April 1956 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC exposed in Bolshevik style the causes of the violations of the Leninist principles and rules of party life in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and drew up a clear-cut programme for enhancing the party's leading and guiding role in social life. Its decisions and propositions were developed and amplified at the BCP's subsequent congresses and the plenary meetings of its Central Committee, in its programmatic documents and in the words of BCP CC General Secretary Todor Zhivkov.

What does the Communist's vanguard role at the present stage in the development of the Bulgarian society consist of?

It consists, first of all, *in setting an example of high quality workmanship* in production, where the main struggle for strengthening and developing the socialist system is under way. Lenin says that 'party members must set an example to all in labour discipline and energy'.<sup>3</sup> Fulfilment of this requirement is of exceptional importance at the present stage of building a mature socialist society. The 12th Congress of the BCP in 1981 called on the Communists to display even greater labour activity and consciousness. Responding to the Congress decisions, they have increasingly given a lead in the drive for the all-round intensification of production, for its complex automation and specialisation, for consistent application of the new economic approach, perfection of the economic mechanism and a high standard of labour. The Communists initiate new beginnings and socialist emulation drives for fulfilling the plans of the eighth five-year period ahead of schedule.

The importance of every party member's personal example tends especially to increase in a situation in which the Bulgarian economy has been set the task of becoming truly rational and economical, with the problems of product quality and production discipline in the forefront. Todor Zhivkov emphasised at the November 1982 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC that it is precisely 'the quality of labour and the people's discipline . . . that will have the crucial role in our further advance'.<sup>4</sup>

That assessment was reaffirmed at the BCP's national conference on product quality (March 1984), for inadequate quality standards impede the fulfilment of the main socio-economic tasks in building developed socialism. It was said at the conference that the successes which have been achieved should in no way obscure the negative phenomena and processes that are evident in the economy. Unless these are discerned right away, unless measures to overcome them are taken right away, there could be negative consequences towards the end of the current and especially in the



next five-year period, causing difficulties in national-economic development. In view of the need to turn the quality of labour and discipline into the main components of our society's further development, the conference approved a long-term programme for the complex solution of this problem.

The organisational and educational work of the Communists and of all their party cells are an important element of the nationwide drive to do what has been decided upon. In some of the party cells there is still the view that all a party member needs to do is to work honestly himself and to observe production discipline. But that is an elementary duty of any citizen of the socialist society. How others work cannot be a matter of indifference to the Communist, who does not only strive for the best results himself, but also acts as organiser and educates his fellow workers in a high sense of responsibility. Thus, Communists are in the front ranks of the effort to solidify the new type of teams which offer real conditions for a creative attitude to work and to socialist property, and for asserting conscious labour discipline and mutual assistance.

That suggests yet another fundamental duty of the Communist: *to consolidate the party's ties with the people*, the source of its strength and invincibility. Lenin used to say that a person who was unable to 'group round himself several honest non-party workers, to be in daily touch with them, to visit them in their homes, to help them in everyday life, to supply them with newspapers, to bring out from their midst workers for the trade unions and Soviet government organs, etc.'<sup>5</sup>—such a person was no Communist. The party member has the duty to find an approach to every person, to help him understand and accept BCP policy, and to convince him that it is a policy which meets his vital requirements, and that it is the duty of all the working people to help realise the party's policy through their own initiative.

When doing so, it is important to display concern for the individual interests, needs and requirements of others, such as those in production. Labour under socialism is increasingly a means for developing the individual's spiritual and physical potentialities, and an instrument of inner self-enrichment. But this process does not run of itself. The BCP's 12th Congress set before the Communists the responsible task of helping individuals to mature at one and the same workplace. All the Communists, party leaders in particular, will have to do even more to remove the obstacles in the way of the individual's self-realisation in production, and to create the best atmosphere for the individual's all-round development.

The Communist has to win the confidence of the masses also by *setting an example in his personal life*, an example which carries a high educational potential, because in the light of it others pass judgement on the ideas of the BCP. One should bear in mind that wrongful behaviour by individuals who are party members can compromise the party in the eyes of many people. By contrast, the Communist who takes an implacable attitude to any manifestation of philistinism, moral laxity, favouritism, or breaches of social legality, so setting a model of morality, of matching word and deed, of moral purity and honesty, helps to enhance his own authority and so also the authority of the party as a whole. Todor Zhivkov says that "each of us, 800,000 Bulgarian Communists, each of the thousands of party leaders helps to create and assert the people's trust in the party by his dedication to the cause of communism, by his work and his behaviour, and by the whole of his life, bearing a personal responsibility for the people's trust in the party, which is our invaluable asset".<sup>6</sup>

If the Communist is to play a vanguard role, he must *assimilate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism*, spread them vigorously and with conviction, and seek to make them the world view of the people as a whole. Now that the Marxist-Leninist ideology has become the predominant one in the country, now that the working people's level of culture and information has risen, a party member without due ideological seasoning and general educational training will be unable to set an example to the others and to give them a lead. Let us bear in mind that persuasion is the party's main



method of working in the masses. But one can persuade others only when one is oneself in possession of wide knowledge and culture.

We devote much attention to having the BCP consist mainly of well-trained and well-educated men and women, capable of playing the part of educators, organisers and leaders of the working people. Its Programme says: 'The party believes that its duty is to enhance the theoretical and political level and the general culture and specialist education of the Communists.'<sup>7</sup> Considerable advances have been made in this area over the past several years. Almost two-thirds of the Communists now have a higher, an incomplete higher or secondary education, and among those who have joined the BCP since its 12th Congress, the figure is as high as 91.6 per cent. The secretaries of grass-roots party organisations have a high standard of qualifications: 92 per cent of them have a secondary or higher education.

The current sharpening of the ideological struggle between the two systems and imperialism's massive psychological warfare against the socialist countries make special demands on the Communists. If they are to debunk the diverse theories which are aimed to 'refute' Marxism and to minimise our successes, if they are to expose anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, they must have good ideological grounding and a capacity to explain the party's policy correctly and with sound arguments, and to be able to sort out complicated political issues. Only then will the Communist be able to shape in the minds of the working people a high sense of class and party consciousness, an active position in life, and a sense of socialist patriotism, which is an organic blend of love for the new Bulgaria and the truly internationalist approach to the Soviet Union, to the other fraternal countries, and to our fellow-fighters in the struggle for our radiant ideals all over the world.

The BCP Rules put on the Communist the duty to promote the *development of criticism and self-criticism*, to oppose any sign of suppression of criticism, disregard of the realities, showmanship, know-all attitudes, arrogance, self-complacency, promotion of parochial interests and other acts harming the party and the state, and boldly to expose shortcomings and work for their elimination. All of that needs to be done firmly and consistently. Let us recall what Lenin said in his reply to the Communist M. Sokolov, who reported on his futile attempts to combat bureaucratic practices: "It's naive to wave aside a healing process by referring to the fact that you have tried to fight the bureaucrats two or three times and have suffered defeat. First of all, I reply to this, your unsuccessful experiment, you have to try 20 or 30 times, and not 2 or 3 times—and repeat your attempts, and start all over again.

"Secondly, where is the evidence that you fought correctly, and skilfully? Bureaucrats are smart fellows, many scoundrels among them are extremely cunning. You won't catch them with your bare hands. Did you fight correctly? Did you *encircle* the 'enemy' according to all the rules of the art of war?"<sup>8</sup>

Our party is doing a great deal to develop criticism and self-criticism within its own ranks and throughout the society. The decisions of its congresses and conferences, its CC plenary meetings and activist conferences are permeated with the spirit of sobriety and realistic analysis. Thus, the July 1976 Plenary Meeting of the BCP CC openly indicated the shortcomings and flaws within the party and in our social development and mapped out the ways of eradicating them. This kind of self-critical and critical approach which has been established among us impels the Communists to combat the negative aspects of human behaviour and breaches of the norms of party and state life.

The Communists' vanguard role is ensured by the *party's consistent and purposeful activity at every level*.

Much here depends on the BCP's work to improve its quality makeup. The documents of the 12th Congress indicate that in this age of the scientific and technical revolution, complex automation and intellectualisation of social labour, with important changes taking place in the society's social structure, there is a need to look



for fresh approaches and criteria for admission to the ranks of the BCP, so that it is joined above all by those who have already won party and public recognition for their high standard of culture, professional training, political maturity and authority among their fellows.<sup>9</sup> Effective party leadership requires greater party influence in every sphere of social life, and not only in the crucial individual sectors, and the buildup of a solid frame to underpin the intensification of social production.

*Scrupulous observance of the norms of party life*, leadership and members' behaviour, as *written into the BCP's Rules*, is a guarantee of the Communists' growing vanguard role. In accordance with the tasks of each new stage in social development and party policy, the Rules are amended so as to further enhance the authority of party membership, to extend inner-party democracy, to ensure the further development of the initiative of party organisations, and to enhance the Communists' responsibility for the activity of the grass-roots cells.

The BCP's latest congress also introduced some amendments and addenda to the Rules. Although these are limited, they confirm our party's ability to develop and perfect the content of organisational principles and norms, and to adapt the forms and methods of work to the concrete conditions of building mature socialism. New duties for party members have been formulated and among them is the duty to see to the application of modern scientific and technical achievements, to work for high labour productivity and a model socialist organisation of labour, to strive for high quality and efficiency, to set an example in the fulfilment of one's duty, and to promote the assertion of the socialist way of life.

Some additions relate to the activity of the primary party organisation, which is defined as the political core of the work collective, as the prototype which carries within it the main feature of its future state. The Rules indicate that it has a two-fold role: it acts as the party's representative in the work collective, while simultaneously representing the work collective in the party. This means that the grass-roots cell has both to act vigorously for the fulfilment of plans mapped out by the BCP, consistently to defend the working people's interests and to make the problems facing the collective known to the higher party bodies.

The amendments to the Rules are a reflection of the party's line of enhancing the role of primary party organisations, amplifying their inner life and turning it into a model of socialist social relations. Among the values of inner-party life developed by the BCP over the long years of struggle and creative labour effort are a high sense of ideological commitment and efficient organisation, collectivism and mutual assistance, militancy, a creative approach to one's work, development of criticism and self-criticism, a sense of responsibility and discipline. Work collectives, administrative and management units and social organisation should now base the relations within them on these values, which are increasingly to determine their activity.

Since the BCP's 12th Congress, fulfilment of these and other amendments and addenda to the Rules has been a binding requirement in further enhancing the Communist's vanguard role in labour activity, in ethics and in the whole of the country's socio-political life.

An atmosphere of comradeship and high party exactingness in the grass-roots cells is of great importance. Each cell has at its disposal diverse ways of exerting an influence on its members. It is certainly right to have every Communist periodically report to his party organisation on the fulfilment of his duties and assignments, but such practice does not, of course, make up the whole of the grass-roots cell's educational function. It is well known, for instance, that a party member who is in breach of some rule is criticised or penalised. However, there are cases when party members fail to participate in party life for years on end, displaying indifference to developments around them, and such behaviour is, unfortunately, not always given the assessment it deserves. But the point is that no side-lines observer is entitled to



call himself a Communist. The struggle against such phenomena is one of the chief concerns of primary organisations.

The system of party control, which has existed in our party since 1905, is indispensable in educating the Communists and improving the work of party organisation. In the BCP, its forms and methods have been repeatedly modified in accordance with the changing historical conditions, but they have always rested on Lenin's scientifically grounded principles and have been constantly enriched by our own experience and that of the fraternal parties.

The decisions of the 12th Congress, notably its directive that 'our country's future depends on the multiplication of the individual's personal qualities and his constant self-improvement as citizen, worker and creator',<sup>10</sup> is now the guiding principle for the activity of control and auditing commissions at every level.

The work of the control organs is being increasingly tied in with the party's line of building up the material and technical basis of a developed socialist society, further raising the people's living standards and carrying on a struggle for high quality everywhere. Especial importance attaches to the following criteria: first, the extent to which the activity of the governing bodies of the party meets the new requirements of the economic approach to the fulfilment of production and economic tasks. Second, how the leading personnel reckon with the interests and rights of work collectives, notably those written into the new Labour Code, how they help them to be even more actively involved in realising the plans of socialist construction and coping with their internal problems. The BCP's Central Control and Auditing Commission (CCAC) and the local commissions have the duty to promote in every way the enhancement of the role of the work collective, the master of socialist property, a long-term goal set before them by the BCP's national conference on party and social control (1973).

Consequently, the commissions have a two-fold designation: to serve as a regulator of inner-party relations and to see to the Communists' unconditional observance of the BCP Programme, Rules and decisions, while simultaneously promoting the better functioning of state and economic-management bodies, and the creation of an atmosphere of purposefulness and efficiency within them.

The imposition of party penalties is an especial aspect of the work of the control commissions, for these serve as an important means of educating the Communists in a spirit of discipline that is binding on one and all. More than half the penalties imposed over the recent period are connected with breaches of discipline, and that is evidence of the high demands being made on party members. It also shows that there are still many cases of unsatisfactory fulfilment of statutory duties within the ranks of the BCP.

In the exercise of control, a principled assessment is given to any shortcomings in the work of party organisations and in the behaviour of Communists. We note that here and there there is still evidence of subjectivism, cases of settling scores, and exaggeration or, conversely, unjustified minimisation of the faults of party members. It is intolerable to find, as we now and again do, some party committees examining personal cases themselves, bypassing the primary organisation, and sometimes even failing to inform it of their decisions, in an effort to 'keep their slate clean', and to prevent 'the authority' of this or that leader from being 'undermined'. That is nothing but an expression of the liberal attitude to Communists in authority. Far from helping to strengthen discipline, it actually harms the correct education of cadres. The Central Control and Auditing Commission strives by all its work to do away with such phenomena.

Control must be exercised with tact and with concern for the Communists, it was said at the 12th Congress, and it should be preventive, i.e., it should be aimed above all to avert mistakes and breaches of the Rules, and prevent party organisations from conniving at them. When scrutinising personal cases, the control and auditing commissions check up on the authenticity of the facts and the objectivity of the



formation they contain, and take into account the opinion of the Communists and the public, seeking not just to put a misdeed on record, but also to consider the nature of the relations between the party member at fault, and the grass-roots cell and the whole world collective. There is a growing understanding in the BCP that the negative aspects in the behaviour of some Communists sometimes reflect the contradictions and shortcomings existing in the society, which is why our educational work is inseparable from efforts to overcome negative phenomena in the wider context.

Our experience shows very well that by relying on the grass-roots cells, the central bodies not only expose the reasons for incorrect action and behaviour of Communists, but also help to improve the practice of imposing penalties, and enhancing the militancy of the organisations and the activity of their members. At the same time, we devote ever greater attention to the educational effects of our decisions, and this makes the work of the Central Control and Auditing Commission and of the local commissions more akin to the work of the ideological front.

Over the past several years, the commissions have actively joined in the struggle for the exercise of *control by the whole people over the fulfilment of party and government decisions*.

Together with the BCP's department and provincial committees, governmental organs, the courts and the procurator's office, the control units of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, the trade unions and the Young Communist League, checks are made on the observance of socialist legality, fulfilment of party decisions in marketing, building, agriculture, the state of party organisations, etc. This helped more rapidly to overcome shortcomings and to implement, fully and in due time, the measures following from the BCP's economic policy, and to improve the style and methods of party leadership.

The work of the control and auditing commissions is coordinated with the activity of state and socio-political bodies and is designed to make every Communist clearly comprehend that he has only one privilege, and that is to be in the frontline, where it is hardest. Control gives party members a sense of personal and collective responsibility, develops their sense of comradeship and mutual assistance, and induces them to make greater efforts to achieve tangible results in the fulfilment of economic, social and other tasks.

It would be a mistake, however, to assert that we are entirely satisfied with what we have achieved. Many imperfections remain within the control system. A reduction in the number of breaches of discipline by Communists can alone show how effective its work is. Meanwhile, our analysis shows that the reduction in the number of party penalties is slow.

The functions of party, governmental and social control organs are not always correctly demarcated, the necessary cooperation between them is not always achieved, and their work lacks purposefulness and system. The entire set of objective and subjective reasons behind various negative phenomena is far from always brought out, and—most importantly—measures to eliminate them are not always carried to the end. That is why we still find that here and there the desired improvements are still not in evidence. The level of professionalism and competence of those carrying out the checks has to be raised, with wider involvement of specialised scientific institutions.

Consequently, much still remains to be done to improve the quality of control, and to enhance its influence on the strengthening of discipline in the grass-roots organisations, the work collectives, the party and the society as a whole. In short, control work needs to be raised to a level in line with the requirements formulated by the BCP's 12th Congress and National Conference, and control and auditing functionaries and activists at every level regard this as their contribution to further



enhancing the party's leading role and to our efforts to build developed socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> G. Dimitrov, *Letters*, Sofia, 1972, p. 419 (in Bulgarian).

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Todor Zhivkov, *The 12th Congress of the BCP and the Ongoing Construction of Mature Socialism: Problems, Tasks, Approaches*, Sofia, 1982, p. 532 (in Bulgarian).

<sup>5</sup> *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, Moscow, 1959, p. 226 (in Russian).

<sup>6</sup> T. Zhivkov, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> *BCP Programme*, Sofia, 1971, p. 115 (in Bulgarian).

<sup>8</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 492.

<sup>9</sup> See Todor Zhivkov, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

## Headed for Mass Popular Disobedience

Hugo Fazio – Member, CC Political Commission and Secretariat, Communist Party of Chile (CPC)

'WE inform the workers and the people that a National Conference of the Communist Party of Chile, the first meeting of this nature to be held under the fascist dictatorship, has taken place.' These are the opening words of a communique circulated in Santiago last June. It concerned a vastly important event in the lives of Chile's Communists that had a wide echo among the country's democrats. A party persecuted by fascism, which had promised to do away with it, showed its viability by ensuring that a forum equal to a congress in significance was attended by all the CC members living in Chile and the secretaries of many regional organisations. CC members in exile and the secretaries of a score of coordinating committees grouping Communists according to country of residence met at the same time. The two meetings, which amounted together to a conference, were a victory for the CPC and the people and a telling blow to the hated dictatorship.

The National Conference, the highest expression of inner-party democracy in conditions of illegality, was preceded at all levels by a lively discussion of current tasks of the party and the people. From beginning to end, it deliberated under the slogan 'Democracy Now, Down with Pinochet'. This was also the title of the report submitted to the party for consideration two months earlier. Discussion centred on how to muster popular forces in resolutely using diverse forms of struggle to overthrow fascism.

The Conference reaffirmed the policy of mass popular disobedience. 'The people's exercise of the right to resist arbitrariness and despotism,' the Final Communique says, 'has raised the fighting morale of the masses and contributed to the unity in struggle.'<sup>1</sup> Large sections of the population supported the ideas of this policy. They became a concrete force that brought about qualitative changes in the anti-dictatorial struggle.

The revolutionary upsurge did not come spontaneously. It was a result of the fact that the policy of mass popular disobedience evolved and adapted by the party had taken root among the population as well as a result of organisation, planning and the Communists' links with the people. The National Protest Days begun in May 1983



took place in the wake of mass actions organised by the party; they showed the real possibility of taking to the streets. Large social sectors, including members of diverse parties, backed these initiatives, thereby giving specific expression to their dissatisfaction with the regime. It follows that the people's major actions were neither accidental, nor spontaneous. Afterwards the rapid expansion of the mass movement induced the most diverse population groups to join in it. Otherwise it would not have assumed such vast proportions.

The Conference described the overall situation as favourable to overthrowing the tyranny. It stressed, however, that this situation can be used only if the different forces opposing the regime unite more closely and at a higher level of popular struggle. At the moment broad-based unity manifests itself in the course of certain campaigns but it does not imply that a definitive consensus has been achieved on the ways and means of abolishing the dictatorship, let alone on the subsequent advancement of the country. Besides, protest actions have shown that notwithstanding their considerable scope, they are not enough in themselves to defeat the regime, which will not step down even if the majority of the population comes out against it. The dictatorship must be brought down. 'Fascism will not listen to reason,' the Report says, 'and therefore it is necessary to back the people's arguments by the people's force, bringing it to bear in a thousand ways and on all fronts.'<sup>2</sup>

Numerous major contradictions imperatively demanding a solution have accumulated in Chile. Fascism, however, is not easing them but aggravating them still further. The structural crisis of Chilean society is by no means a new phenomenon; it has been known for years. The Allende Government tried to end it by effecting revolutionary changes which the counter-revolution broke off. Fascism, too, grappled with the crisis, doing so in its own way, recklessly promoting state-monopoly capitalism, increasing the country's dependence in collaboration with imperialist capital and strengthening the domination of the more powerful groups of the financial oligarchy. To attain these aims, fascism adopted an ultra-reactionary policy based on the monetarist theories of the Chicago school and resorted extensively to extra-economic levers and the most unrestrained coercion.

The result proved very different from what the regime had expected. True, state-monopoly capitalism gained stronger positions and centralisation and concentration of finance assumed unprecedented proportions, but then dependence increased too and this made the structural crisis worse. The domination of imperialism and the financial oligarchy entered a crucial phase. Imperialist plunder and finance capital's profiteering went so far that the point at issue today is the need to overcome the irreconcilable contradiction between the power of these small groups and the interests of the country, of the vast majority of its people.

Pinochet's policies hit a wide range of social sectors and classes from the workers to a substantial part of the bourgeoisie. Chilean fascism is a terroristic dictatorship of domestic and foreign finance capital. Terror has enabled it to rule the country by applying the most reactionary concepts in their most outspoken form. The result is untold hardships for a whole people. In 1983 per capita national income was no higher than in 1960. The cyclical crisis which began in 1981 struck the Chilean economy with uncommon force. The 1982-1983 period saw its gross product fall off by 15 per cent. The failure of fascist and monetarist policy in Chile is an experience whose significance goes beyond national boundaries.

The nation's economic policy is directed from New York and Washington. The measures adopted by the dictatorship conform strictly to the terms set by the IMF and the principles of obtaining loans from credit banks agreed in talks on a revision of the foreign debt. Loans are intended first and foremost to pay interest on the debt and hence consist in mere remittance transactions by transnational banks increasing Chile's debt.

For the big imperialist powers, particularly the United States, foreign trade is



another instrument of plunder. According to statistics released by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, conditions for Chilean trade have deteriorated to such an extent that in 1983 Chile had to export three times more in order to pay for imports equalling in volume those of 1970.

The coup was followed by rapid development of domestic finance capital. The main economic groups linked with imperialism by a variety of ties brought a considerable part of the nation's economic activity under their control. Many decisions of national significance were made in their offices. Today, however, the two most powerful associations of employers, one of which is headed by Javier Vial and the other by Manuel Cruzat and Fernando Larraín, are experiencing a bad decline. This is due to the nature of the mechanisms of expansion used by them. The domination of both associations in the financial system had been assured by the fascist state. They used the opportunities offered them to plunder those who took bank credits at usurious interest rates varying from 30 to 50 per cent a year.

This situation persisted till the beginning of the latest cyclical crisis, when numerous debtors broke off payments because they could no longer make them. Leading private banks declared themselves insolvent. Their debts were paid out of injections from the Central Bank exceeding the assets and reserves of the banks concerned several times over. The dictatorship had to assume control of five banks in order to save them from bankruptcy. Today, when the assets of the Central Bank have been capitalised, it intends to restore them to private business. A notable part of the financial system is now under government control, which is used for further transfers of funds to private economic groups. And while earlier this was done to further their growth, today the aim is to save them from disaster and pay off the enormous debt owed chiefly to foreign creditors.

The country finds itself in a peculiar situation created by the crisis. Domestic finance capital has been weakened. Economic groups have lost direct control of the banks. Large groups of enterprises, in which economic clans hit by the crisis hold most of the shares, are controlled indirectly by the fascist state and subsist on funds granted by the Central Bank. A protracted and difficult process of recomposition of finance capital is believed to be imminent, for the crisis is very deep.

Furthermore, imperialist capital, which earlier used to export substantial funds to the country, has checked this flow of resources. The credits granted in the 1983-1984 period were indispensable to regularly service the foreign debt.

These contradictions are aggravating fascism's crisis, sapping the regime from within and inducing various social and political forces to take a stand on the situation.

US imperialism is faced with the following dilemma: Pinochet guarantees it further maximum exploitation and plunder of the country. However, the imperialists realise that the dictatorship's further existence is bound to be most uncertain; they fear that social conflicts may intensify. Hence imperialism's manoeuvres. While backing Pinochet, it is at the same time searching feverishly for a way out. Its efforts are aimed at bringing about a process of transition that would preserve the forms of the imposed domination and help achieve the main goal, which is to paralyse popular actions, frustrate mutual understanding within the opposition and isolate the Communists and the People's Democratic Movement (PDM) so as to prevent their active participation in the effort to end the crisis.

A marked worsening of the conditions of most Chileans is a further symptom of the present situation. Unemployment, which affects one-third of the nation's workforce, is no longer the exclusive lot of the poorest but encompasses numerous intellectuals and various sections of the middle strata; it is assuming a structural character. There are hundreds of thousands of Chileans whom fascism cannot give jobs. Super-exploitation has kept at a high rate throughout the years of dictatorial rule. Since August 1981, when pay adjustments to the rising cost of living were stopped, real wages have declined again. The agreements signed by the regime with the IMF



stipulate that no compensation shall be paid to those working in the private sector and that workers and other employees engaged in the public sector shall be granted lower nominal increases. In either case there are to be new cuts in terms of real incomes. The middle strata, too, are affected by a drastic reduction in the standard of living. Many small and medium businessmen were mercilessly expropriated and had to greatly reduce their economic activity.

Thus the situation in Chile is explosive and this is admitted even by the Minister of Finance, Luis Escobar Cerda. Speaking to employers grouped in the Association of Factory Development, he confirmed the fact that 'there is hunger' in areas inhabited by the common people. The state, he added, "cannot continue functioning with unemployment at the present level". In these circumstances there was no safeguarding social tranquillity "except by strong repression . . . which cannot be upheld in the long term". He pointed out that Chile "is in a very serious social situation which may become a political problem".<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the worsened condition of the vast majority of the population is a manifestation of the general economic, political, social and moral crisis enveloping the country.

The Conference noted that growing discontent must translate into vigorous actions with every passing day and in increasing measure. The miserable condition of millions cannot in itself lead to change. The chief task is, therefore, to use it as a spur for organisation and struggle at a higher level.

The forces opposed to the dictatorship cover a wide spectrum. Politically, they range between the PDM, which groups the more consistent fighters committed to an explicitly anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic orientation, including Communists, and several rightist parties plus the other left groups and all centrist trends. These heterogeneous forces have come to terms on carrying out various social actions. Joint actions are a powerful factor in the fight against the dictatorship; they have shown possibilities of a unity that does not merely rally us together but adds to our strength. This is not enough, however. The need is for something more than consensus on definite social actions. It is important to arrive at a common stand on the forms of advancing to the removal of the dictatorship and to decide on at least the main lines of activity after it has fallen.

The PDM has repeatedly proposed a broad national accord. No mutual understanding has been reached on this yet because certain opposition groups, while taking a resolute stand against the regime, are afraid of the people. This prompts them to operate from positions ruling out the participation of the more consistent left forces in a joint struggle and often to put forward formulations directed against the Communists and the PDM. 'Such concessions,' the Conference noted, 'are a reflection of pressure from imperialism and home reaction, of their intention to go on controlling developments and prevent the working class and the parties representing it from imparting a progressive trend to events.'<sup>4</sup>

The main prerequisites for a broad agreement are there. The views of the opposition coincide in general on key issues, such as Pinochet's exit, the need to form a provisional government, the convening of a Constituent Assembly to decide on the foundations of the future system, the abrogation of the fascist Constitution and the framing of an emergency policy to solve the most acute problems of the population and adopt effective measures for economic rehabilitation.

This broad opposition to the dictatorship represents diverse class interests and it is necessary in seeking unity to take account of their variety, which is objective. Inside the opposition movement there is a contest for leadership and debates are going on about the future development of the nation. These divergences must be overcome in joint actions against the fascist dictatorship; they must not be reduced to a squabble that would only play into the regime's hands and prevent the opposition forces from taking advantage of its growing difficulties.

The most effective way to work for unity is to mobilise the masses. The level of



mobilisation was particularly high in the national protest days and during mammoth actions, such as this year's May Day rally, the biggest in national history, or the November 1983 rally in Santiago. Both actions drew hundreds of thousands. Mutual understanding is gaining ground among the working people, for operating among them are, as a rule, unitary trade union organisations.

Attempts to split the trade union movement according to ideological trends have fallen through despite active support from international non-class trade union centres. On the initiative of workers and other employees, representative unitary bodies spring up in which trade union democracy finds an expression. The National Leading Council of Workers, which groups all the trade union organisations of the country, is winning respect and prestige among both the working people and broad democratic forces.

In the countryside, too, a single body of diverse peasant associations has been set up. But its activity does not yet influence the rural working people sufficiently. They have so far taken little part in national protest days although currently they are tending towards greater activity. Speaking generally, the mass movement in the countryside has been lagging behind. This makes it an important task to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and help the peasants organise themselves and join in struggle. Cohesion of the workers and peasants as well as the numerous urban middle strata is decisive in the struggle for an end to the dictatorship and for the victory of the progressive forces.

The student movement and many universities have called a halt to the anti-democratic practices encouraged by the authorities and have formed unitary organisations. At Santiago's Chilean University, the biggest institution of higher learning, the overwhelming majority of students voted for the restoration of their previous elective body, the Federation of Students of Chile. As for the puppet organisation imposed by the dictatorship, it disbanded itself after losing support in the majority of educational institutions.

Politically, the Conference stressed the need to build up the PDM. It called for greater mutual understanding with the Socialist Bloc (the bloc sprang up in 1983 and groups some of the forces previously affiliated to Popular Unity) with a view to eventually resuming joint actions and re-establishing the unity of left organisations. Naturally, we consider it important to perseveringly seek agreement within the entire opposition.

Unity is a pressing requirement of the anti-dictatorial struggle and when the dictatorship has fallen it will be the main condition of bringing the country out of its present prostration. It will take effort by the whole nation to overcome the dislocation caused by fascist rule.

The Conference took place three-odd years after the appeal of CPC General Secretary Luis Corvalan to go over to popular disobedience. The party has always held it necessary to remove the dictatorship. The call for a new form of struggle was made when the conditions for this had matured, hopes for the regime's 'self-improvement' had proved groundless and the people were demanding to be shown the road to the freedom they long for. 'The Communist policy of disobedience,' the Report points out, 'is no armchair invention. It generalises and synthesises the experience of the masses and equips the struggle with new methods without rejecting those used before. It encourages creative effort. It is a policy of deep-going renewal opening new paths and prospects. It takes account of the changes that have occurred in the thinking of the masses under fascism and of the past experience of our people and other peoples, which shows that freedom must be won and that one must be ready to give one's very life for this sacred goal if necessary.'<sup>5</sup>

The policy of disobedience to the dictatorship has taken deep root among the masses; it has raised the people's morale, given them new and rich forms of self-expression and shown that the repressive apparatus is vulnerable and the people are



in a position to destabilise the regime. The pursuit of this policy has refuted the arguments trotted out at the time of its announcement by certain opponents of the dictatorship, who alleged that it would cause a split in the opposition camp and frighten away the section rejecting violent methods of struggle.

Unity is much nearer now than before. When a policy is correct and takes hold of the masses it becomes a factor for unity. The policy of disobedience admits of any form of action against the dictatorship; consequently, far from rejecting non-violent protest and civic disobedience, it constitutes a single whole with them. The masses come to realise its correctness in the course of anti-dictatorial actions. Every manifestation of opposition brings on repression. Thus popular disobedience to the regime expresses itself in peaceful and violent, legal and illegal action. Whether one form dominates another will depend on the actual conditions and the experience gained.

The people, above all their advanced contingents, must master every form of struggle. A shoot of the new is the mass self-defence organisations which sprang up in 1983 and largely owe their rise to Communist initiative. They now involve thousands, including members of various parties, and are daily becoming more organised and taking more and more complex forms. Self-defence organisations, particularly strong in large communities, are already equal to holding their own against the regime's repressive machinery in some cases and even to striking it in others. Acts of sabotage are multiplying; originally they were carried out by special groups but afterwards they became a manifestation of the initiative of the masses. As a general rule, various services of vital importance are stopped on anti-fascist protest days.

The extent of violence in overthrowing the dictatorship will largely depend on the processes going on among the armed forces, which (especially the army) generally remain the mainstay of the tyranny despite clear signs of differences between diverse armed services and controversies among the military over the attitude to the crisis. This position is delaying inevitable changes and is ultimately bound to lead to greater violence. 'It is only the broadest and most comprehensive mobilisation of the Chilean nation and a new attitude of the armed forces,' the Report says, 'that can provide conditions for a less painful outcome. . . . Every delay in effecting or facilitating the democratic solution demanded by the country would only serve to prolong the people's suffering, aggravate the situation, make the contest harder and add to the responsibility of the backers of the tyranny rather than reducing it.'<sup>6</sup>

The communist party proposes to form—after the dictatorship has fallen—a dynamic and efficient provisional government by agreement between all democratic forces and with their support. The Conference defined the nature of this government and the fundamental measures to be adopted. It rejected the concept of a transitional cabinet ruling till a permanent government is elected. Such a government would merely waste valuable time and be unable to function with due regard to the acuteness of the problems awaiting solution or to prevent a revival of fascist forces.

To end the nation's crisis, it is necessary, in addition to the removal of Pinochet from the scene, which is a demand accepted by the whole opposition, to take resolute steps to eradicate fascism and rule out the possibility of its reanimation.

The structural crisis, which has deepened under the dictatorship, is due to the domination of imperialist capital and the domestic financial oligarchy. There is no overcoming it without removing at least its main levers and the contradictions engendered by the crisis itself. Measures like the suspension of payments on foreign debts, the abrogation of agreements and treaties with the IMF and credit banks, a ban on the free import of foreign capital and goods or the nationalisation of banks and major enterprises owned by economic groups and operating at public expense are pressing demands of the moment. The nation's problems cannot be solved without abolishing rapacious and shackling terms that hamper the normal growth of the productive forces.



It is also essential to effect fundamental changes in the institutions which are in crisis under fascism, such as the armed forces or the judiciary. As far as the former are concerned, the task is to thoroughly democratise them and replace the doctrine of 'national security' imposed by the Pentagon with a concept meeting national interests. Unless these changes come about democracy will be in permanent danger. Conversely, democratic armed forces will have to become an important factor and participant in the renaissance of the country. This also applies to the judiciary.

The opposition has several political projects. We the Communists and the PDM advocate real people's rule. Others propose a gradual and smooth return to bourgeois democracy. 'These two main lines,' the Report notes, 'meet the interests of diverse classes and the two main orientations coexisting within the opposition. Historically, there is no avoiding a decision except that it should emerge, sooner or later, in the course of a joint struggle against fascism, of uniting all forces around a common project which puts pressing social and political problems of the country and the people first and on which it is imperative and possible to come to terms.'<sup>7</sup>

Advance to the most progressive way out leading to the complete eradication of fascism will depend on a set of factors, above all the balance of opposition forces. Everything will be decided by the strength and scope of the mass movement, the degree of trade union unity and involvement of the working class, the level of understanding between the working class and other classes and the most numerous population groups, primarily the peasants and urban middle strata, the prestige of the PDM and the results of restoring left unity and building up our party's influence.

Communist participation and policy are a decisive factor at the important stage which the anti-fascist struggle has already passed. The task of overthrowing the tyranny and destroying fascism requires a party stronger in every respect, a party having durable ties with the masses and represented in the major communities more heavily than before. This party must be able to operate successfully irrespective of the forms taken by the struggle against the dictatorship, must steadily raise the level of mass popular disobedience.

<sup>1</sup> *Partido Comunista de Chile. Boletín del Exterior*, No. 66, 1984, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 65, 1984, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *El Mercurio*, June 5, 1984.

<sup>4</sup> *Partido Comunista de Chile. Boletín del Exterior*, No. 66, 1984, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 65, 1984, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

# new experience

## Our Interviews First Steps to Left Unity

*Hikmet Erku*t — member, CC Political  
Bureau, Communist Party of Turkey (CPT)

**—A trend towards concerted action by the Left and the patriotic quarters has emerged in Turkish politics. What international and domestic issues highlight this cooperation with particular clarity?**

Today, joint action by the Left is more pronounced than in the past. The need for such moves has gained broad recognition, especially since the 1980 military coup



which can be described as a preventive counter-revolution.

The Left believes that the nation should free itself from dependence on imperialism, put an end to capitalism and take the socialist road. The Left is active in the working class, among non-proletarian strata and in the Kurdish national movement. These three major currents are represented by big and small parties and groups bearing the imprint of different ideologies—from Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary-democratic to revisionist and social reformist.

Today the parties and groups which are increasingly guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas and influenced by the world socialist system are closer to and more ready for unity than in the past. Their attitude to the international communist movement, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is, on the whole, positive. They advocate revolutionary socio-economic transformations, and are staunch fighters against US imperialism and its Turkish henchmen—the fascist dictatorship. They champion peace, national independence and democracy with greater vigour. These forces are in the front ranks of those who demand an end to the chauvinistic oppression of the Kurdish nation.

**—What are the basis and the forms of the CPT's joint action with other Left forces?**

The Communist Party believes that firm unity of the Left is a policy task which is especially important today. If the Left succeeds in coming to an agreement on an anti-fascist platform, this will help all those who reject the regime, including those representing the bourgeois opposition, to rally together sooner. The issue of left unity is acquiring urgency and strategic importance for overcoming the influence of bourgeois reformism which diverts the masses from the struggle for in-depth social change.

Striving for unity based on equality, the Communist Party of Turkey maintains a constructive position vis-à-vis the left and the patriotic forces, including the bourgeois opposition. Our emphasis is not on our differences but on what unites us; we try to jointly solve those problems on which agreement is easiest. This we hold to be the basis for a gradual and comprehensive unification of the Left which it is necessary and possible to achieve and consolidate on the basis of long-term goals. We believe that today, efforts should be focused on the struggle to safeguard peace and overthrow the fascist dictatorship, on the elaboration of a common platform for the opposition. This would help to rally the masses around a national democratic alternative to the present regime.

The Communist Party works to attain unity at all levels. While establishing contact with the leaders of other left forces in order to consider joint action, the CPT leadership strives to get each party organisation to display initiative in its sphere of activity and to act jointly with our potential allies.

Unity cannot be durable if it is not based on joint action at the grass-roots level, especially at industrial enterprises, in villages, educational centres and communities where working people live. At the same time, we attach great importance to the ideological efforts to combat anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. The CPT has long maintained particularly warm relations with the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT).

Joint action by the left and the democratic forces takes different forms both at home and abroad. Manifestations of protest against Turkey's fascist dictatorship and conferences of left parties and groups to discuss issues of unity have been held in several West European countries. In Turkey itself, the degree of these forces' influences differs from area to area. They are hampered in their activities by harsh reprisals and constant persecution on the part of the political police. Nevertheless, joint action has been organised in many areas.

For example, in connection with the local elections of March 25, 1984, five parties—the Socialist Party of Kurdistan of Turkey, the Vanguard Workers' Party of



Kurdistan, the Workers' Party of Turkey, the Communist Labour Party of Turkey and the Communist Party of Turkey—issued, for the first time, an appeal to the people. Supporters of these parties acted jointly in several areas during the elections. Together with youth groups, this coalition distributed leaflets in universities and staged other actions on May Day.

Later the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey joined the five parties, speaking out in favour of a general political amnesty. Their supporters in Western Europe have circulated this demand and collected 130,000 signatures, thus helping to refute the mistaken belief about Turkey's 'transition to a democratic regime'.

Today, the task is to consolidate the unity of the six parties. The country's prisons are now among the most important targets of joint action: in 1984, political prisoners virtually everywhere protested courageously against the regime's brutal reprisals.

**—What is the position of the Left with regard to preventing nuclear war and ending the arms race?**

The Turkish people are among those who are hit hardest by the policy of an anti-communist crusade, confrontation and buildup of tensions pursued by US imperialism in its efforts to attain world domination. Washington is doing its utmost to make Turkey, the weakest and tamest member of NATO, into an even more dependent country. The Pentagon sees our territory as a bridgehead of aggression against the socialist countries and the national liberation movements in the Middle East. Turkey can be wiped out within the first minutes of a nuclear war. Its national independence and sovereignty exist only on paper. The generals who have usurped power are boosting military spending to the utmost in accordance with NATO's demands and persist in lowering the real wages and incomes of workers and peasants. Their policy is driving the unemployment level upward.

The task of the Left is to create a broad front of peace activists, prevent the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and of chemical weapons on Turkish soil, secure removal of the US military bases from Turkey, prevent the country from turning into a US deputy sheriff in the Middle East, and ensure peaceful coexistence with its socialist neighbours. During the session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group held in Chesme in April 1984, the local organisations of the CPT and the WPT circulated a joint clandestine statement denouncing the policies and schemes of NATO.

**—What are the prospects of further joint action by the Left?**

The prospects are quite good. The Communist Party of Turkey pursues a principled and flexible policy to realise them. The Second Plenary Meeting of the CPT Central Committee held in 1984 reiterated the decisive importance of left unity for rallying together all opponents of militarism and the dictatorship and declared that the Communists were ready to promote more vigorous joint action by the six parties. We hold that this unity should acquire a permanent basis in the shape of a common programme, secure a broader support base, and open a national-democratic dialogue with the bourgeois opposition about the ways and means of preserving peace, attaining democracy and organising concerted action.

The Left has good prospects for cooperation at the local level. Comrade Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the CPT Central Committee, called on party organisations to be creative in implementing the party course towards unity and to pursue it unswervingly at places of work, in residential areas and in educational establishments. Together with Communists and activists of other left forces, the struggle on the shop floor involves workers who support the bourgeois-reformist Republican People's Party (RPP). These workers lean more to the left than their



party leaders, and their relations with Communist workers are sincere and time-honoured. Their growing cohesion will be decisive in rebuffing the big capital offensive, restoring trade union rights and achieving the unity of the trade union movement.

Another heartening fact is that in May 1984, 1,256 progressive bourgeois-liberal and reformist intellectuals issued a joint statement in support of democratic rights and freedoms. This initiative was an important step towards militant unity of the Left and the bourgeois opposition. For that reason, the CPT supported it fully.

Turkey is going through a severe political, economic and social crisis. In these circumstances, the Communists will do all they can to deepen the cooperation of the six parties and the national-democratic dialogue of all anti-war and anti-dictatorship forces, to mobilise and unite the masses.

## Documents

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### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

#### LESSONS OF THE POPULAR UPRISING

The Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party (DCP) has adopted a document presenting a comprehensive analysis of the situation in the country and of the party's course in the new conditions which arose in the republic after the stormy popular protests in April 1984 against the stiff price rises effected by the government to placate the International Monetary Fund (IMF).<sup>1</sup> Long before the outburst of indignation of the urban and rural poor, the Communists had predicted that a trend towards more acute and broader social conflicts would emerge. They realised that the struggle against hunger and the rising living costs were rallying large sections of the population together.

However, the document notes, we did not expect mass popular action to be so swift, powerful and widespread or to turn into a kind of unarmed uprising; for this reason we were unable to make it better organised, more militant or more political. As a result, the DCP and the other progressive forces of the Dominican Left Front<sup>2</sup> had to act without proper preparation and organisation which the upsurge of the mass struggle called for. It proved impossible to gear practical work to the correct course aimed at stimulating popular protest. Delays in the overcoming of the fragmented state of the Left, as well as its insufficiently strong links with the masses also made themselves felt.

A victory of popular heroism, the DCP Central Committee maintains, could have been consolidated only by ensuring the transformation of social action into a political revolution, i.e., by turning the national movement against the government's economic course and the IMF diktat into a struggle for a new political authority in power. But this failed through lack of coordination and absence of a common leadership capable of overcoming the spontaneous nature of the protest movement and strengthening its conscious elements. The uprising, the document continues, failed to attain its objective: overwhelmed by the brutal reprisals of the special army units, the people were forced, for the time being, to retreat.

Nevertheless, the causes which produced the April social uprising are growing



inexorably more acute. The pressure of indignation is so great that new sparks may set off another explosion. Aside from the factors which limited the nature of the recent action, the outbreak is being stayed only by the government's preventive military action and by certain concessions or promises of concessions on the part of the authorities. The masses at the bottom of the social structure, the DCP Central Committee says, refuse to submit passively to this situation. The middle strata, aware that they are being pushed 'down', are likewise getting ready for resistance. Demonstrating their obvious inability to govern, the upper strata resort to still more violent methods of rule. The stability of their position is diminishing, and they are increasingly weakened by internal discord.

In these circumstances, the document emphasises, the revolutionary Left must do its utmost to stimulate the protest of the masses, develop the revolutionary potential which manifested itself in the 'New April',<sup>3</sup> and step up the people's struggle still further.

## PORTUGAL

### BASED ON AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party has adopted a document analysing the country's economic, social and political development. The course of events, it says, bears out the conclusions made at the March 1984 Plenary Meeting of the PCP Central Committee to the effect that the people's living conditions are becoming unbearable and that the trend to restore the domination of the monopolies and big landowners is accelerating and pushing the Portuguese economy to the brink of catastrophe.

On the other hand, popular indignation is mounting, the unity and determination of working people are growing stronger, and the ranks of the socio-political front which demands the government's resignation and is capable of becoming the basis for a democratic alternative are swelling.

Proceeding from an in-depth analysis of the situation, the PCP continues to insist on a policy which can lead Portugal out of the crisis and solve the country's problems within the framework of democracy and national independence.

First and foremost it is imperative: to ensure employment and regular payment of wages; curb the continuous price rises and deterioration of living conditions; to guarantee respect for the Constitution, civil liberties and rights, and the rule of law and democratic order; to strengthen national independence and safeguard the country's security and future.

The document proposes moves to improve the people's living conditions, expand the domestic market and provide incentives to the economy, protect existing jobs and create new ones, increase production and improve the efficiency and commercial viability of the service sector. The Communists reject the pernicious concessions to the International Monetary Fund, the plans for Portugal's entry into the Common Market, and subservience to foreign capital. They demand a truly national and patriotic policy in the interests of the country and the Portuguese people.

The PCP considers it necessary:

- to launch a struggle in defence of the Constitution and democratic rule of law, demanding that the government and the state apparatus respect them;
- to be active in the Assembly of the Republic, other higher institutions of government and local self-government bodies;
- to ensure implementation of the rights and freedoms formalised in the Constitution, firmly resisting any attempts by the authorities to obstruct this;



—to continue the struggle for compliance with the urgent demands of all the classes and social strata suffering from the current policies; to direct all action at the attainment of the common goal—resignation of the Mario Soares-Mota Pinto Government and implementation of a democratic alternative;

—to strengthen class organisations and, on their basis, the unity of the working class and the popular masses;

—to enhance the cooperation and step up the concerted action of all democratic and patriotic strata, drawing on the great potential of joint action which manifested itself during the celebration of the anniversary of the April 25 Revolution.

Despite the vicious attacks and propaganda campaigns of the government and all reactionary forces against the PCP, the document says, the party is growing stronger and consolidating its position as a 'vitally necessary and indispensable force' in the solution of important national problems.

Taking into account the growing mass support of the party's policy and convinced that the time is ripe for a new and significant increase of the party ranks, the Central Committee has decided to launch a recruitment drive; the objective is to enlist 10,000 new members in the PCP by the end of the year.

<sup>1</sup> For details see José A. Riva Tavárez, 'For Unity and Organisation', *WMR*, No. 8, 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the DCP, the Front includes the Dominican Working People's Party, the Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Union, the Socialist Bloc and several other organisations.—*Ed.*

<sup>3</sup> The widespread popular action of April 23 to 25 is referred to in this way because it was deliberately scheduled to coincide with the 19th anniversary of the April revolution of 1965.—*Ed.*

## In the Mirror of the Press

### *The African Communist*

#### **TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM AND APARTHEID**

The first issue of the quarterly *African Communist* came out 25 years ago, in October 1959. South Africa's Communists announced at the time that the quarterly would be published 'in the interests of African solidarity and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought on our continent.' Ever since then, these words have invariably appeared on the first page of the journal as its militant slogan.

Over the past quarter of a century the South African Communist Party (SACP) has brought out 100 issues of *The African Communist*. The quarterly is well known far beyond Africa—in Europe and America—and the socialist countries have a high opinion of it.

Understandably, the journal concerns itself above all with events and political processes in the south of the African continent and with the tasks of the struggle against the racist regime of South Africa. One of its issues acquainted readers with the SACP Programme, 'The Road to Freedom for South Africa'. The journal regularly carries party documents assessing this or that stage in the development of the liberation movement in the country. It plays an important role in specifying ways and means of struggle. Issue No. 97, for example, was devoted to the problem of creating a united front to do away with the apartheid system in South Africa.

*The African Communist* has been publicising the ideas of Marxism-Leninism ever since it was founded. It has featured series of articles on the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory, problems of the communist, labour and national liberation movement, the Communist International, the Great October Socialist Revolution



and the achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries. The quarterly gives much space to the life and work of Marx, Engels and Lenin and stresses the applicability of their ideas in resolving the national question in South Africa.

The journal analyses the main trends of social development in independent African countries and the prospects of building a socialist society there. Recent years have seen it publish more articles on the formation of the African working class and trade union movement. Through its journal the SACP calls for trade union unity in the interest of organising action by all workers against the regime of racial domination.

*The African Communist* never loses sight of the most burning problem of today, that of staving off nuclear war and promoting world peace. Relevant articles leave no room for doubt as to where the threat to humanity comes from; they reveal the aggressive nature of US imperialism's policy and expose the neocolonial practices of imperialist powers in regard to developing countries. At the same time, the journal spells out and supports the socialist countries' initiatives aimed at strengthening international security.

The South African Communists' firm ideological position is reflected in features on the international communist movement stressing that the SACP has always championed and will always uphold its unity and concerted action on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

*Kommunist*

#### THE AIMS OF THE ALL-PARTY DISCUSSION

*Kommunist*, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) weekly, has published an article about the aims of the all-party discussion concerning the draft resolution the LCY Central Committee submitted this summer on enhancing the leading role of the LCY in society and consolidating party ranks.

The discussion, the weekly points out, will justify the great hopes pinned on it if party organisations profoundly analyse their ideological and political activity and chart resolute steps to enhance the leading role of the LCY in society. The discussion of the draft resolution, the article says, should not be reduced merely to the formality of a 'for' or 'against' vote. What is needed is an open, specific and critical discussion in which each Communist must speak on the questions raised in the document of the party's Central Committee. Criticism should be effective and aimed at ensuring positive change in LCY activities.

It is becoming increasingly obvious, the weekly continues, that the League of Communists should cleanse itself of chance fellow travellers, careerists and those holding petty-bourgeois views. The liberals and nationalists who have infiltrated the party and are undermining its policy from within must be rebuffed. Besides, the article stresses, it is imperative to thwart any attempts by the class opponents, who reject the role of the LCY and the gains of the socialist revolution and who have been increasingly active recently, to use the all-party discussion for disseminating their alien views.



## A Close-Up View

### A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has taken a series of steps to promote the efficiency of ideological and educational work. We have asked Choyegiyn Davaadash, alternate member of the MPRP Central Committee and deputy chief of the Ideological Department of the CC MPRP, to comment on these efforts.

NOW that the Mongolian People's Republic has entered a new development stage—the period of completing the building of socialist society—demands on the theoretical substantiation of all party activity, especially in the field of ideological and political education, have risen sharply. The new MPRP Programme, resolutions of MPRP congresses, other party documents offer specific examples of the way the theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism are applied to scientifically sum up the experience of the building of socialism and determine future tasks in this process.

The party takes particular care to expand the network of academic institutions and improve the training of social scientists. Over the past two decades we have established an institute for studies in philosophy, sociology and law, an institute of oriental studies of the MPR Academy of Sciences, an institute dealing with the development and distribution of the productive forces, and economic and other research centres by industry under several ministries. The Party History Institute has been reorganised as the MPRP Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences. Today, social scientists make up more than 40 per cent of all academic degree holders.

Among the major achievements of our social sciences we list a comprehensive analysis of the experience of non-capitalist development, essays on the history of the MPRP and a history of the republic in three volumes, and a master plan for the development and distribution of the nation's productive forces up to 1990. Individual authors and teams of scientists have prepared many monographs on the problems of creating a material and technical basis of socialism, perfecting social relations and shaping the new man. The more valuable ideas and conclusions advanced in these works help in advancing the party's theoretical thought.

Party organisations use the results of academic studies above all in the system of political education for Communists. Leading social scientists are invited to take part in the writing of textbooks and manuals for different grades of the party education system. They assist in the regular efforts to update curricula for political study groups and seminars. Researchers from party and academic centres and social science professors from colleges and universities submit articles to the press and deliver lectures and reports at seminars of propaganda workers.

In cooperation with *aimak* (provincial), city and district MPRP committees, research institutions hold conferences and symposia on topical aspects of party development, ideological education and dissemination of advanced expertise; they also conduct sociological studies to enhance the efficiency of practical work by party organisations. Over the past five years, representatives of the Social Sciences Institute and the MPRP Central Committee Higher Party School have taken part in the convening of over 20 conferences on urgent problems of organisation and ideology. Many of the recommendations drawn up at these conferences are being used to promote party development. The MPR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law has handed over to party organisations a series of analytical papers and manuals for drawing up plans of social development for work collectives and integrated plans for ideological and educational work conducted by primary organisations.



Essentially, to promote the role of the social sciences in ideological and educational work means to ensure unity of theory and practice. This process calls for joint efforts by academic workers and the party cadre. Meanwhile, this cooperation is not yet functioning smoothly everywhere.

Some academic establishments pursue studies of no serious theoretical or practical value for solving the key tasks facing the party and the people. Papers published by social scientists sometimes deal with minor matters, are excessively descriptive, belabour the obvious and gloss over social phenomena and processes. The absence or scarcity of practical recommendations are typical of such papers; besides, the researchers themselves are not always concerned to have their proposals implemented.

On the other hand, there are still people on the ideological front who treat the issue bureaucratically, ignoring the need to enrich the content and raise the scientific level of their work, failing to pay due attention to making educational efforts more effective. The very way our society lives, the better educational and cultural level of the people, the broader access to information and the exacerbation of the ideological struggle on the international scene demand that we resolutely overcome the shortcomings in question.

The decisions of the 18th Congress of the MPRP (1981) and of the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee direct social scientists and party bodies to step up their cooperation and concerted action. This was the theme of a conference held this spring on the theoretical and practical aspects of efficiency in ideological and educational work. Attending were heads of social science research institutes, secretaries of *aimak* and city party committees and representatives of other agencies engaged in the ideological struggle. They exchanged their views on the ways to raise the level of ideological and educational work and adopted appropriate recommendations.

And now about the main point these recommendations made. It is the party's view that academic establishments and college and university chairs engaged in social research should focus their efforts on an integrated study of major problems arising in the building of socialism, especially of issues concerning the education of those who are building the new society. Collective work methods such as exchanges of views and creative discussions should be practised more broadly; the press should publish more reviews of new papers.

To make research more effective, it is important to devise an efficient system for informing party organisations and other agencies about the results of research, to improve the recommendations themselves and make them more valuable, and to confer on research institutes and scientists greater responsibility for the implementation of these recommendations.

For their part, party organisations are to include specific provisions for consolidating their ties with social scientists in their current and long-term plans; to make it a practice to commission research establishments to examine topical issues of party, organisational and ideological work; and to expand the practical application of advances in the theory of teaching and social psychology.

The use of the latest achievements in the social science sphere enabled all party organisations to enrich the content, strengthen the scientific foundation and improve the efficiency of their ideological and educational work.



## **In Brief**

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### **CHILE**

For the first time, representatives of the Communist Party of Chile and of the Democratic Alliance which unites centrist and right-wing opposition forces met in the city of Concepción to discuss ways of intensifying the struggle against Pinochet's fascist regime.

### **COLOMBIA**

The sixth traditional festival of *Voz*, the Colombian communist newspaper, was held in the squares and parks near Bogota's Campín stadium. Numerous well-designed exhibits highlighting the history and the current activities of the PCC, the heroic struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua, Chile and Uruguay and the achievements of the socialist countries attracted thousands of people from the Colombian capital and other places. The carnival lasted into the night; the participants were entertained by folk art ensembles.

### **FRANCE**

A plenary meeting of the French Communist Party Central Committee has decided to convene the next, 25th Congress of the PCF in February 1985.

### **ISRAEL**

In the recent parliamentary elections four representatives of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality which is led by the Communist Party of Israel have been elected to the Knesset.

### **ITALY**

The Italian Communist Party has proposed that a referendum be held on the government's anti-popular decree 'On Labour Costs' which envisages a sharp drop in the real wages of millions of working people. The Communists have launched a drive to collect signatures in support of a petition demanding that the government agree to the referendum.

### **LUXEMBOURG**

After the recent elections, the Communist Party of Luxembourg has retained its two seats in the country's parliament.

### **POLAND**

The PUWP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences has hosted an academic conference on 'The Place and the role of the PUWP in the 40 Years of People's Poland'.



# exchange of views, discussion

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## **Decisive Force of the Revolutionary Process** **International Symposium on the Vanguard Role of the** **Working Class in Latin America**

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The following article, written by a participant in the discussion, Edgar Caicedo, sums up the results of the exchange of views held, without laying claim to a full presentation of all points of view or every aspect of the problems discussed.

The active participation of the working class in the struggle for democracy and social progress, a struggle which recent years have seen rise to a new level in Latin America, is a phenomenon of exceptional importance. This was one of the main conclusions of the international symposium on 'The Working Class in the Present-Day Revolutionary Process in Latin America and the Tasks of the Communists' sponsored by *World Marxist Review*. The participants in the symposium were: Felipe Rodriguez, CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia; Ari Dos Santos, CC member, Brazilian Communist Party; Orel Viciani, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the Editorial Council of the journal; Edgar Caicedo, CC member, Colombian Communist Party; Luis Orlando Corrales, CC member, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica; Raul Valdes Vivo, CC member, Communist Party of Cuba; Jose Riva, CC member, Dominican Communist Party; Antonio Franco, CC member, United Socialist Party of Mexico; Felix Dixon, CC member, People's Party of Panama; Rogelio Gonzalez, CC member, Paraguayan Communist Party; Cesar Jimenez, representative of the Peruvian Communist Party on the Editorial Council of the journal; Jaime Barrios, Political Commission member, Communist Party of El Salvador; Samuel Behak, representative of the Communist Party of Uruguay on the journal; representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU): Ernesto Araneda, Secretary, WFTU; Alvaro Villamarin, Secretary, Trade Unions International of Workers in Commerce; Jan Kriz, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Textile, Clothing, Leather and Fur Workers; Luis Turiansky, political adviser, WFTU; Tatiana Lipova, Assistant Professor, Academy of Social Sciences under the Bulgarian Communist Party CC; Helma Chrenko, Assistant Professor, Academy of Social Sciences under the SUPG CC; Professor Anatoly Shulgovsky, D. Hist., head of department, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Latin America; *WMR* staff members: Professor Stepan Mamontov, Ph.D. and Emil Dabagyan, Cand.Hist.

ANALYSING the activity of the working class in the region, speakers at the symposium stressed that they regard it as part and parcel of the economic, social and political processes going on in this area of the globe. Special mention was made of the



great anti-imperialist potential of Latin America and the rising level and growing scope of the tasks of its working class. The social-class and liberation struggle unfolding there are inseparable from the world revolutionary movement and experience the full impact of the main contradiction of our times, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. The three main revolutionary streams of today—existing socialism as represented by Cuba; the struggle of the working class of capitalist countries, a class increasingly assuming the role of advanced fighter for democracy and undoing political patterns imposed by US monopolies; and the national liberation movement, particularly active in Central America where decisive battles are being fought—have merged on the continent.

The further consolidation of the world socialist system, specifically the progress made in building the new society in Cuba; the deepening general crisis of capitalism, whose burden is felt most strongly by backward and dependent countries; the increased aggressiveness of imperialism resulting from its loss of dominant positions; the gains of the international working class; and the achievements of the national liberation struggle, as in Nicaragua, are the main factors accounting for the scope of working people's actions.

In spite of deformations due to dependence on US imperialism and the persistence of precapitalist structures as well as peculiarities and differences in the socio-economic development of the various countries, capitalism in Latin America has attained what is on the whole sufficient maturity making it possible to create the material prerequisites for the transition to socialism. The Latin American bourgeoisie has proved unable to carry through to the end changes meeting its own interests or solve the serious problems arising from the structural crisis. At the same time the social role of the working class with its durable militant traditions, increased political consciousness, organisation and influence, has grown. All this has made it particularly imperative to solve the twofold problem of national liberation and social emancipation. The overall result is that the anti-imperialist and democratic movement led by the working class is beginning to pursue aims going beyond the scope of the bourgeois democratic revolution. This again confirms the lasting validity of Lenin's doctrine of the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, a doctrine carrying forward Marx's and Engels' ideas about uninterrupted revolution.<sup>1</sup>

The uneven economic, social and political development of Latin America's capitalist countries necessitates a specific investigation of the characteristics of each of them. However, national distinctions should not hinder the ascertainment of certain common trends that may be seen as decisive when assessing the dynamics of the class struggle in the region over the past decade and in the foreseeable future.

### **Structural Changes and Their Causes**

The symposium devoted considerable attention to the changes that have occurred in the working class in recent years as well as to the impact of these changes on its social behaviour.

The current period is marked by enormous changes whose roots lie in the general crisis of capitalism, the aggravation of structural problems that have long been typical of Latin American countries, the scientific and technological revolution, increased concentration and centralisation of production and the development of dependent state-monopoly capitalism.

The invasion of the Latin American economy by transnationals has made for a still closer intertwining of internal and external economic factors in each particular country. At this stage the monopolies refuse, as distinct from the past, to content themselves with their position as economic enclaves and are becoming a component of the socio-economic system. The result is that, while the pace of renewal of some industries is quickening, there persist lower forms of capitalism and a relative general



lag, a reality which tends to increase dependence, worsen the people's condition still further and exacerbate social contradictions. Besides, transnationals and their local partners are trying to install reactionary dictatorships and disunite the working people in order to dampen their struggle for their demands and real people's rule. These intentions are served by the fascistisation and militarisation of political regimes, in particular by imposing so-called 'restricted democracy'.

Technological and economic processes are causing a marked differentiation among industrial workers. Stagnation in or abolition of whole economic fields leads to the disappearance or depreciation of old trades, especially those involving hard physical work. As for the introduction of modern technology, it has given rise to professions requiring a high standard of training. The industrial sector is becoming more complex as new industries develop.

In this connection speakers justly rebutted bourgeois and reformist concepts that have gained currency in late years. They emphatically rejected theories about the 'integration' of the working class into the capitalist system, which make an absolute of the influence of economism, as well as allegations about the 'disappearance' of the working class, the gradual diminution of its numbers and its inability to lead revolutionary processes. A further thesis refuted from Marxist-Leninist positions was the one alleging that the growth of the middle strata calls into question the historical mission of the working class and that this class itself is fatally doomed to the position of a passive group manipulated by the elite.

The conclusions of the participants in the discussion were backed by statistics. These show that by the early eighties the economically active population of Latin America numbered 113 million, including 60 million wage workers. The total numerical strength of the working class is growing and in most countries this class is becoming the largest social category. Some sources estimate that in the same period the share of the working class was 45.1 per cent of the economically active population, or 51 million; 43.2 per cent of workers were employed in industry, 20 per cent in agriculture and 36.8 per cent in trade and the service sector. It must be added that along with the core of the working class engaged in traditional fields (here and there it decreases in relative terms) and with new contingents of highly skilled workers who have emerged in the course of rationalisation and automation in large-scale industry, there are still many wage workers employed in small-scale production, construction and the service sector. Furthermore, the proportion of technicians and office employees is growing fast among the economically active population and has nearly doubled in the past three decades.

Concentration and differentiation are going on in social terms and in terms of labour as well as territorially. Key economic sectors are concentrated in definite areas, which are becoming economic 'development poles'. In the early eighties over 60 per cent of the region's population lived in cities of more than one million people. In 1979, Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo and Mexico City accounted for one-third of Latin America's manufacturing. Meanwhile huge areas and their inhabitants are left at the fringe of progress.

The heterogeneity of the wage workforce is also increasing due to the growing amount of work accomplished by engineers and other specialists on many production levels, in diverse industries and at every factory. Nor is the average age of employees the same in all spheres; new contingents not only possess higher educational and professional standards but are generally younger. In view of the place of these groups in important, fast-growing and advanced enterprises, it must be admitted that the prospects of the proletariat's class struggle depend on their attitude.

Worthy of equal attention is the vast labour power working for hire or on its own in the sphere of distribution, the service sector and an inflated state apparatus. Some speakers at the symposium classed members of this category and even those who engage temporarily in small-scale retail trade to escape unemployment as members of



the working class. They described them all as not belonging to the middle strata but to the same class as workers engaged in the productive sphere, since their function is necessary, as analysis has shown, for the realisation of the surplus value created in their sphere.

Other speakers, however, maintained that a strictly scientific approach requires an objective and specific singling out of the various components of the totality of working people. This was also very important to make political work more effective.

It will be seen that the problem requires further study if a common point of view is to be arrived at.

### **Struggle for People's Minds**

The symposium gave much attention to the qualitative changes in the composition of the working class which have their effect on its social psychology and consciousness and its political commitment.

A current revolutionary task of Communists, participants in the discussion stressed, is to take account of the changes listed above and help the working class offset their likely negative consequences. Among other things, the visible growth of the working class resulting from the influx of new groups generates new trends in the orientation of the class struggle which should be combined with tried and tested traditions.

The increasingly complex composition of the working class finds an expression in the particular interests and requirements of its various sections. There are visible distinctions among certain groups of workers in terms of pay, education, working and living conditions and the use of services as well as in experience of struggle for their demands, degree of social consciousness and political commitment.

A further question examined in this context was that of how new members of the working class are recruited. While the ranks of the working class are swelled in the more typical cases by ruined peasants, the process under way in Latin America is more complex. Most of the ruined peasants first settle in cities as so-called marginals and then become wage workers. There is also a trend towards the proletarianisation of the petty bourgeoisie and the urban middle strata. The symposium concerned itself in this connection with migrations within and between countries motivated by higher pay in poles of attraction. In countries where the employment rate is low anyway, capitalists use the existence of a reserve army of labour to suppress the rights of the working class as a whole and to attack its gains.

Unemployment in Latin America, as a permanent factor influencing the working people's struggle, tends to grow continuously. The problem of 'redundant workers' is particularly acute now. By the early eighties the number of partially or totally unemployed people on the continent had risen to 47 million.

However, there are also other factors determining the degree of social consciousness, unity and militancy of the working class. Class confrontation, which takes the form of bitter ideological and political struggles, has a strong direct impact. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie is trying to retain its influence on other sectors and groups. It spreads views and theories alien to the working people and intended to influence their world view. On the other hand, communist parties are doing more and more to win over to revolutionary positions and guide in the right direction, not only advanced contingents of workers, but the working class as a whole, to make it a politically conscious class, a class 'for itself'.

In the ideological sphere the bourgeoisie advocates reformism, using the powerful state apparatus and its own agents in the trade union movement. It advertises the idea of class collaboration in various disguises. This is called a 'common cause' in Brazil, 'new consciousness' in Mexico, 'coordination' in Colombia, 'participation' in Venezuela. When these devices miscarry the more reactionary elements among the rulers resort to open repression in league with imperialism.



It is commonly known that the working class cannot by itself evolve the ideology of scientific socialism. This ideology is brought in 'from without' and the working class adopts and carries it forward as social struggles gather momentum. History has recorded no precedents warranting the affirmation that the class behaviour of every single section of the working class was consistent even before this class took political power together with its allies and assumed control of the state. Events in Cuba, where the working class played a decisive role at every stage of the revolution, have shown again that not until political power is established is it possible to bring about the complete 'proletarianisation' of the working class, that is, to ensure that it fully realises the need for transition to socialism.

The symposium came to the conclusion that communist parties need greater political prestige and influence at diverse stages of the revolutionary struggle as a requisite of the militancy of the workers and the people as a whole to be fused with class consciousness and clarity of purpose. This is the only condition for Marxists-Leninists to become real leaders of the working people in struggles for national and social liberation, a real vanguard growing stronger as these struggles go on.

### **Growing Trends Towards Unity**

In Latin America, the process of political organisation of the working class and the workers' association in trade unions is going through a difficult period, meeting with numerous obstacles.

Trade unions on the continent involve only a small percentage of the working population (although this percentage varies according to country, industry or service sector) and this complicates the struggle for pressing economic demands and democratic and anti-imperialist objectives. The working class is disunited and its disunity made worse by division in trade union ranks largely fomented by imperialism and the bourgeoisie. A primary indication of this is the existence of three centres of the international trade union movement: the World Federation of Trade Unions, which adheres to a consistent class position and in which Communists play a visible role, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is committed to a social democratic orientation and encompasses a wide spectrum of viewpoints ranging from the European variety of this ideological trend to unquestioning submission to US imperialism, and the World Confederation of Labour, a Christian democratic type of association. Their respective branches on the continent are the Standing Congress of Trade Union Unity of Workers of Latin America, Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers and Latin American Workers' Centre.

As regards the state of the trade union movement in individual countries, united national centres only exist in a few of them, such as Bolivia or Uruguay. In most countries, however, dominance of bourgeois reformism and conflicting trends laying claim to leadership of the trade unions accounts for the existence of two, three or even four trade union centres plus independent federations.

All speakers were of the opinion that none of the more representative trends can be expected to prevail in the near future by forcing out other, likewise influential trends. What is more likely is a relatively long period of their coexistence. In these circumstances the issue of unity of action between unions of different orientations is coming to the fore.

Processes leading to greater unity in the working class and trade union movement are going on at an uneven pace. They experience ups and downs depending on the scale of social struggles and changes in the balance of forces and hence in the political situation in the country concerned. But the overall balance is positive. The desire for unity is making headway, overcoming difficulties and divisive subterfuges of the ruling classes, who use every means from economic bribery and refined anti-communist propaganda to brutal repression. Unity is forged in actions for pressing social, economic and general democratic demands put forward in struggle; it is a



product of conscious, systematic and persevering efforts by advanced sections of the working class, by its revolutionary vanguard.

Unification processes in the trade unions are taking place simultaneously and on two main planes. One of these is coordinated actions by a country's local, regional and national trade unions, which generally differ in ideological complexion. This cooperation often goes beyond state boundaries and assumes international proportions. The other plane is organisational unity. Its maturity depends on the concrete historical and political context of the country concerned. The restructuring according to industries and professions envisaged by the action platforms of many Latin American trade union centres objectively provides opportunities for them to draw together and achieve a higher form of unity.

In some countries where the trade union movement is badly divided, efforts to this end have already produced favourable results even though these are not irreversible as yet. A National Congress of Working People took place in Brazil in November 1983. This means that the struggle for unification and trade union rights has risen to a qualitatively new plane in a huge country, where rural working people are gathering strength along with others. They belong to 2,500 organisations having about seven million members—wage earners, semi-proletarians and peasants.<sup>2</sup>

The congress held by the Trade Union Confederation of Workers of Colombia in July 1983 paved the way for the formation of a new centre comprising unions differing in ideological position. In Argentina, trade union activity is getting back to normal with the restoration of democratic institutions, contributing to the revival of class and unitary trends. The working people have expressed their will by electing new leaders untarnished by practising sectarianism or exclusivity. Leading posts are assigned to the more active Peronist workers, Communists and members of other political forces.

The foregoing invites the conclusion that there is no defeating imperialism without the closest cooperation of all the social and political forces concerned. As for processes in favour of unity in the working class and trade union movement, they produce positive results only when accompanied by broad political agreements between democratic and progressive forces. Consequently, the chief task facing Communists is to forge unity in the course of mass struggles at various levels, which is what will make social revolution feasible.

### **Mounting Protest**

In examining the problem of unity, participants in the discussion made a detailed analysis of the conditions contributing to its solution. They spoke primarily about the upward trend of working class actions, their scope and the diversity of their forms. The bourgeoisie, while alleging that the trade union movement controlled by it is 'indifferent to politics', is actually trying to use the movement for its own selfish political ends. But the workers generally refuse to follow the capitalists, nor do they stay out of class battles. Many trade unions join in democratic and anti-imperialist struggles actively and in a militant spirit. This is due above all else to the workers' difficult economic condition and is a result of their awakening as a class.

Latin America was hit by capitalist economic crises in the 1974-1975 and 1979-1983 periods. Consumer prices on the continent went up by 56 per cent in 1980 and 79.7 per cent in 1982.<sup>3</sup> Real incomes dropped accordingly and pauperisation increased. By the late seventies over half the population of the region lacked means sufficient to meet their basic needs.

The upsurge in the struggle led to both a stronger strike movement, which in some countries encountered reprisals and the use of force by tyrannical regimes, and in a different kind of action, broader in composition and objectives, specifically general work stoppages and days of national protest against dictatorships. In many Latin American countries workers' demands that might seem purely economic became inseparable from struggles against anti-popular reactionary military regimes and for



democratic renewal. Cooperation between revolutionary and reformist trends increased as such actions unfolded—a sign of radicalisation of the working class.

Emphasis was put on the following important circumstance: Transnational capital is part of the socio-economic structures of Latin America and its interests closely interlock with those of local companies. This is why actions against monopoly exploitation assume an outspokenly anti-imperialist character and promote cooperation between national and international trade union contingents.

The political struggles of the working people and their unions and parties vary greatly in form, ranging from participation in election campaigns and parliamentary debates wherever possible (as in Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru or Bolivia) to joining in revolutionary armed movements or assisting them (El Salvador and some other Central and South American republics).

The symposium also dealt with the situation in various countries. In the South Cone, powerful days of protest are held against the fascist regimes of Chile and Uruguay. The leading role of the working class in these actions stands out. The workers of Chile use every form of struggle in the mass disobedience to the regime, building up their unity and winning ever stronger influence at national level.

The trade unions of Uruguay called a general 15-day strike immediately after the 1973 reactionary coup. In subsequent years they launched numerous protest demonstrations and major political actions, such as the May Day demonstration in 1983 or the mass mobilisation on November 27 of that year.<sup>4</sup> In Argentina, where an important step was taken recently towards democratisation and an end put to military rule, six million workers and other employees in December 1982 went on a national strike against the economic policy of the authorities of the time.

The Bolivian Workers' Centre played a most important part in the events that led to the replacement of a dictatorial regime by a democratic civil government. However, it was said at the symposium, trends of a Trotskyist or anarcho-syndicalist type persist in this centre; they overestimate the role of trade unions as such and contrast considerations of the moment with the long-term goals of consolidating democracy and effecting progressive transformations.

The working class of Brazil backs its economic and social demands with mass actions during which democratic tasks are advanced and often fulfilled. It greatly influences the people, uniting forces opposed to home reaction and encouraging their activity. In Peru most trade unions are class-oriented and the working class is leading the fight against the oligarchy. The past three years have seen several national strikes spreading to both urban and rural areas as well as hundreds of regional and industrial work stoppages. Reaction is stepping up repression in an effort to stop these strikes, which herald resolute actions.<sup>5</sup> In Colombia steps towards unity and agreements signed by four trade union centres on the level of their leaderships and at the grass roots made it possible to hold a protest day on September 14, 1977, that came to be known as the National Civic Strike. It was followed by regional strikes and then, in 1981, by a national strike.

Powerful strike actions by the working class have taken place of late in Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama, Costa Rica and even Central American countries held down by reactionary dictatorships. In Mexico greatly deteriorated economic conditions and pressure from below forced pro-government reformist leaders to show, at least in words, that they had adopted a more 'radical' position.

Unemployment in Latin America, having assumed threatening proportions, has become a factor for social protest. Jobless people join widely in class struggles.

Actions for peace and against the arms race, militarism and local conflicts have always been prominent in the revolutionary battles of Latin America's working class. This activity of the working class is of special significance today, when the threat of nuclear disaster posed to humanity by imperialism is growing. On our continent, the



struggle to preserve peace is closely combined with, among other things, actions aimed at exposing Washington's policy of aggression against Central American and Caribbean countries and with efforts to foster solidarity with the liberation movement of their peoples. Communist-led trade unions do much to mobilise forces ready to help thwart the adventurist plans of warmongers.

It follows that the panorama of working class action is widening and becoming more complex and varied. Notwithstanding adverse factors, the vanguard role of the working class in society is coming out more and more in the course of social and political confrontations. 'The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country,' Lenin pointed out, 'is far greater than the proportion it represents of the total population.'<sup>6</sup>

### **Policy of Alliance**

Popular actions led by the working class for the people's direct economic and social interests as well as for the fulfilment of democratic and anti-imperialist tasks have become widespread primarily because the demands of the Latin American working class meet the aspirations of the most diverse population groups. At the same time this class is building up its strength by a policy of alliance, mainly with the poorest peasants and with the urban and rural middle strata.

When discussing this subject, participants in the symposium rejected the assertion that allies of the working class must see socialism as their ultimate goal or have the reputation of being revolutionaries. Indeed, no revolution can triumph without the participation of the largest possible sections of the working class and the people as a whole, including their most backward sections. This is the Leninist point of view.

True, one should approach this problem in concrete historical terms, taking account of the peculiarities of the given country and the level of its socio-economic development. While the formula of the worker-peasant alliance as the pivot of the strategic forces of the revolution is generally as valid as ever, this is not to say that it is equally applicable everywhere and at all times. In some cases, as in Chile, where the share of the urban middle strata is large, the working class seeks to enter into class alliances primarily with them.

In some countries actions by allies find their strongest embodiment in a guerrilla movement and in others, in drives towards unity by diverse trade union centres. In Colombia there is an interlocking of these two forms. In Brazil, where trade union forces are gaining ground in the countryside and rural workers call militant strikes, there is growing solidarity and unity of action between them and the urban working class. In Paraguay the chief ally of the working class is, naturally, the peasantry, which adds up to 63 per cent of the population. The rural working people of Peru, grouped in influential organisations and fighting at national level, declare explicitly for closer ties with the working class.

Speaking of the policy of alliance with semi-proletarians and the urban middle strata, participants in the symposium stressed that these categories are growing numerically everywhere, that they are exploited by the existing system and that their interests are objectively linked with those of the working class. This prompted a lively debate on the concept of 'proletarianisation' of the middle strata. Certain non-Marxist ideologists, it was said, argue that the working class and these categories have very little in common and that the latter are increasingly trying to operate as an independent political force. As for the Communists, they are accused of looking on the middle strata as a mere social relic or a transitional group doomed to disappear automatically as capitalism develops. This means questioning the soundness of the strategy of the Left.

However, these arguments do not hold water, for the numerical growth of the urban middle strata, far from indicating a drop in the proportion of the working class, implies their increasing proletarianisation: the living and working conditions of most



of these population groups are becoming largely similar to those of wage workers. This is only too obvious in Chile, Brazil, Peru, Colombia and some other countries. But one should under no circumstances make an absolute of this phenomenon, and the notion of 'proletarianisation' (which is anything but scientifically precise, by the way) should be used very carefully so as not to overlook the characteristics of the middle strata and to take account of their relative constancy in the capitalist social structure.

The above aspects are very important for communist political strategy and tactics. This is why Communists study every aspect of the problem of bringing the positions and aspirations of the working class and the middle strata closer together with due regard to the latter's contradictory nature and dual behaviour as well as to the increasing dovetailing of their essential interests with those of the working class. The basis for common interests is readiness to fight for a system rejecting capitalism.

Also worthy of mention are distinctive aspects of the activity of Latin America's working class, such as its relations with believers and ethnic communities.

It was noted at the symposium that there are ties and common ground between the working class and the mass progressive movements of believers professing different religions (chiefly Christianity, which is widespread on the continent). These include working people of the most diverse categories. Cooperation with these movements in many fields with a view to achieving democratic and progressive goals fosters trends towards unity among the working class and makes it possible to defeat anti-communist inventions and reactionary campaigns conducted through channels of the official church.

Special attention was called to the fact that in some countries ethnic communities make up the majority of the peasantry and a large part of the working class. The policy platforms of Marxist-Leninist parties defend the particular interests of these population groups and insist on respect for their cultural heritage.

There can be no doubt that typical of Latin America's working class is realisation of the truth that it will be able to accomplish its historical mission only if it makes painstaking, careful and competent use of every possibility of winning numerically strong allies.

The symposium's examination of so vast and varied a panorama produced a consensus. As well as stepping up its own fight, the working class of Latin America inspires and leads popular actions for the satisfaction of immediate economic and social demands. At the same time the working class, coming to the fore in democratic, anti-oligarchic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggles, generally takes the initiative and shows the greatest consistency in these struggles. More and more confidently, it is playing the role of decisive force in effecting revolutionary change, shaping the strategic perspective and waging struggles for the establishment of democratic regimes with a socialist future.

The conclusions drawn by the symposium were in keeping with the theses of the final document of the Meeting of Communist Parties of South America (Buenos Aires, July 1984). This forum put on record the outstanding role of the working class in consolidating independence, defending the vital interests of the working people, effecting radical changes and defeating plans of imperialism and domestic reaction aimed at destabilising the democratic process.

The growing prestige and influence won by the working class and its trade unions in fighting together with other social forces and their political organisations enable it to become a factor making this struggle more active and to set correct and dependable guidelines. This fully confirms the correctness of the Communists' ideas about the ways and means by which the working class will win a leading role in society.

<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 237.



<sup>2</sup> For details, see Amaro Valentim do Nascimento, 'Brazilian Trade Unions on the Rise', *WMR*, No. 8, 1983.—*Ed.*

<sup>3</sup> *Revista de la CEPAL*, No. 19, 1983, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For details, see Samuel Behak, 'Uruguayans Reject the Dictatorship', *WMR*, No. 3, 1984.—*Ed.*

<sup>5</sup> For details, see Cesar Jimenez, 'Latin America: Reaction Is Losing Ground. Seeking Radical Changes', *WMR*, No. 3, 1984.—*Ed.*

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 271.

## In Search of Common Ground

### West European Students in the Anti-War Movement

National and international democratic student organisations have been playing a prominent part in public action for peace, against war. The growing attention students pay to problems of war and peace reflects their increasing awareness of the incontrovertible fact that only in conditions of peace, detente and disarmament is it possible to ensure social progress, including the rights of students and a worthy life for youth.

*WMR* has asked representatives of several democratic student unions to discuss their experience, objectives and problems in the current period of imperialist-induced aggravation of international tensions. Exchanging their views were: Michael Kjeldsen, international secretary of the Danish Communist Students; Geert Mareels, president of the Flemish Student Union (Belgium); Marjo Mäenpää, member of the Socialist Student Union Board (Finland); Christophe Prudhomme, national secretary of the National Union of French Students; and Ann Marie Janson (Sweden), president of the International Federation of Medical Students Associations.

**—What is your assessment of the experience the peace movement has accumulated in the early 1980s? What has your organisation done and what does it plan to do to mobilise students to step up the struggle for preserving peace?**

**Michael Kjeldsen:** The Danish Communist Students, a union established as a national body in 1974 and therefore with a relatively short record, learned much from participation in preparing and conducting numerous peace actions.

First, we have realised that in order to develop the peace movement one has to concentrate on what is of paramount importance—on finding some common ground acceptable to the majority of the population. Widespread public resistance to the deployment of US missiles in Europe provided the necessary rallying cry. A clearly articulated goal was the reason why a considerable part of those holding liberal and even conservative views, including students who were, essentially, supporters of NATO, assumed a negative position vis-a-vis the Euromissiles.

Second, we now understand that the peace movement must be highly diverse, that it should encompass all young people, all those who want to work for a common goal even despite considerable differences in their philosophies and political judgement. One cannot demand a consensus on all issues as a precondition for joint action.

The third point is that while anti-war protest in Denmark was triggered by non-proletarian strata, participation of the working class and its trade unions is instrumental for the continued strengthening of this movement. For this reason it is very important to expand and consolidate unity of action between Communist and Social Democrats. In our analysis of the evolution of the Danish peace movement we



note that the turning point in the Social Democratic attitude which led to the emergence of an anti-missile majority in the Folketing occurred precisely at the time when the worker masses and trade unions began to join the peace drive.

Finally, we have realised that the Communists' ideological and political position should be made perfectly clear. In the course of preparing anti-war action, we explain things to people, highlight the role the USSR and other countries of existing socialism play in the struggle for peace, and expose the fallacy of the 'equidistant' stand. Communists are working to spearhead the movement in the right direction—against the aggressive policy of NATO and Washington, against the military-industrial complex.

While communist students believe that Danish public opinion has shifted radically and now supports the anti-war, anti-missile stand, we have no right to let up in our efforts. On the contrary, the dangerous turn of international events after the deployment of US first-strike missiles in Europe demands that we intensify all our activities.

**Marjo Mänekää:** Finland's democratic organisations of young workers and students cooperate vigorously with the national peace movement. The Socialist Student Union (SOL)<sup>1</sup> is active in all major anti-war demonstrations, marches and peace camps. We tell people about the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons in Europe on Finland and her people. Our foremost objective is to rally young people around the demand to recognise the nuclear-free status of Scandinavia and the North of Europe.

We believe that during the early 1980s qualitative changes occurred in the peace movement. Its open, ideology-free character made it possible for everyone who wanted to prevent Earth from turning into a radioactive cinder to join it. Still, despite the great scope of the movement, US missiles have appeared in Western Europe and are being deployed even now. That caused certain consternation among many people.

However, the SOL position is that the struggle is far from over. And so we urge our members to draw new supporters into the anti-war movement, be more vigorous in explaining issues to the younger generation and to the population as a whole, and consolidate cooperation with youth organisations of different political orientations. The latter point becomes particularly important in the context of the preparations for the World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow.

**Geert Mareels:** The Flemish Student Union<sup>2</sup> is actually a progressive front which unites Communists, Social Democrats, members of various leftist groups and environmentalists. They all fight together for peace and disarmament, against fascism and for more democratic education, including access to higher education for the economically underprivileged.

As should have been expected, NATO's 'two-track' decision pushed issues of preserving peace to the foreground. Acting both independently and jointly with other forces, the Union has organised many actions for peace and disarmament, against the Euromissiles. We hold that the freeing of Western Europe from the Pershings and the Tomahawks would enable the USSR to rescind its counter-measures, which would open the way to a resumption of talks on disarmament.

Students are working hard among the population in the so-called grass-roots action groups which are active in both urban and rural communities. Students establish contacts with people, talk and discuss things with them, explain what is happening in the world—in short, try to raise the level of public awareness. In our view, the chief result of these efforts is that peace issues have now become a daily concern for most Belgians. They are now more fully informed and familiar with figures and arguments, and those who would like to justify the arms race have a hard time of confusing them. In short, the peace movement has succeeded in checking the right-wing-promoted



trend towards making Belgian society politically uninvolved.

**Christophe Prudhomme:** Anti-war activities are a long-standing and firm UNEF tradition. In the 1950s and 1960s our union opposed the colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, and in the 1970s supported the Vietnamese people enthusiastically. Today, too, we work hard to keep issues of war and peace, of detente and disarmament constantly in the focus of students' attention. It is by no means easy to do this with regard, say, to the Euromissiles. There are no US troops stationed in France, no US nuclear weapons being deployed on French soil. There is no doubt that that was a factor behind the passivity of a large part of young people in the critical period which preceded the missile deployment. However, the concern of French students over the steady deterioration of international affairs is mounting. This was confirmed by the considerable involvement of young people in the big manifestation held in Vincennes in 1983, sponsored by the Appeal of One Hundred and attended by 500,000 peace activists.

Our experience tells us that the struggle for peace and disarmament can be effective only if it unites people of different views and convictions. True, political likes and dislikes play a very prominent role in France and can, at times, impede the progress of the anti-war movement. Nevertheless, we have noticed that when the issue concerns peace, one really can ensure concerted action by students of different political leanings. Here, much depends on how the issue is formulated, on the type of the slogans advanced and on the tone of the discussion.

**Ann Marie Janson:** We are a politically unaffiliated organisation, and our goal is to preserve human health.<sup>3</sup> In the words of the Hippocratic oath, the physician shall act for the benefit of his patients, not for their hurt or any wrong. This means that today no task is more urgent than averting the terrible threat looming over the health and lives of all people. Realisation of this truth led our Federation to supplement, beginning in 1982, our purely medical activities with efforts to mobilise students for the struggle to prevent nuclear war.

We have opened branches of the Federation on virtually all continents and launched a broad campaign to explain the consequences of the arms race and nuclear war to medical students. Our analysis of modern medical care capabilities which was based on WHO<sup>4</sup> documents points clearly to the conclusion that in case of a nuclear catastrophe both effective medical aid to the victims and survival of most of the population will be out of the question. The Federation informs medical students about it very thoroughly, so that each would understand clearly the monstrous effects of nuclear war.

The campaign to explain the consequences of nuclear war should be conducted more vigorously but, at the same time, without overdoing things: statements by Federation spokesmen often trigger a 'defence mechanism' of sorts—people want to stop their ears, to know nothing about the horrors of nuclear conflict. It is important to remember about this reaction and, instead of breeding despair, look for ways to arouse and mobilise people.

Aside from acting on our own, we take part in international initiatives sponsored by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War movement and cooperate with other anti-war committees and groups, trying to bring them closer together. The only way to prevent war and ensure survival is to work jointly for the sake of one supreme goal, ignoring ideological and political differences.

**—The record of the anti-war movement in the West shows that some young people prefer 'direct protest action' to the long-established forms of political struggle. Is this trend in evidence in your country and if so, what is your position with regard to it?**

**Geert Mareels:** In Belgium, 'direct action' is punishable by law and entails persecution by the authorities. For example, the November 1983 student anti-missile



protest held close to the parliament buildings, in an area closed to demonstrations, brought on harsh reprisals by the police and military security. But our conclusion was that rallies and speeches alone were ineffective if not supported by more radical steps on the part of those who oppose war. For this reason our organisation advocates combination of political forms of struggle with 'direct action'.

We are currently preparing to launch certain forms of civil disobedience. For example, a committee has been set up to encourage non-payment of the taxes which go to defence. The money thus saved will be deposited in a special bank account, to be subsequently spent on social needs. By taking this position, people will be telling the government that they do not intend to finance the deployment of nuclear weapons in our country. In order to reduce the risks, we have decided to start this campaign when at least 2,000 people join it.

I say 'risks' because you can be arrested for failure to pay taxes. There are also penalties under the law for other forms of civil disobedience. But when people see someone ready to suffer for his anti-war convictions, it produces a great impression. That is why we believe that 'direct action' is an effective instrument for convincing the population that the nuclear threat can and must be resisted.

**Michael Kjeldsen:** The problem of 'direct' nonviolent action as a means of expressing public protest is a recent development. Socially and psychologically, it stems from the reaction of a part of the petty bourgeoisie, including some young people, to imperialist crimes, the growing danger of nuclear war, the erosion of bourgeois-democratic values, environmental pollution and the like. On the other hand, this protest is a reflection of its advocates' desire to keep at a certain distance from the politically conscious working class movement.

We Danish Communists do not reject any form of struggle. But the question is whether the use of the given forms is justified in a given situation, whether they help to win people over to our side and bring our end goal closer. This is what determines, in each specific case, our attitude to the so-called radical forms of protest. Meanwhile, we openly state our critical assessments of acts of violence.

**Christophe Prudhomme:** French young people treat politics in a way which is somewhat different from the approach displayed in the FRG or the Nordic countries. I think that French youth prefers classic political action within the framework of established political and social structures, participating readily in events sponsored by the peace movement, the Appeal of One Hundred and even by political parties. For example, action staged by the PCF, the country's only political force consistently working for peace and disarmament, attracts many young men and women. Meanwhile, the so-called alternative groups, 'Greens' and other non-traditional entities are not prominent in French politics. They are fragmented, weak, and youth is so far comparatively indifferent to them.

**—What problems and difficulties does your organisation encounter in mobilising students for peace and disarmament?**

**Ann Marie Janson:** We do encounter difficulties. Recent international developments have disheartened many medical students and scientists who grew passive and lost their faith in a successful outcome of the struggle. Our Federation is also hampered by the fact that sometimes, when we disseminate alarming information about the consequences of nuclear war, we fail to advance specific and positive alternatives or disarmament proposals. Finally, some of our regional branches report that students from developing countries dismiss the nuclear war threat as something affecting only Europe and do not participate in our action.

Still, we never tire of explaining that the drive to remove the nuclear threat is as important as the struggle for the right to work, for justice, equality and human rights,



that an end to the arms race will help solve the problem of material resources which are so necessary everywhere.

**Geert Mareels:** I would say that in Belgium, the most urgent task is to break through the paralysis which has gripped some of the younger generation and of the people as a whole. They gave up after the US missiles began to be deployed and the Soviet Union adopted its counter-measures. Some were also ejected by the unfortunate choice of tactics by the peace movement leaders. These leaders expected the government to give in if most Belgians came out against the missiles; they focused their efforts on the big anti-war demonstration held in Brussels in October 1983. But the government stood its ground, and the movement, it turned out, had failed to prepare a plan of action for the period that followed.

Today we are telling people that the struggle is not yet over all the more so because the missiles have not arrived in Belgium. We point to the gains made by the international peace movement and cite the example of the Netherlands where opponents of the Euromissiles have forced the government to go on the defensive. Such examples encourage Belgians to continue the struggle.

The second serious problem is the recent upsurge in the activities of Flemish nationalists who are essentially fascists aggressively hostile to the peace movement. They have set up 'Peace Through Armament', an organisation of their own which, although not successful, is dangerous because its members provoke bloody clashes. Several supporters of our union have already suffered minor injuries in these fights, and two have been hospitalised with broken legs. This brutality shocked everyone: nothing like that had happened in Belgian universities since the 1930s. Today, the urgent task is to organise a broad front to combat this danger.

**Christophe Prudhomme:** In France, the mobilisation of students for the peace struggle encounters difficulties too. First and foremost, even if some of our young people do not treat these problems as minor ones, they still see them as less acute and less urgent than the country's current economic crisis, growing unemployment and inflation.

Another difficulty is that the public associates anti-war efforts with communist action and Marxist ideology. This often influences those students who are easily swayed by all sorts of false charges that only the East benefits from the peace drive.

And finally, the UNEF is seriously hampered in its activities by the fact that its membership is quite small—40,000 out of the almost one million French students. The increase of our membership is a priority task with us because we want our union to be a truly national organisation comprising most of the country's students.

**—How do you combine action for peace and disarmament with your efforts to uphold the distinct interests and rights of students?**

**Marjo Mäenpää:** We explain that peace and education are interrelated matters. First, Finland's military budget which gets bigger each year swallows up the funds schools, colleges and universities needed so badly. Our other concern is that too much attention is paid in the universities to narrow matters of secondary importance, while global problems which can be solved effectively only in a peaceful world are neglected.

This year has been designated as a University Peace Year in Finland; the aim is to show how much the situation in the field of education and culture depends on the state of international affairs.

**Michael Kjeldsen:** We in Denmark are working to connect peace action with the social struggle for we believe that international issues alone cannot be a long-term mobilising factor. And, of course, we oppose cuts in social spending and advocate reduction of military expenditures and the channelling of funds into science, culture and education.



**Christophe Prudhomme:** A major aspect of UNEF activities is to uphold the material and spiritual interests of students, to secure housing, transport, food and other discounts for them. It would, of course, be great to have military spending reduced and additional funds appropriated for these purposes and for developing education in general. This view is perfectly justified in our country: France sends troops to different regions of the globe and is one of the world's major arms manufacturers and exporters.

However, since the French armed forces, including their nuclear component, are what the government described as an 'independent deterrent', it is not always easy to advocate cuts in military expenditures. In France, very few people think that our military budget is too big; the majority accepts the government's argument that we should assure our own defence without coming under the US umbrella. A lot remains to be done to change this conviction among young people.

**Geert Mareels:** Our student union demands improvement of the system of education which, in Belgium, is becoming increasingly elitist, losing its democratic qualities. We stress that the money which is to go into education should be taken away not from the poor but from banks, holding companies, transnational corporations and the military-industrial complex.

**Ann Marie Janson:** A priority objective of our Medical Students Federation is to secure support for our idea of introducing 'Consequences of Nuclear War' as a mandatory curricular course, especially for medical students. We are publicising this idea vigorously at international forums, through UNESCO and through regional organisations.

Several Swedish medical colleges already award credits in this subject; it is also taught at some medical colleges in the FRG, Finland and Great Britain and at several universities in the United States. We have summed up the experience they gained and published a pamphlet which is to aid in popularising this course among teachers and students.

**—How does your organisation assess the role of international solidarity? What is your view of your internationalist duty?**

**Christophe Prudhomme:** There now exists a tangible opportunity for a mobilisation of students in connection with what is happening in Central America, Chad, Southern Africa and the Middle East. These developments evoke a ready response among French youth: for example, it raised a storm of protest against the US invasion of Grenada. Today, the task of the UNEF is to step up the campaign of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua. Our support is not only moral or political but also material: we have sent a consignment of school and medical supplies to Managua. We also believe that young people should be more vigorous in their demand for the French government to pursue a consistent and independent policy vis-a-vis Central America, without undue caution as to how the United States may react. We also think that France could make a positive contribution to a just settlement of the Palestinian and Namibian problems, assist in curbing the arms race and undertake more vigorous efforts to help preserve the spirit of confidence and cooperation which emerged in Europe during detente.

As to Chad, the UNEF did not support the sending of French troops to that country; we hold that their large-scale stationing in Chad is no solution, that the conflict should be settled through peaceful negotiations.

**Marjo Mäenpää:** We in Finland take just pride in the fact that the peace drive and the movement for international solidarity make up an integral whole which opposes unanimously the violence and injustice imperialism commits in developing countries. The problems of preserving peace and gaining genuine national independence usually have common roots—the aggressive nature of imperialism, the arms race and



the self-seeking policy of big monopolies. And so we emphasise the need for a radical solution to this problem—a restructuring of the entire system of international relations, including economic ones, on a just and democratic basis.

**Ann Marie Janson:** A physician's profession offers him an excellent opportunity to express solidarity in tangible forms—to help newly-free countries to organise a medical service, to fight hunger and epidemics. We are conducting vigorous propaganda and organisational work to this end. Our Federation has established a public health service committee which forms first aid teams for African and Central American countries. We also have committees to support refugees and to combat drug abuse in Third World countries. In April 1984 all branches and departments of our Federation held a Day of International Understanding, for Peace and Life. One of its main objectives was to ensure concerted action both to solve urgent problems of the developing world (hunger, diseases, overpopulation, etc.) and to promote the struggle against the nuclear arms race. The experiment was a success, and we are now planning to issue a special pamphlet on these issues.

**Geert Mareels:** The liberation movement in Africa, Central and South America inspires progressive students and enhances their social consciousness. The Flemish Student Union conducts annual campaigns of solidarity with peoples in struggle: we organise conferences, discussions and rallies, and raise money to support political exiles. Of course, this is a limited form of support, but it does have a certain political significance—for us, too.

**Michael Kjeldsen:** As internationalists, we attach great importance to support of Latin American and Caribbean peoples in their struggle for democracy and genuine national independence. We firmly oppose a recurrence of the Grenada tragedy in Nicaragua and render political and moral support to the patriotic forces of El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile and Paraguay fighting to overthrow their terrorist pro-US dictatorships. Nor are we indifferent to the plight of the peoples of Lebanon, Namibia and South Africa.

Cooperation among peace movements is now more important than ever. Danish peace activists have established ties with the Greenham Common and Comiso peace camps and cooperate with the Krefeld Committee in the FRG and the nuclear freeze movement in the United States. Solidarity on this scale is a new and very welcome development. This solidarity and support for the peoples of the Third World and for victims of imperialist aggression is our internationalist duty. It also helps us to tackle problems of our own in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

<sup>1</sup> Founded in 1967 and guided in its efforts by the Communist Party of Finland, SOL is represented in all Finnish universities and secondary schools.—*Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1938, this influential progressive organisation operates in the Flemish part of Belgium.—*Ed.*

<sup>3</sup> Founded in 1951, the International Federation of Medical Students Associations unites representatives of 58 countries.

<sup>4</sup> The World Health Organisation is an intergovernmental specialised agency of the United Nations, comprising 158 member countries (as of 1983).—*Ed.*



# viewpoints

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## Reaganism: Theory and Practice of International Banditry

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The four years that have passed since the Republican administration under Ronald Reagan took over can only be described as a period of disgrace to imperialism. They have been marked by a US bid to gain 'world domination' by recklessly escalating the arms race and stepping up tensions in various parts of the globe, in particular the Third World. This policy is causing enormous damage to Asian, African and Latin American countries, whose national sovereignty is in danger and whose economy is being systematically plundered by transnational corporations. Increasing sections of the people are awakening to the need for more effective resistance to international imperialism, primarily its US contingent.

All this is the subject of the following selection of contributions.

### 'NO' TO STATE TERRORISM

Ronald Reagan's name is rightly identified in the Third World with state terrorism, international banditry and the most barefaced plunder. More and more people in all countries are coming to realise the enormous threat posed to world peace, national independence, democracy and social progress by the current policy of the USA.

While the present US government was hurriedly stationing missiles in Western Europe, preparing for World War III, its troops overran little Grenada a year ago and committed aggression in Lebanon. In taking steps to militarise outer space and threatening with destruction from the skies, the White House is in a hurry to complete the formation and deployment of 'strike forces' for direct use against Nicaragua and Cuba, whose peoples have become masters of their own destinies, and El Salvador, where the people have risen to fight their way to the same goal. US warships carrying nuclear arms are on stand-by duty in the Mediterranean and Caribbean and in the Indian and Pacific oceans.

Time was when nazi Germany tried to justify its criminal expansion by the need for 'Lebensraum'. Washington is talking about protecting 'vital US interests' in an attempt to whitewash a policy whose only principle is brute force.

As a result of the Republican government's military spending, which runs to astronomical figures, the rich in the United States are becoming richer and the poor, poorer. Besides, these expenditures are a heavy burden on the economies of Asian, African and Latin American countries. To cover the Pentagon's expenses, the USA raises interest rates on credits from international banks controlled by US imperialism, which reduces the already limited opportunities of our countries for development. Yet apart from this, they are compelled to bear the brunt of the crisis of the world capitalist system.

Imperialism used such instruments of penetration and economic domination as the International Monetary Fund. Programmes of this organisation of ill fame starve the hungry and help create a state of turmoil and violence in countries covered by IMF 'aid'. Every protest against the rapacious policy of monetary and financial institutions of this kind is brutally suppressed. Recently demonstrators in the Dominican Republic were fired on for denouncing IMF activity.

Pursuing its militarist plans, the USA makes full use not only of the aggressive



NATO bloc, but of the racist regimes of Israel and South Africa, which obey its dictates, the profascist tyrannies of Latin America and the anti-popular dictatorship of Pakistan and South Korea. As a consequence, blood is flowing in Namibia, on the Palestinians' lands, in many countries of the Western Hemisphere, in Afghanistan and the Middle East. Japanese militarism is reviving. The 'Chinese card' is being played. All reactionary forces are drawn to the White House and enjoy the protection of its bellicose master.

Preparations for a new world war and the numerous 'local wars' are two sides of one and the same coin marked 'Made in USA'. People today associate with this mark the brigandage of imperialism and reaction, who are seeking to dominate the whole planet, destroy existing socialism and subjugate other countries and peoples.

In view of the present situation and backed by the growing unity, energy and awareness of the working people, we representatives of Latin American and Afro-Asian Communists raise our collective voice to declare explicitly that Reagan will fail to achieve his aggressive aims in the same way as Hitler did and that the state terrorism inspired by Reagan will be defeated in the name of life and freedom on earth.

**Raul Valdes Vivo**

CC member, Communist Party of Cuba

**Ahmed Salem**

Representative of the Communist

Party of the Sudan on the *WMR*

Editorial Council

### STRATEGY OF FORCE

The Reagan Administration's term in office has put a sinister stamp on US policy as a whole. In an effort to gain world domination meeting the interests of the military-industrial complex, Washington resorts to military provocations and is trying to mount an anti-communist 'crusade'. It assigns an important role in this matter to the Caribbean and South America in a bid to control countries of our region politically, economically and militarily.

Reagan's so-called 'inter-American' policy is based on the Santa Fe document<sup>1</sup> worked out by a group of ultra-rightist ideologists. The document is expressive of the most reactionary aggressive and expansionist trends of contemporary US imperialism. One of its postulates is that 'war, not peace, is the norm in international affairs' and that the continent is 'under attack'. These premises underlie the strategy of force and massive armed intervention by which the White House calculates to shore up its supremacy in Latin America and the Caribbean. On the battered pretext of 'resisting Soviet-Cuban aggression' and combating 'international terrorism', attempts are being made to contain the revolutionary, national liberation and democratic processes unfolding in the region. The aim is to prevent any change affecting the interests of monopoly capital and transnational banks closely associated with the entire system of imperialist exploitation. The Washington Administration maintains relations with its southern neighbours according to the law of the jungle. Its head is trying to appropriate the 'right' to interfere at will in the affairs of any country and conduct punitive operations wherever he believes 'vital US interests' to be in danger. Reagan ignores and flouts all international standards by giving the CIA a free rein to commit acts of aggression and political crimes, carry out coups and hatch conspiracies aimed at destabilising governments that the United States does not like. In Central America and the Caribbean, the USA resorts to outright military intervention and in South America it frankly backs military fascist dictatorships, disrupting the economies of countries of our region.



In 1982 the USA became Britain's accomplice in that country's colonial war against Argentina over the Malvinas. The action showed up the utter hypocrisy of Washington's talk about 'continental solidarity' and 'Pan Americanism'—the shibboleths used by it as an excuse for interference in the affairs of its southern neighbours. By now the Malvinas have become a strategic base of NATO. Transnationals, for their part, plan to exploit the natural resources of the islands.

The White House extends its patronage to the dictators of South Cone countries still hanging on to power. It lavishes military and economic aid upon them, gives its blessing to their crimes and condones their violations of human rights. Chile's Pinochet, Uruguay's Alvarez and Paraguay's Stroessner owe their continuing rule to the political backing of US imperialism, which fears that if democracy were restored (as demanded by the people in struggle) it would bring to power progressive regimes that would refuse to submit to US dictates. As for the countries which have succeeded in overthrowing dictatorial rule (Bolivia), returning to constitutional norms (Argentina) or extending political and trade union freedoms somewhat (Brazil), there the USA is trying to undermine or reverse these developments by inspiring reactionary plots. The Pentagon, in turn, is laying new plans to tighten control over the armies of South American countries and use them as its auxiliary forces in military ventures on the continent.

Economic aggression is one of the most dangerous aspects of Reagan's policy towards countries of our region. It is being carried on through the IMF, cast in the role of conductor of the usurious activities of transnational banks forcing Latin American states to pay an ever higher interest rate on loans. This is prompted by a desire to ease the effects of the crisis on the United States itself and cover the deficit of its huge military budget.

However, the peoples of the continent refuse to be reconciled to foreign dictates. '... The facts show,' says the Declaration of the Meeting of Communist Parties of South America held in Buenos Aires (July 1984), 'that US domination in Latin America can and must be ended through unity of action of the working class, the popular masses and the widest possible spectrum of patriotic and anti-imperialist forces. The communist parties are playing a decisive role in this historic battle for our second independence.'<sup>2</sup>

**Felipe Rodriguez**  
CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia

### **AGGRESSION IN THE RANK OF OFFICIAL POLICY**

Central America and the Caribbean have lately been the object of ceaseless aggressive moves by Washington as part of the anti-communist and anti-Soviet policy of the US Administration, which flouts the right of peoples to self-determination and peace.

Bands of mercenaries armed, trained and directed by the Pentagon and the CIA make continuous incursions into Nicaragua from Honduras and Costa Rica. Their aim is to bring about the downfall of the legitimate government of the republic, set up a puppet regime there and stop the process of deep-going social and economic changes. The Nicaraguan people, defending the sovereignty of their country and the achievements of their revolution, are compelled to spend enormous resources on defence. In three and a half years, 7,500 people, including children, women and old people, have become victims of US imperialist aggression. Economic damage exceeded two billion cordobas.<sup>3</sup>

However, new Nicaragua has won many impressive victories in its unequal fight against a mighty imperialist power. It has made great progress in eliminating illiteracy, raising the cultural standard of the population, setting up a system of public



health within everybody's reach and effecting an agrarian reform. Appropriations for various social programmes are growing year after year despite aggression. At the moment vigorous preparations are on for the first truly free and democratic elections to be held in national history.

Faced with the threat to their independence, the Nicaraguans have closed their ranks behind their militant vanguard, the Sandinist National Liberation Front. They deliver telling blows to bands formed by the CIA, which means inflicting a major political defeat on the USA. This forces the aggressor to hurry and to allocate more and more millions of dollars for the undeclared war against Nicaragua's freedom-loving people. Events show, however, that the hopes pinned by Washington on the Somozist cut-throats and mercenaries will be dashed, and so the White House is planning a direct invasion. Thomas O'Neill, Speaker of the US Congress House of Representatives and a noted leader of the Democratic Party, has said that if Reagan wins the November election US Troops may march into Nicaragua as early as December.

The press has reported Washington's plans for a 'blitzkrieg' against Nicaragua using the armies of reactionary Central American regimes. It would begin with US air raids and a landing from US ships. Not accidentally, over 20 warships led by the aircraft carrier *Kennedy*, with 85 combat planes and helicopters on board, are cruising off the coast of the republic. This is coupled with an unbridled anti-Sandinist brainwashing campaign in the United States.

The likelihood of this trend of development is seen in the occupation of defenceless Grenada and in brazen US interference in the civil war that is bleeding El Salvador white. There, too, the White House counts on armed force in supporting a thoroughly rotten puppet regime. This policy has already cost the Salvadoran people 50,000 lives, to say nothing of tremendous material losses. What is more, the Reagan Administration has turned a deaf ear to repeated proposals of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front to settle existing problems peacefully, by negotiation. Washington also boycotts the initiatives of the Contadora Group<sup>4</sup> aimed at easing the situation concerning Nicaragua as well as Cuba's proposals for the normalisation of relations with the United States.

The imperialists would like to drag all Central American countries into the impending fratricidal war. Honduras, where large-scale US war games take place without letup, has been reduced to a bridgehead for aggression against Nicaragua. Militarisation and an arms buildup are also under way in Costa Rica, whose territory is being used for the same purpose.

In these circumstances, no task can be more pressing than that of resisting Washington's aggressive, adventurist policy in every way. The events unfolding in Central America are not imperilling our countries alone; they are fraught with the danger of a local conflict developing into a global one. This was stressed by the first Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organisations of Central America and the Caribbean (Havana, June, 1984), which called on the peoples of the planet to firmly expose the Reagan Administration which has assumed the role of world gendarme.

**Randolfo Banegas**

CC member, Communist Party of Honduras

### WHO SET OFF THE POWDER KEG?

Speaking of US policy in the Middle East, it is appropriate to quote President Reagan's tell-tale statement that the region is 'a powder keg, a place where, due to its importance, especially for the free world, war might break out without anybody wanting it'.<sup>5</sup> These words imply an ominous threat. Indeed, situated nearby, in the Italian town of Comiso, is a base of US nuclear missiles that could hit targets in



Greece, Turkey, the Mediterranean and the southern part of the Black Sea. Nor should anyone discount the ability of Israel to manufacture nuclear ammunition. All this means that a nuclear conflagration may very well break out there. Besides, the purpose of Reagan's assertion is to justify the US policy of expansion and exonerate his country from the blame for the bloodshed going on in the Middle East.

Yet it is precisely the present administration's policy expressing the effort of US imperialism to weaken and do away with the national liberation movement in Third World countries and destabilise progressive regimes that has caused untold trouble to the peoples of the Middle East. Armed intervention in Lebanon, Pakistan's provocations against revolutionary Afghanistan, the Iraq-Iran war are danger spots in our explosive region where the flames of conflict are fanned by US imperialism directly or indirectly, through parties or groups acting as figureheads.

The US 6th Fleet is cruising off the coast of Lebanon, threatening the national patriotic forces of that country, the Palestinian revolutionary movement and the patriotic regime of Syria. In Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Bahrain, the United States has numerous bases or enjoys various privileges in the military sphere. Strong-points guarantee US monopoly interests and protect domestic pro-imperialist reactionary regimes.

There are 'rapid deployment forces' on warships and at the bases and they are prepared to invade any country. One such attempt at intervention, made in 1980 to free the US hostages being held in Teheran, failed ignominiously.

The CIA and other Western intelligence services put out their tentacles all over the region and seize on every opportunity to foment national or religious discord in order to make it easier for imperialism to put its aggressive ambitions into practice.

Attempts to dominate the peoples of the Middle East and secure the possibility of exploiting the natural and manpower resources of the countries situated here were made by the Nixon and Carter administrations and are being continued by the Reagan team under the false pretext of counteracting the 'Soviet danger'. Their failure was particularly striking in the case of the Camp David policy. Today even some US statesmen realise that resistance to this policy of aggression is mounting against the background of the economic and political crisis in the Middle East. Anti-American sentiments are expressed here even by those sections of the bourgeoisie which until recently had welcomed 'friendship' with the USA. The Arab press, including its conservative part, comments without mincing its words on the ineffective role of the United States and the greed shown by Reagan's foreign-policy strategy in our region.

The only state unfailingly toeing the White House line is Israel, which is linked with US imperialism by 'bonds of kinship'. Washington and Tel Aviv have signed a strategic agreement against the liberation struggle of peoples. It provides for joint US-Israeli manoeuvres, cooperation between security systems and services, the use of Israeli military bases and ports by US 'rapid deployment forces' and the buildup of Israel's military and industrial potential. This marks, in effect, the beginning of a new phase in the Middle East policy of the USA. Increasing in its context is the likelihood of an Israeli or Israeli-US invasion of the Persian Gulf area.

The peoples of the Middle East are resisting imperialist intrigues. This was exemplified by the miscarriage of attempts to impose a shackling treaty similar to the Camp David accords on Lebanon and by the forced evacuation of invading US troops from there. But the fight is by no means over. History has shown that nowadays it is hard to resist imperialist pressure singlehanded. This is why we consider that the order of the day is, more than ever, to establish and strengthen close links between liberation forces and participants in the vast anti-war movement developing on the planet. We all have a common goal of stopping reaction's offensive and preserving peace.

**Farid Mougahed**

CC member, Egyptian Communist Party



## CONTRARY TO THE AFRICANS' WILL

US policy in African areas south of the Sahara is a graphic example of the aggressive cynical and demagogical nature of the Reagan Administration's course. Skilfully alternating the carrot and the stick and occasionally using them at one and the same time, US imperialism and its puppets in the countries concerned shamelessly ignore highly important interests of Africa's peoples and flout their democratic rights. Under the hypocritical slogan of 'defending freedom' from the so-called Soviet-Cuban threat, the USA grossly interferes in the affairs of countries of the Continent, inventing innumerable devices to impose its will on whole peoples.

It is only due to the substantial aid continuously granted by the USA that the racist regime of South Africa can afford to disregard international opinion, hold the black majority of the population of its country under the yoke of apartheid and deny the Namibian people their sacred right to independence. Backed by Washington, the Pretoria rulers are constantly building up an atmosphere of terror and aggression on the borders of the 'frontline states'<sup>6</sup> which have opted for progressive development.

In Zaire, the Sudan, Morocco and other countries under anti-popular regimes, the ruling classes know very well that they can always count on the USA, provided they pursue a policy of national betrayal, violate democratic freedoms and exploit working people in the interests of transnationals.

Washington uses for its own ends the economic difficulties of newly free states resulting from the crisis of the world capitalist economy and the destructive anti-national policy of the neocolonialist bourgeoisie wielding power in some of them. It renders 'aid' in the form of credits and food supplies as a means of tying these states more closely to its policy and of involving them in its aggressive strategy, in particular by setting up military bases there. Morocco is already linked with US imperialism by strong militarist ties. Senegal has become an important factor in the Pentagon's policy under a whole system of agreements signed with certain NATO countries (some of these agreements have been published while others are kept secret). Planes of the US Air Force refuel at Senegalese airfields.

Africa's progressive forces are the object of continuous threats and subversive actions on the part of the US-backed home reaction. Mention may be made of bandit-like actions by UNITA in Angola and sorties by the anti-popular group calling itself the 'National Resistance of Mozambique' and by the separatists in Ethiopia. The USA invariably incites pro-imperialist regimes armed to the teeth to stage provocations against neighbours that have opted for progress and to keep up tension on their frontiers. Under direct US patronage, raids on revolutionary Ethiopia are carried out from the Sudan and Somalia. In the Horn of Africa Saudi Arabia, a country possessing billions of petrodollars and supermodern weapons, performs the functions of gendarme through its stooges. Morocco and Zaire do as much in other parts of the continent. Zairean troops are involved in the Chad war.

Despite the African peoples' sincere desire to live in peace and harmony, the imperialists, primarily the US imperialists, go to any lengths to play up political, ethnic or religious contradictions many of which have been inherited from the days of colonial rule. Washington is doing its utmost to frustrate efforts towards normalising relations between states and set some peoples against others. The Organisation of African Unity, which champions durable and expanding goodneighbour relations all over the continent, is another object of subversion by imperialism and its accomplices.

The Reagan Administration sees one of its key objectives in Africa in delivering racist South Africa from political and moral isolation by slightly 'making up' the ugly face of apartheid. To weaken the front of independent states opposed to it, Washington is trying to make Angola and Mozambique renounce a great historic achievement, their socialist orientation.



We will have to coordinate our efforts better if we want to repulse imperialism, racism and their local puppets. It is essential not to allow the construction of new US bases on the continent, prevent any further extension of the US military presence and foil attempts to turn African states into appendages to imperialism's military machine. Wide support for the socialist-oriented countries, which are playing a leading role in the fight for independence and national sovereignty, is particularly important from this point of view.

**Semou Pathe Gueye**  
CC Political Bureau member,  
Independence and Labour Party of Senegal

### **BUILDING UP A MILITARY PRESENCE**

The aggressive policy of the Reagan Administration has produced a tense, volatile and dangerous situation in South Asia, where US imperialism persistently shows its military strength. The militarisation of the Indian Ocean promoted by it, the deployment of nuclear weapons in the region and the stepping up of the arms race as well as direct and indirect interference in the internal affairs of South Asian states constitute a serious threat not only to the security of those states but to that of the entire world.

Throughout these years the USA has sabotaged convocation in Colombo of a UN conference on the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone set for early 1984.<sup>7</sup> It has done so contrary to the aspiration of the peoples of our region to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to resolve their political, economic and social problems in conditions of peace and tranquility.

The US has set up a system of military bases in the Indian Ocean, with the nuclear base of Diego Garcia serving as its hub. It has put afloat there its warships, including its 7th Fleet, and deployed nuclear missile submarines. A Central Command (Centcom) has been established to coordinate operations of the US armed forces in the area and to direct these forces in the event of attack on any country of the region. It can immediately mobilise the 'Rapid Deployment Force'.

Nuclear weapons on Diego Garcia and on board submarines cruising in the ocean have brought the threat of nuclear war to the very threshold of South Asia. However, Pentagon strategists believe that the existing network of military bases is out of keeping with their military and political plans. They are therefore trying to create a triangle of tension in South Asia with centres in Pakistan (Peshawar), Bangladesh (Chittagong) and Sri Lanka (Trincomalee). Recently a Voice of America transmission station was installed in our country, assumed by experts to serve as a military communications centre as well. There are reports that the USA is negotiating with Pakistan to deploy medium-range Pershing-2 and cruise missiles on its territory.

The plea under which the USA is militarising our region is that of containing the mythical 'Soviet threat'. Actually growing US aid to reactionary regimes and US attempts to involve them in the implementation of its strategic plans are evidence of Washington's bid for direct military-political domination in South Asia and for the suppression of the national liberation movement there.

To force India to abandon its progressive independent foreign policy, the USA is constantly playing up unsettled problems in relations between India, on the one hand, and China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka, on the other, adding to tensions on the South Asian subcontinent. Counting on the reactionary Pakistani regime as its gendarme in the region, Washington has granted it 3.5 billion dollars in credits and is supplying it with F-16 fighter-bombers, AWACS military surveillance aircraft, submarines and Harpoon missiles, apart from other highly sophisticated military hardware. It winks at Pakistan's efforts to develop a nuclear bomb whilst



pretending to abide by its commitment to nuclear non-proliferation. These have driven India to divert enormous resources from peaceful purposes in order to mend its defences and maintain its military balance with Pakistan.

Taking advantage of internal difficulties in Sri Lanka and the inability of the government to settle social conflicts, the US imperialists are putting ever stonger pressure on our country, drawing it into US policy.

Washington's strategy in South Asia is conditioned by the region's immediate proximity to Soviet frontiers. By extending its military presence there and arming its satellites, the USA calculates to bolster its own positions against socialism, to roll it back, to make it stop supporting the liberation movement in Asia. But the imperialists are meeting with increasing difficulties. The peace policy of India is as firm as ever. The peoples of Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are developing their action against the siting of foreign military bases on their territory. It involves resistance to the reactionary regimes which have vested themselves with dictatorial powers and are virtually betraying national interests. The task now is to step up our common efforts against the utilisation of South Asia as an area of US political expansion and for the creation in the region of a zone free from foreign military presence.

**Raja Collure**

Alternate member, CC Political Bureau,  
Communist Party of Sri Lanka

### **HEADED FOR MILITARISATION**

US imperialist expansion in the Southeast Asia-Pacific region is intensifying. Washington has selected Japan as its main ally in this region. The Reagan Administration is prodding the Japanese government, dominated by the military-industrial complex, to accelerate its military preparations and increase its armed forces, particularly its Navy and Air Force. The Pentagon wants Japan to blockade certain international straits in an 'emergency' within a radius of 1,000 miles.

Japan is increasing its aid to the Thai regime staging provocations against Kampuchea and Laos, and to the South Korean regime, which keeps up tension with its northern neighbour, the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Evidence is increasing that Japanese militarists are preparing to join directly in the nuclear strategy of the US and NATO. US F-16 fighter-bombers carrying nuclear weapons are deployed in Japan, and the US 7th Fleet, equipped with Tomahawk missiles, has free access to Japanese waters.

Having brought South Korea into a military triangle (US-Japan-South Korea), the USA is exploiting the conflict in the Korean peninsula to justify its refusal to end the occupation of the southern part of the peninsula. It is also encouraging South Korea and China to 'normalise' their mutual relations at the expense of the KPDR.

Washington's military political plans take account of the Beijing leadership's expansionist aims and of its drive for rapid economic modernisation with the aid of capitalist countries. This is why, following Reagan's visit to China, the USA is increasing its pressure to bring Beijing into military collaboration with the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul triangle. By stepping up armed provocations in Vietnam's borders, China indicated its receptivity to US overtures.

Washington is playing the 'Chinese card' not only to destabilise Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, but also to prevent goodneighbourly relations between the Indochinese and ASEAN<sup>8</sup> countries. It is very much to the advantage of the White House that the Beijing leadership tends to blame the Soviet Union more than the United States as the main source of the nuclear war danger, thereby helping to confuse and split the peace movement.



In the region which links the Pacific and Indian oceans, the USA continues to strengthen the ANZUS<sup>9</sup> military political bloc while at the same time encouraging it to establish closer ties with the member states of another military alliance of the region, ANZUK.<sup>10</sup> Washington is steadily building up its political, military and economic presence in all the member countries of these alliances. It persists in efforts to make ASEAN a tool of aggressive US policy. The association's member states are subjected to gross political pressure and blackmail whenever they seek economic or other 'aid'.

Our region is dotted with US military bases. The USA also has bases in the Philippines (Clark Field and Subic Bay) and can freely utilise them at any time under cover of a Mutual Defence Agreement.

The military alliances give the US a free rein for expansion in the Asia-Pacific area. The capitalist world's military political alignment, second only to NATO in military strength, is in the making there. It is spearheaded against the socialist community, particularly the Asian socialist countries, and the national liberation movements.

The militarisation of the region and its transformation into an area of confrontation with socialism run counter to the interests of the peoples of South Asia and the Pacific, who are rising to fight against the US imperialists' aggressive schemes, advocate prevention of the deployment of first-strike nuclear missiles in Southeast Asia, reductions of bloated military budgets, use of the funds thus saved for economic and social development, and the establishment of good-neighbour relations among states.

We realise, however, that the peace movement here has yet to assume proper dimensions. The peace forces, primarily Communists, will have to do much to unite all opponents to imperialist plans for aggression.

Jose Lava

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Communist Party of the Philippines.

<sup>1</sup> See Rodney Arismendi. 'Global Madness Once More', *WMR*, No. 7, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> *Partido Comunista de Uruguay. Boletín Exterior*, No. 8, 1984, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> 10 cordobas equals \$1.—*Ed.*

<sup>4</sup> See Edgar Caicedo, 'What Is the Contadora Group', *WMR*, No. 9, 1984.—*Ed.*

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from *Le Monde*, December 22, 1983.

<sup>6</sup> Angola and Mozambique in this case.—*Ed.*

<sup>7</sup> UN resolution No. 28/32 (XXVI)-1971.

<sup>8</sup> Association comprising Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.—*Ed.*

<sup>9</sup> Bloc comprising the USA, Australia and New Zealand.—*Ed.*

<sup>10</sup> Military political alignment composed of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore.—*Ed.*

## The 'Peace Autumn' of 1984

Marta Buschmann — member, Presidium  
of the Board, German Communist Party

WHEN late in the autumn of 1983 a majority of the FRG Bundestag approved the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in our country against the will of a great part of the people, it became clear that the peace movement had, unfortunately, failed to solve the highly important task of the moment — to prevent the beginning of the deployment of US first-strike weapons. Nevertheless, the movement refused to



recognise this move as legitimate since, in its view, the government and the Bundestag had no right to ignore the position of the electorate on such an important issue. It was clear from the beginning that peace activists would not let up in their efforts until they had the stationing of the missiles, a process to be spread over several years, stopped and reversed.

At the same time, it would be totally wrong to claim that the peace movement, the biggest democratic movement in our country's history, has been fighting in vain. As early as November 1983 the significance of its achievements had far surpassed the time scale of last autumn. Thanks to the movement's efforts, the missile question emerged as the focal issue of West German politics and a debate was launched on the security policy of the ruling quarters — a course running counter to the nation's interests and serving the world domination objectives of US imperialism. Besides, the peace forces succeeded in involving most of the population into the struggle against the missile deployment, thus questioning the legitimacy of the political course pursued by the government. Millions of people were drawn into the political confrontation; this gave them militant experience which contributed to the advancement of other social, democratic and anti-fascist movements. Finally, the anti-missile struggle blunted the ideological weapon of the ruling quarters — their anti-communism, and the "threat from the East" lost some of its influence. (Of course, this does not mean that the advocates of the US missiles have ceased their daily attempts to undermine the unity of the peace activists by this sort of slander.)

Another point is that the great scope of the movement, especially its increasingly firm alliance with organisations of working people, is not only important for anti-missile action but also aids in the development of democratic consciousness and contributes to long-term shifts in the alignment of domestic political forces.

The political response of the peace movement to the Bundestag decision taken against the will of the majority of the people proves that the movement has not given up and that it fights on. Its February 1984 action conference in Cologne rebuffed attempts by the supporters of NATO's missile decision to confuse and fragment the peace champions. Meeting in a complicated situation, the delegates representing action groups organised by territory, factory and occupation announced their determination to preserve their unity, prepare new campaigns and jointly discuss their differences. Joint action (the action conference was a graphic example of such efforts) accords priority to the central demand of an end to the further stationing of US missiles in the FRG and the dismantling of the systems already deployed.

In this way the movement, which has become truly popular in the course of the struggle against the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, has changed the political makeup of the country. This change is now a fact; it has turned the "peace or war" issue into the pivot of the confrontation and involved a large part of the people into a discussion of constructive ways to ensure the FRG's security.

The traditional Easter marches were truly a high point of the peace movement. The anti-missile struggle gave them a new impetus. Over 600,000 participants in nationwide demonstrations demanded that the deployment be stopped and the first-strike missile systems removed; they denounced the nuclear arms race and spoke in favour of peace, detente and disarmament, advocated an end to unemployment which affected millions of working people, and lashed out against the policy of dismantling social programmes. Viewed from the angle of overall participation by whole factories, individual trade union members and entire trade union organisations in the mass action, the scope of these spring demonstrations exceeded that of any other large-scale efforts and was a clear sign of success.

The 1984 Easter marches fully confirmed the fact that the peace movement learned its lesson from the CDU/CSU/FDP coalition's refusal to heed the wishes of a majority of our people. The discussion that preceded the marches concluded that a resolute struggle should be kept up against the growing danger stemming from the US



and NATO obsession with military superiority and expectations of winning a "limited" or "protracted" nuclear war by delivering a first strike which would "decapitate" the Soviet Union.

It is also clear that, just as we have managed to change the views of the majority over the past four years, we now have to use our "second wind" to turn this public opinion — something that opinion polls have registered — into an effective force capable of making the Federal government reckon with the will of the masses.

There is a growing understanding that we should have a long-term strategy oriented not only on day-to-day efforts and new large-scale action but also on increasing, over the next two or three years, the number of peace activists so much that it would be possible to isolate the politicians who support the arms race. Then, aware that even the patience of their followers has its limits, they will be forced to retreat. We think it important to promote cooperation between the peace and the trade union movements, and to pay great attention to drawing into the peace drive all those who fight for their social and democratic rights, economic security and decent life, against the deterioration of the environment.

The struggle against the first-strike concept and first-strike weapons should be combined with demands for cuts in military spending and for the use of the funds thus saved for social programmes at home and in developing countries. In order to influence broad, primarily more conservative strata, it would be useful to demonstrate how the FRG would benefit from the removal of the US missiles which are an important component of the global strategy pursued by US imperialism.

Washington's preparations for the creation of air-and space-based anti-missile and anti-satellite systems are designed to enable the United States to use weapons of mass destruction with impunity by intercepting a Soviet retaliatory nuclear strike. This makes it perfectly clear how dangerous the Reagan Administration's policy is to the peoples of Europe and other continents — something even those who favoured the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe are beginning to understand. This is borne out by the controversies which have developed within NATO between the United States and some West European countries.

And now back to the question of stepping up cooperation between the peace and the trade union movements. Speakers at the numerous meetings held in the FRG during the Easter marches included many production council members and trade union functionaries. At the final, 25,000-strong rally in Cologne Walter Malzkorn, representative of the Metalworkers' Union, said: "We will not accept mass unemployment and efforts to dismantle social programmes. We want full employment and social security, we want a 35-hour workweek! Thus we are fighting for a more just distribution of the social product, of the huge sums currently spent on armaments. We will not accept a life side-by-side with missiles, with chemical or biological weapons. To live on a powder keg with the fuse already burning means to live without hope, and that is unbearable. We want to live in peace and social security; and we must achieve this despite capital and the Cabinet."

There is another factor which has contributed to the success of the marches and strengthened the peace movement in general. It is that a large part of the Social Democrats have changed their attitude to the movement. Many of them were led astray in 1979, when, as a result of vigorous efforts by the then Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the SPD, NATO's missile decision was approved. However, after the extraordinary SPD congress held last year, rejected, by a sizable majority, the proposal to approve the deployment of US medium-range weapons and after this position was reiterated by the regular SPD congress this year, many Social Democrats joined the anti-missile activists shoulder to shoulder with representatives of other political forces, including us Communists. This radically new development in the peace movement deserves to be supported. In the course of the marches we declared that this process helped to strengthen peace, and we expressed our appreciation of the unity of the



heterogeneous anti-missile organisations and groups.

In early May 1984 another peace action conference was held. It played an important part in the further intensification of the struggle against the war threat and for disarmament. Its participants summed up the initial results of the discussion of the issues connected with the beginning of the missile deployment, assessed the prospects and considered the tasks and objectives of the current stage in the anti-missile campaign.

Six weeks later the peace movement again demonstrated how powerful it was. On June 17, the day of the elections to the European Parliament, it held a referendum to ascertain the people's attitude to the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and to the idea of eliminating all nuclear weapons in the West and in the East. Fifty-eight per cent of those who cast their votes — over five million people — took part in this survey conducted near more than 18,000 polls. Of the people surveyed, 87 per cent demanded an end to the deployment of the new US missiles in the FRG and their dismantling. This was additional proof that most of the population of the Federal Republic does not want our country to turn into a launching site for US nuclear missiles.

Active participation in the referendum by the voters and the results of the survey have made hundred of thousands of people optimistic. We Communists are convinced that this success has given a new stimulus to further joint action by different forces and made it possible to lay the groundwork for the next stage in the peace movement — the "peace autumn" of 1984. This is why we believe that the joint action to be staged in the autumn to protest against the arms race and the dangerous policies of the United States and NATO will be among the major results of the May conference.

The "peace autumn" promises to be stormy. It began on September 1 with joint action of the peace and the trade union movements to mark the Anti-war Day. The slogans urged efforts to combat the deployment of new US missiles in our country, to fight against the arms race and the dismantling of social programmes. Large-scale action, including vast "human chains", is scheduled for October 20. Rallies of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua are to be held on November 3. Various church groups will conduct "peace weeks" in mid-November. Days of refusal to work for war preparations will be staged from November 22 to 24.

It is very important that a resolution concerning the counter-measures adopted by the socialist countries and approved by most of the participants in the Cologne conference refers to the attempts by the North Atlantic bloc to secure "military superiority over the Soviet Union and a first-strike capability backed by the latest technologies" as the foremost threat to peace. The conference declared that efforts to end the arms buildup in Western Europe and the United States were a priority task of the movement and the "key to ending the arms race in the East and the West".<sup>1</sup>

However, the fact that the peace movement comprises industrial and territorial action groups, other organisations and individuals of different philosophies and political views inevitably made itself felt at the conference. In such circumstances it is perfectly natural for differences of opinion to emerge with regard to the significance and the effects of the Soviet counter-measures. It should be noted that while lively discussions were held on issues connected, in one way or another, with the role played by the socialist countries in the world-wide confrontation between the forces of war and peace, there was virtually no controversy in the assessment of imperialist policy.

Admittedly, the resolution adopted at the conference claimed, *inter alia*, that the Soviet counter-measures, especially the deployment of theatre and tactical nuclear weapons in the GDR and Czechoslovakia had also contributed to destabilisation in Europe and diminished security. In the course of the discussion we Communists and representatives of other progressive forces stressed that this position meant glossing over the problem. We explained to our partners in the alliance that had the Soviet Union failed to take counter-measures, the resultant military superiority of imperialism would have greatly exacerbated the existing danger of armed conflict.



We argued that things being as they were, the Soviet counter-measures served to prevent war and stabilise the situation. They would be necessary, we said, as long as the United States and NATO persisted in their attempts to achieve military superiority. Soviet readiness to restore the status quo which had existed prior to the start of the deployment of the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and the demand that it be restored as the decisive prerequisite for new talks were an integral part of the numerous proposals the USSR addressed to the United States and NATO.

Naturally, we are aware that the pacifist quarters would be hard put to accept this point of view. And so we attach greater importance to the fact that in its assessment of the military measures taken by the socialist countries, the resolution firmly rejects the fallacious concept of the "superpowers" equal responsibility and does not equate the Soviet Union with the United States.

The discussion of the problems connected with the Soviet counter-measures and the role of the socialist countries in the peace drive will continue, and Communists will be active in it. We see our partners' readiness for a businesslike exchange of views, for political understanding — including understanding on this issue — as an encouraging sign of ever closer unity of the heterogeneous peace movement.

The German Communist Party has been instrumental in enabling the peace movement, long declared "dead" by the advocates of the US missile deployment, to assert itself vigorously in recent peace action, and in making it possible for the movement's activists to prepare for the autumn. The slogan of this year's Seventh DKP Congress was, "Peace Must Prevail! Jobs, Not Missiles!" The congress approved the 1984 Action Programme for Freedom and Work. Its principles have long become the guiding light for the thousands of Communists who work vigorously in territorial and factory peace action groups, in regional and national bodies of the peace movement.

Comrade Herbert Mies, Chairman of our party, set out our position on major issues of the peace movement in the report of the DKP Board to the congress. He said that we Communists would never "accept the arbitrary decision on the missile deployment. We shall not be quiet until the US nuclear missiles are removed".<sup>2</sup> Citing facts, he stressed the historical truth that socialism is a social system whose ideal is peace. "In the socialist countries where exploitation of man by man has been abolished, there are no social forces which would profit from arms buildup or be interested in war. These countries' national policies are fully aimed at spending as little as possible for military purposes, at doing everything to ensure peaceful life. One of the most striking lessons of the struggle against the missile deployment — and we would like to tell this to all our partners in the peace movement — is that the socialist community of nations is the foremost ally of the peace movement in capitalist countries."<sup>3</sup>

This expressed the priority task for Communists in the peace movement, a task formulated to counter the virulent anti-communism of the more aggressive imperialist quarters. And so the ideological and political mission of the DKP is to highlight the scope and trace the roots of the war threat, to make the peace movement sufficiently strong so as to rule out the possibility of a catastrophic nuclear war being launched from the Federal Republic.

Taking into account the new and dangerous US arms buildup plans, the Seventh Congress noted, inter alia, that "the Reagan Administration not only speaks of war but also prepares for it in practical terms. Today's Washington rulers are political adventurers who seriously hope to 'decapitate' the Soviet Union and destroy socialism throughout the world with new nuclear 'wonder weapons'".<sup>4</sup>

In this connection our party congress drew the following conclusion: "As long as imperialism is armed and threatens war, socialism, too, must be armed — and armed so that every aggressor would know that he does not have a chance. This, therefore, is the decisive condition for preventing imperialism from launching aggressive wars."<sup>5</sup>

The April 1984 Plenary Meeting of the DKP Board assessed the initial progress in attaining the goals set by the congress and discussed major aspects of the work to be



conducted in the immediate future. Priority attention was attached to efforts aimed at strengthening the peace movement, ending the deployment and ensuring the removal of the US nuclear missiles, bringing about a return to detente, arms limitation and disarmament. Those participating in the discussion again emphasised that the beginning of the deployment of the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in the FRG and other West European countries had given rise to a new, more dangerous situation. Contrary to the fraudulent claims of the missile advocates, this step did not at all strengthen peace. The threat of nuclear war has never been greater than it is today.

Developments have fully refuted the arguments of the Federal government — which, incidentally, bears a great share of the responsibility for the arrival of US first-strike weapons on our soil — to the effect that the beginning of the deployment may create favourable prospects for the Geneva talks. It is becoming increasingly clear that, by upsetting the strategic military equilibrium which has been in existence, the missile deployment has robbed the talks of any realistic basis.

The current situation is a product of deliberate efforts on the part of the US leadership which refuses to impose any restrictions on its ambition to achieve military superiority. It plans to spend 1.8 trillion dollars on a huge programme of war preparations over the next five years. In anticipation of such profits, it is perfectly natural for the US arms monopolies to show no interest in successful arms limitation talks, let alone talks on disarmament.

Moreover, by planning to militarise outer space, Washington is now openly striving to destroy the accords already in force — for example, the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems. The plans to militarise space essentially undermine the entire process of nuclear arms limitation. The United States is obstructing other talks too. For example, it has wrecked the possibility of concluding a treaty to ban the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and their destruction. The Pentagon has already begun the production of binary chemical weapons, a new generation of toxic agents.

The Reagan Administration is doing all it can to make its aggressive policy in Central America and the Middle East aggravate international tensions. Speaking at Georgetown University, President Reagan announced his irresponsible credo with cynical openness: "Military force, either direct or indirect, must remain an available part of America's foreign policy."<sup>6</sup>

Having approved the plans to deploy US nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the right-wing Bonn government would now like to keep its finger on the launch button of space weapons. A CDU member of the Bundestag has even demanded that the Federal government join the US military space programme. "After the deployment of the medium-range missiles," Horst Sielaff, an SPD member of the Bundestag, wrote in this connection, "the CDU is now champing at the bit to get into the insane space arms race. It is now completely clear that all Christian Democratic disarmament rhetoric is nothing but lip service. The Chancellor's phrase about 'ensuring peace with fewer weapons' has acquired a hollow ring to it."<sup>7</sup>

As to the socialist countries, they strive to counter the US imperialist policy of confrontation with dialogue and with a policy of minimising the damage to intergovernmental relations. But, naturally, they are outspoken in their determination to do all they can to guarantee their own security.

Again and again, the Warsaw Treaty countries prove that they are reliable and consistent partners of all those forces in the West who want to preserve relations of peace and promote mutually beneficial cooperation. Since the scope of the article prevents me from listing all the numerous proposals made by the USSR and its allies, I would like to recall the clear and precise statement Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made at his meeting with Moscow workers: "We do not impose our world outlook and our social system on anyone. Nor do we need other peoples' lands. The Soviet Union sincerely suggests only one way: the



way of peaceful coexistence, the way of mutually beneficial international cooperation."<sup>8</sup>

The existing alignment of international forces, and the constructive policy of the socialist countries enable us to look to the future with hope and confidence — all the more so since it is becoming increasingly clear to the peace movement who is to blame for the arms race. This is clear from the incontrovertible fact that it is Washington and not Moscow which has drawn up the strategy of a nuclear war which is allegedly winnable and which, besides, US leaders want to limit to Europe. It is also clear from the deployment of US Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in our country and from many other facts.

The arms race is unleashed by easily identifiable quarters. It is neither an objective law of nature nor a consequence of man's "innate aggressiveness". This process, which threatens the very survival of human civilisation, is a direct result of the imperialist policy of violence and oppression, a policy which must be fought against with all possible weapons and with all possible resolution.

<sup>1</sup> See *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, No. 5, Köln, 1984, p. 639-640.

<sup>2</sup> *Protokoll des 7. Parteitages der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*, Neuss, 1984, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Newsweek*, April 16, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Parlamentarisch-politischer Pressedienst*, 5. Juni, 1984.

<sup>8</sup> *Information Bulletin, Peace and Socialism*, Prague, No. 13, 1984, p. 12.

## Whom the Mafiosi Serve

Antonio Boffi

THE mafia and the camorra require no introduction, even to the least-informed section of the international public: these criminal outfits are truly notorious. They sprang up in the regions of Sicily and Naples, then spread their activity across the whole of Italy and managed to establish close ties with the criminal world on an international scale, notably with the US gangsters. Such outfits monopolise or control the drugs traffic, the smuggling of cigarettes, prostitution and gambling; they kidnap people and extort their "share" in protection money from merchants and businessmen. In order to "wash" the money obtained in bank holdups or through blackmail, they contract for public works, set up their own financial companies and enterprises, carry on financial operations through frontmen, and so on. The result is a far-flung and illegal financial and economic organisation which could be compared with the most dangerous octopus whose tentacles have fastened on to the Italian society and are destabilising it.

One should not assume that either the mafia or the camorra are exclusively to blame for all the crime in Italy, for there are countless other gangs and even lone-wolf criminals. Still, the mafia and the camorra are the most dangerous and the most powerful instruments of organised crime, and that not least importantly because they have managed to establish ties and to secure favour in the sphere of political power. Many officers of the judiciary, mayors, regional councillors and high-ranking public servants have been arrested for complicity with the mafia or the camorra; indeed, several ministers have been involved with the mafia.



By contrast, many of those who have fought against these criminal outfits have been eliminated. That is what happened, for instance to Pio La Torre, a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa, Judge Chinnici, many communist workers, members of the law-and-order forces, guards, carabinieri, lawyers and judges. They were silenced forever either because of their resolute stand against crime or because in the course of investigation they had come too close to the hideouts of the chiefs and were about to expose the ties between organised crime and persons in high office. So they were massacred, frequently together with members of their families and their bodyguards.

Following the assassination of the prefect of Palermo General Dalla Chiesa (in the autumn of 1982), an outstanding fighter against terrorism, the PCI Secretariat said in a special statement that the preparation and carrying out of that act, among countless other massacres which had spilled blood all over Sicily and the whole of Italy, testified to the existence of some kind of brains trust which, in accordance with a precise political plan, masterminded the terrorism that systematically hit out at the leaders of democratic institutions, parties and the state who opposed the mafia more perseveringly, courageously and vigorously than do anyone else. Nor is it only a repetition of individual and ever graver crimes. Their motivations and objectives will be found not only in the sinister world of business, whose interests are entwined with those of a segment of the central and peripheral state machine. The country and public opinion, the statement said, are aware that a powerful subversive criminal organisation seeking to intimidate and paralyse the legitimate authorities, to impose its domination on them, to disrupt the structure of the democratic state and to plunge it into chaos has taken shape and is operating above all in Sicily, and also in Campania, Calabria and other regions.

More than any other political force, the Communists have become aware that the fight against the mafia and the camorra can be successful only if the ground is cut from under these criminal gangs. On the motion of La Torre, the leader of the Sicilian Communists, a law was passed in 1982 laying down penalties for the establishment of mafia-type organisations. The organs of the judiciary are empowered to investigate the origins of any illegally acquired fortunes in the possession not only of members of the mafia or the camorra themselves, but also of their relatives, and to scrutinise the activity of companies connected with them. It also provided for the confiscation of the property of mafia members and those whose fortunes are of a suspicious origin.

Although that law has yielded some results, it is far from being fully applied, for the mafiosi enjoy too much protection. They skilfully camouflage their capital, frequently registering it in the names of their wives, concealing it in dummy companies or in the guise of other "bona fide" activity. It takes a lot of painstaking effort to bring out the truth, but even that could yield results only if the judicial organs consistently applied the La Torre law. That, however, is very far from always being done. Thus, following its passage, something like 200 lawsuits for the confiscation of property were filed, but only half of them have been won. They involved great fortunes. In the Province of Salerno, for instance, property worth 11 billion lire has been confiscated from camorra member Marandino. Someone called Piromalli managed to evade arrest for something like ten years, but now he has been forced to part with real estate and houses worth 22 billion lire. A villa in Altarello di Baida in Palermo has been confiscated from a second-string mafioso.

The democratic forces point out that the main thing is to hit at the fortunes of the major mafiosi families, who have at their disposal a whole network of "bona fide" companies, but very little has yet been done to that end. When a case does come up before the courts, the criminals retain the best lawyers, who have the skill to confuse the already inconsistent Themis, the goddess of law and justice. The Greco family, for instance, retained as their defence counsel a professor of Palermo University, who tried to convince the court that his clients had made their money in agriculture, where, from



the standpoint of the treasury, the income cannot be exactly assessed. Such ploys are used by many mafia lawyers in an effort to create the impression that the billions of lire made from the heroin traffic and other crimes have been earned in "bona fide" economic or commercial activity.

The mafia and the camorra involve a wide range of people in their activity. The sale of smuggled cigarettes in Naples, for instance, is the only source of livelihood for many families, and, whether consciously or unconsciously, they are working for the criminal business. There is a flourishing drugs market with an extensive clientele throughout Italy, and that is where the bosses of the criminal world make their fortunes.

An investment in heroin yields 300 per cent profit, and the country has a registered 200,000 drug addicts (in 1983, 250 people died of drug abuse). The Attorney-General of the Court of Appeal Giuseppe Tamburrino has had good reason to say that drugs are the gravest and most destructive cancer eating away at the social fabric.

The ringleaders of the gangs extort tribute from merchants, owners of restaurants and similar other establishments. The kidnapping of members of rich families, including children, with a ransom of \$3-4 million, has become a common form of extortion. Abducted people have frequently been murdered despite the fact that their relatives paid the demanded ransom. Rival families of the mafia and the camorra are engaged in a running and ever fiercer battle for zones of influence, and this involves armed clashes and the killing of hundreds of people every year.

It is hard to control and stop criminal activity in the present-day Italian society, because investigations of the sources of wealth are hampered by the secrecy of bank deposits, the diversity of ways in which fabulous and immense fortunes can be made both by illegal and relatively legal methods. To wash the money made by criminal methods, the mafia and the camorra run it through casinos, invest it in real estate, tourist camps, bars, pizza parlours and nightclubs, secure building contracts, and circulate the money through banks and credit institutions. As a result, the owners of ill-gotten fortunes actually became a part of the fabric of the "legitimate" world and are, for practical purposes, identified with the "official" society. The mafia ringleaders live in luxury and often make no secret of their wealth. Villas, castles, palaces, yachts, hotels, restaurants, casinos, shops, and diverse enterprises are the "legitimate" property of the mafia, whose dirty origins it is hard to prove. Capitalist justice is very loath to peer into private life and is against the revelation of bank secrets and the sources of instant wealth.

Crime in capitalist Italy obviously has a favourable social soil: a small number of rich and relatively well-to-do live in the midst of a multitude of poor and dispossessed. According to a study by the Bank of Italy, 10 per cent of the country's families own 50 per cent of the material wealth. Meanwhile, in 1983, the number of unemployed reached 2.3 million, or almost 10 per cent of the labour force, with 75 per cent of them under the age of 30 years. Many who had gone abroad are forced to return home by the crisis without any prospect of getting a job. The consumerist society which is "free of all prejudice" and where the glittering shop-windows are out of bounds for the poor creates a climate which is favourable for the parasitic spread of crime.

The mafia's connection with the political power, of which there is documentary evidence, is an important factor of its influence. Through it the mafia insinuates its own men into the local organs of power and even into the Parliament.

There is an attitude of tolerance among the Christian Democrats, the main ruling party, to the mafia's influence. The links with the mafia of a former mayor of Palermo and a member of the Christian Democratic Party, came into the spotlight of publicity and were also confirmed by a commission on combatting the mafia. Dozens of Christian Democratic leaders have repeatedly attended funeral rites for the ringleaders of the criminal world. During a mafiosi funeral in Rieti, which is ruled by the Christian Democratic Party (PDCI), flags were flown at half mast and schools and government offices were closed.



The case of Cutolo, the undisputed boss of the camorra, is an indicative one. He is guilty of innumerable crimes, and committed his first killing at the age of 16 years. Up to fifty orders for his arrest have been issued. He has directed the activity of his gangs throughout the country for several years even while in jail. So, when the left extremists of the "Red Brigades" connected with the mafia abducted Ciriaco De Mita, a prominent PDC leader, the authorities asked Cutolo to intercede. Within three months, De Mita was suddenly released, for a huge ransom, it was said. But the truth of that "miraculous" release came to light only three years later. It turned out that members of the Italian secret services, whose official duty it is to combat terrorism and crime, were engaged in negotiations with the "Red Brigades" through Cutolo's services in the prison of the town of Ascoli Piceno. These negotiations also involved a one-time PDC Secretary Flaminio Piccoli. The party leaders were aware of these scandalous contacts although, after the murder of Aldo Moro, they declared ties with the terrorists and the mafia to be unacceptable.

Cutolo seems to believe that the time has now come to present a bill for his services. In February 1984, a court in Naples ruled that because of the state of his health he had to be transferred to a hospital (he had already escaped from a hospital in the past). He may be set free altogether if he is certified as mentally deranged. That is how Italian justice operates with respect to those who enjoy the patronage of people in high places.

The transfer to a hospital has generally become one way of allowing a criminal to go free. One "punishment" the authorities often impose on members of the mafia is deportation to other regions of the country, where they actually enjoy complete freedom of action.

Italy's real tragedy is that, in its fight against the forces of law and order, organised crime always has allies at various levels of the state machine. It is not surprising that many people are terrified because they are not protected by the authorities, which after many years have failed, for instance, to bring to book those who exploded a bomb at the Bologna railway station that killed over 80 people.

One characteristic statement has come from Ugo Viola, a senior official of the justice department in Palermo. In Italy, he declared, there is a society where "alongside the terrible areas of poverty and unemployment, there is a rapid growth of unjustified and conspicuously flaunted wealth". It is a society in which "people have lost faith in the law", while the political power "hardly takes a serious view of the terrorist challenge issued by the mafia, and is incapable of keeping it in check". The courts and the police are merely "present" at the powerful drive against the institutions of the state.

Such a situation is undoubtedly the result of the policy pursued by the ruling parties, which have for years ignored the country's key problems, including the economic, political and moral improvement of the society, which the Communists and all the other democratic forces have, by contrast, been tackling. They have succeeded in shedding light on cases which would otherwise have been glossed over in silence, such as the exposure of the conspiratorial activity of the Masonic P-2 lodge, the ties between the terrorists and the secret services, and between the mafia and the terrorists. The vicious circle of fear has at long last been broken, even where these criminal organisations are ruling the roost, through the action against the mafia and the camorra by the broadest public circles and the staging of thousands of mass demonstrations, and there is a growth in the number of those who want resolute change. The late Enrico Berlinguer once clearly emphasised the need to set up a broad democratic front to eradicate the mafia. The greatest responsibility for the state of affairs in the country falls on the ruling party, the PDC; the fact that it has not made a single serious effort to direct its forces for openly combatting the mafia and its sources testifies to the existence of a conspiracy and a vow of silence. He sharply condemned the ties which a section of the Christian Democrats have with organised crime and said that in Sicily the PDC sought to use the mafia to extend its own influence and increase the number of its electoral votes. Its indulgence and underestimation of the danger of



that criminal organisation is politically motivated. As for the PCI's attitude, he went on, "no one, beginning with the mafia, has ever had any doubts that the Communists are the mafiosi's most resolute enemies".

The struggle against organised crime has an important place in the Communist Party's overall programme for radical transformations in social life. Together with more vigorous measures to cut short the activity of the mafia and the camorra, the party is campaigning for the eradication of the social roots of crime, for the provision of employment, for the satisfaction of the young people's aspirations, and for an improvement of the political and moral climate in the country. Success in these transformations crucially depends on the coordination of action by all the forces wishing to see the democratic structures preserved and consolidated.

## **Cultural Progress is Inseparable from Socialism**

*Roberto Fernández Retamar* – Cuban writer

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The Cuban Revolution took place 25 years ago. It has made impressive progress in the economic, political and social spheres as well as, needless to say, in culture, which increasingly influences the life of the peoples of the whole continent. *WMR* put some questions to Dr. Roberto Fernández Retamar, a noted Cuban writer, Editor-in-Chief of *Casa de las Américas*, a socio-theoretical and literary magazine enjoying wide popularity in Latin American and Caribbean countries. Following are his answers.

— What have been the principles of Cuba's cultural development since its revolution was proclaimed socialist?

The first document of major importance in which the revolutionary leadership dealt with the problem of developing our culture on the principles of the new system was Fidel Castro's speech, "Speaking to the Intellectuals". He delivered it in 1961, after the Bay of Pigs victory, or shortly after the Cuban revolution had been proclaimed socialist.

In essence, the central ideas of the speech may be said to dominate our cultural policy to this day. To be sure, there followed other documents which carried forward Fidel Castro's relevant theses, such as the records of two congresses of the Communist Party of Cuba, the concluding statement of the First National Congress on Education and Culture (1971) or the articles of the Constitution concerning this subject.

The principles of our cultural policy are common, I think, to all socialist countries, where the arts and letters are developing on a solid popular basis and are enriched by Marxist-Leninist ideology. I would like to refer again to Fidel Castro's speech, in which he said: "... Within the revolution, everything; against the revolution, no right."<sup>1</sup> I believe this is the main principle of our cultural policy. In other words, Cuban intellectuals, writers, artists are absolutely free to choose forms and means of expression, but it would be foolish to expect a country that lies a mere ninety miles from the United States and is the object of a blockade, threats and provocations to allow freedom of counter-revolutionary activity. There is no such freedom in Cuba, any more than freedom of prostitution, racial discrimination, plunder or murder.



— What is the connection between the cultural legacy of the past and the socialist culture of new Cuba?

It is very close. We see ourselves as followers of both José Martí and Lenin and consider that the need for continuity between the living creative legacy of the past and the new culture we are creating is demonstrated in the works of these two great men, our national hero and the leader of the world proletariat.

This brings to mind what Lenin said about "proletarian culture". He rejected the notion that it can be created in a laboratory, and pointed out that scientific communism came into existence "by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced". And this led to an idea highly important to us: "You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind."<sup>2</sup>

The idea of assimilating the progressive legacy of the past also applies to our modest national experience. Social thought in our country made notable progress in the late eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth century. Just as the revolution in ideas in France preceded the 1789 bourgeois revolution, so the change in the world view of Cuba's Creoles preceded the national liberation Ten-Year War.<sup>3</sup> In the last century a philosophical and literary movement of intellectuals laid the groundwork for what is now our cultural revolution under socialism. In other words, we are creating a modern, socialist culture without renouncing what is best in our ancestors' legacy. We reject all that is unacceptable in this legacy, remembering along with Lenin that we must distinguish between the reactionary exploiting elements existing in the culture of every nation divided into antagonistic classes, on the one hand, and the people's democratic heritage, on the other.

— What difficulties did you encounter in carrying out the cultural revolution?

There were several. First of all, despite the rather optimistic statistics of the pre-revolutionary period, not less than half the population was illiterate by the time the revolution triumphed. Many of those registered as literate could read and write only nominally because they had no access to the printed word. And many of those who really could read and write emigrated either because they belonged to the bourgeoisie (or wanted to), or because they were incorrigible parasites.

As a result, we had to launch a literacy campaign encompassing the whole country. That was in 1961. We always think of that year with emotion, for that was when the bulk of the Cuban people learnt to read and write and inflicted a major military defeat on US imperialism for the first time on our continent by routing its invading forces in 72 hours. That memorable year was also highlighted by another event important to us: we Cuban writers and artists met with Fidel for the first time. That was when he made the speech I have mentioned and when the Union of Writers and Cultural Workers of Cuba sprang up.

Another big difficulty arose from the fact that Cuba had been under US neocolonial domination. This means that in the cultural sphere as in others, our country was an area of disastrous US cultural expansion — I am certainly not alluding to the progressive culture of the United States, for we have a high opinion of it, but to that country's mass subculture. Anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-humanist propaganda poured into Cuba through the media, seriously hampering the cultural revolution. Between 1959 and 1961, however, or in what was historically a very short time, our people came to appreciate the values of socialism and to realise how badly they had been misled by the most primitive calumnies and lies. Fidel Castro played an important role in propagating Marxist-Leninist ideas in Cuba.

Our cultural revolution came up against a further and evident difficulty. The fact is that a bitter class struggle was going on in Cuba at the time and that it also involved the



cultural sphere. Yet most of our cultural cadre members were not of worker or peasant origin and so did not express the working people's interests. The majority of them were of petty-bourgeois extraction and only had two options: accepting the socialist perspective regardless of their class origin or opposing it.

The political struggle extended to workers by brain. The intellectual community inherited by Cuba played a certain positive role in the early post-revolutionary years but afterwards some of its members took a hostile stand. It must be admitted as a fact of history that such people were and still are the exception, for most intellectuals of petty-bourgeois descent, including believers who remain believers, have linked their lives with socialism despite their social origin. I need hardly say that in addition to this older generation of intellectuals, the past quarter of a century has seen new intellectuals closely associated with the revolution emerge from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

— What are, in your view, the cultural spheres in which Cuba has made the greatest progress?

While it is hard to single out any particular field, I would mention education first. It is universal in our country and within everybody's reach, and has helped bridge the gap between brainwork and manual labour. This is exemplified by the tremendous growth of the number of students, which has gone up from 17,000 to 200,000 in twenty-five years.

I will state my opinion neither as a theorist, which I am not, nor even as a poet and essayist, which I have become out of political and moral necessity. I will say a word as the father of two daughters who were born after the revolution and are married by now. I was deeply satisfied to watch the education of my daughters in line with the ideas of Karl Marx as well as those of José Martí. They not only studied mathematics, geography, history and anatomy but worked on farms and occasionally in factories. In other words, their formation as individuals was more balanced than that of pre-revolutionary youth.

Speaking of the sphere of art, I think we have made great strides. Take cinema, for example. The Cuban film industry was virtually brought into being by the revolution. True, we did make an occasional film in the past — mostly co-productions — but it was not until after 1959 that we created a distinctive cinematic art of our own.

Our film industry began with documentaries. I would not like to make comparisons but we all go to the cinema and remember models of world significance, such as the work of Dziga Vertov, the Soviet documentarist.<sup>4</sup> I believe we now have a Vertov of our own in the person of Santiago Alvarez, an exceptionally gifted film-maker whom I consider one of the world's great documentarists. But documentaries are not the only genre in our film industry, which has also produced noteworthy feature films although documentaries are still the most productive line as I see it.

I also wish to mention the progress made in posters and drawing generally. This art has spread very wide in the course of the revolution. Just as the Mexican revolution led to the blossoming forth of panels, so billboards and posters are a favourite genre in revolutionary Cuba.

We have made notable headway in publishing and are witnessing a real publishing boom. Few people know that while books were published in pre-revolutionary Cuba as well, hardly any fiction came out except when the author was willing to pay the expenses. And that was not easy since most writers lived in very modest circumstances. Today the most diverse books are published in a total exceeding 50 million copies (against less than one million before the revolution), which is in itself one of the greatest cultural achievements.

Traditional literary genres like poetry, short stories and essays are flourishing. But novel writing has likewise scored notable successes while few novels were published



before the revolution. Everybody knows that along with Nicolás Guillén, a great poet, Cuba has a novelist of world renown, Alejo Carpentier. We have many other gifted novelists. I am not going to name our authors, for the list would be very long. But I wish to add that detective and adventure stories have gained prominence in our literature as a genre new to us.

Other genres revived or created by the revolution include books for children, documentary testimonies, or factual accounts written in the wake of events, and lastly, original plays about working people — they owe their rise to flourishing popular theatres. In short, we have seen several generations of writers who emerged on the literary scene before, during or after the revolution create an original literature unparalleled in Cuban history.

Our art of dancing and our music have likewise made remarkable advances in recent years. But it is impossible to cover the unique gamut of literary and artistic creations on Freedom Island in a brief interview. Besides, I do not think the cultural level of a people is limited to achievements in this or that art or literary genre. The important thing is what we began this interview with, education. I do not hesitate to affirm that Cuba is the one republic on our continent most of whose people have mastered culture in the deepest sense of the word.

**—How would you describe the relationship between the national and the internationalist in Cuba's socialist culture?**

To begin with, socialist culture is both national and internationalist by nature. There can certainly be no question of a socialism lacking national characteristics and built without regard to lasting realities like the nation. You cannot in practice be a "citizen of the world", an absolute cosmopolitan, such as you occasionally come across in literature. A real socialist is concerned both with the needs of the section of humanity nearest to him — his own people — and the aspirations of the population of his "big homeland", the planet. In Cuba this connection between the national and the internationalist is very close and has a tradition dating from the first third of the last century, when José María Heredia, a Cuban poet who published the magazine *Iris* in Mexico, called on his compatriots to assimilate the literary treasures of the whole of mankind, or "world literature", as Goethe described it a few years later. Yet Heredia, who championed universal values, was also the founder of Cuban national poetry.

However, the connection between the national and the internationalist was unquestionably expressed in its highest form by José Martí. "Let the world," he said, "be grafted on our republics, but the trunk has to be that of our republics."<sup>5</sup> Socialist Cuba accepted and contributed to this precept. We refuse to see a real champion of socialism in anybody who confines himself to his own country while advocating socialist ideals. This also applies to those who abstractly invoke the whole of humanity, disregarding national problems. We realise that an invigorating dialogue goes on under socialism between the national and the internationalist.

We gratefully register the strength of what we know by experience to be an internationalism typical of Soviet culture and all other aspects of life in the Soviet Union. No matter how we pride ourselves on our heritage and the achievements of our struggle, it is clear to us that our revolution would have been unable to hold its own without the internationalist support of the Soviet Union. At the same time that country, where internationalism is so strong, showed exceptional national morale and patriotism when it was attacked by the nazis and had to defend itself in the Great Patriotic War. After all, you cannot defend something abstract or general without defending concrete things at the same time. Just as Lenin said that the truth is always concrete, so we may say that socialism is likewise concrete, as are the national and the internationalist.



**— How does present-day Cuban culture influence the arts and letters in Latin America?**

You had better put that question to comrades from other countries of the continent, for any answer, being that of Cuban citizen, might seem immodest. All I would like to say is that I believe outstanding members of the Latin American and Caribbean intellectual community are anything but indifferent to Cuban culture. They are linked with our revolution by such close bonds and feel so strongly that it is also theirs that we consider them to be in our own ranks. For instance, I cannot look on Julio Cortázar, an Argentine, Gabriel Garzía Márquez, a Colombian, Mario Benedetti, an Uruguayan, Ernesto Cardenal, a Nicaraguan, René Dépestre, a Haitian, and many other well-known intellectuals of present-day Latin America as being outside the Cuban revolution, which has also become *their* element.

**— How far and in what way does Cuba use the experience gained by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in cultural development and the achievements of the advanced culture of the peoples of other continents?**

We made wide use — very wide use indeed — of the cultural experience of the socialist world whenever we can. As a long-time friend of the Soviet Union, I would say that in culture as in other spheres, we learn from the immense achievements of the Soviet Union, from the remarkable experience of that country, as well as from our friends' mistakes, which are inevitable in any great undertaking. I believe much the same will happen, and is happening already, in the case of Latin America, which is assimilating Cuba's experience. We owe the Soviet Union a new, truly humanist conception of culture based on deep respect for the cultural values of even the smallest peoples.

The Soviet example has shown us, — and this must not be forgotten — how very important it is for the Latin American culture of tomorrow that alphabets were created for nationalities who had no idea of such a thing. We must remember that the Soviet people also defend works of art possessing high aesthetic value, art serving man's most deep-going and most pressing problems. In this sense Cuba draws, as I have said, on the experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

We also turn to the experience of the peoples of other continents whenever we can. Worthy of note in addition to our long-standing and well-known kinship with European culture are our cultural links with Africa. Thanks to the Cuban revolution, we have established direct contacts with African peoples and gained a better knowledge of their arts and letters, which were little known even here in the Caribbean for all that the roots of our cultural heritage also go back to Africa.

**— Has the US blockade of Cuba affected the development of your national culture in any way?**

Of course, the hostile attitude of the United States to our island has told on our cultural progress as well. We cannot praise the blockade since it has been a brazen and criminal act against a sovereign nation from the outset. Objectively, however, one result of this US policy is that the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, their finest minds, have become more aware than ever of their special affinity to Cuba, which, in turn, has made us feel more Latin American than before.

In the climate of blockade, socialist countries render the Cuban people aid in various spheres, including culture, and contribute to the popularisation of the best works of their creative genius in our country. In these circumstances our national roots have become stronger and we are more Cuban and more internationalist than ever. Again, I am not saying this by way of praising the conditions created by the blockade, for it prevents us from, among other things, knowing the best achievements of North American culture. Just as US imperialism before the revolution had a stake in turning



Cuba into something of a cultural cesspit for the worst specimens of second-rate propaganda output, so it now wants to cut us off from the real cultural values of the US people.

— Could you comment briefly on the effort of *Casa de las Américas* to unite Latin America's progressive intellectuals?

Frankly, it is hard and not very convenient to speak of a magazine which I cherish so. I have the privilege of having directed the magazine since 1965, or for slightly less than twenty years. To tell the truth, it is like conducting a large orchestra. Its various instruments are not only intellectuals of Latin American and Caribbean countries but men of culture of other continents, Latin Americanists, writers and scholars interested in problems of the continent, and even authors who raise theoretical problems important to us all but having no direct connection with life in the region.

It is these people who really bring out *Casa de las Américas*. They have rallied behind the magazine because the Cuban revolution has united them, and also because our periodical is a forum of revolutionary intellectuals. If the magazine is entitled to any credit it should go entirely to the Cuban revolution, a real magnet for the peoples of the continent and for the flower of its intellectuals. In fact, many of those who write for the magazine and express loyalty to socialist Cuba, to our "House of the Americas", occasionally risk losing not only their jobs but their lives. It follows that there is no question of giving credit to leadership, since the decisive thing is collective revolutionary enthusiasm. As regards the conductor, he has only to raise his baton for the wonderful orchestra to strike up with full force.

— What is the effect of the existence of a language familiar to all Latin American readers?

"Our America", as Martí called it, is a continent where many languages are spoken: Portuguese is current in Brazil, French in Haiti, Guadeloupe and Martinique and English on some islands of the Antilles group. Besides, Papiamentu is widely used along with Dutch on the so-called Dutch Antilles. Other countries have preserved the languages of great American civilisations. But it is beyond question that we are all united by Spanish and Portuguese, a language very close to it. They are the main languages used in the region, which is in itself a very important fact. From this point of view, our region is something of an exception, for though vast, it has a common language understood by the overwhelming majority of the population. I must add that the United States is inhabited by so huge a number of people of Latin American origin that they may be said to constitute a separate Spanish-speaking community. This wide use of a common language on neighbouring territories makes it easier to propagate revolutionary socialist ideology.

— What about ways and means of contributing to the distinctive character of Cuban culture under socialism?

Cuban culture is open to the world. This is not to say, however, that it will accept anything, for ours is, and will remain, a socialist country with firm, deep-going and inviolable traditions which have always been revolutionary. But while defending them, we are ready, possibly more than anyone else, to adopt all the best that world culture can offer. Our language is not called Spanish accidentally. It did not originate in Cuba. Baseball, a Cuban national game, has come to us from abroad. The clothing we wear is not of Cuban origin. We owe much of our music both to Africa and to Spain. And of course, Marxism-Leninism, the ideology leading us on, first appeared in other latitudes. Our country is like a gigantic melting-pot of the cultural traditions of many nations, and so we must do all in our power not to diminish the wealth we have



inherited but to increase it.

In other words, the whole world is open to us and every day we learn something new from it. I think this is a very important Communist quality and one of the main aspects of socialist culture. Our opponents allege that the aim of socialism is to squeeze all people into one pattern and make them all tin soldiers. The opposite is the case. Aníbal Ponce, a prominent Argentine Marxist, has said that socialism combats individualism but extols the individual. Socialism is variety; it is inexhaustible in intellectual wealth and content; in short, it is all we want our culture and our country to have.

— In conclusion we would like to ask you to say a few words to the readers of *World Marxist Review*.

I think it is safe to say that today the great task facing us all is to prevent war and maintain peace on our planet. Humanity is unquestionably living through the most difficult period in its history. The danger lies in the fact that imperialism is advancing to its inevitable end. A dinosaur in agony is not a very pleasant sight. Nor are we watching it from a mountain top. The monster's convulsions are dangerous, it is thrashing about with its tail and those are blows felt on all continents.

However, we are not pessimists. We must fight for peace and win it, and we have every opportunity to stave off disaster. The warmongers' road is blocked by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by all fair-minded people on earth. The forces of progress with the Soviet Union in the lead are doing their utmost to rescue civilisation, to ensure that social and cultural progress continues unchecked and that a long-suffering humanity overcomes the forces of evil at long last and wins the peace and happiness it is entitled to.

<sup>1</sup> Fidel Castro, *Palabras a los intelectuales*, Havana, 1961, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> The war (1868-1878) brought about changes in colonial administration and subsequently (1886) the abolition of slavery in Cuba. — *Ed.*

<sup>4</sup> Dziga Vertov (1895/96-1954), founder and theorist of Soviet and world documentary cinematography. — *Ed.*

<sup>5</sup> José Martí, *Obras completas*, Vol. 6, Havana, 1963, p. 18.

## Brief Commentary

Until recently the opponents of disarmament have been asserting that the nuclear threat cannot be removed.

A change of ideological stage props occurred in March 1983. US President Reagan announced that he knew a way other than disarmament to deliver "our (i.e., American — *E.J.*) children in the twenty-first century" from the nuclear threat. He spoke highly of the potentialities of military systems that would still have to be developed in order, as he put it, to render "these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete".<sup>1</sup>

Speaking more concretely, Reagan said the USA had to have a capability to fight "star wars". It was therefore necessary to develop devices and systems to intercept intercontinental ballistic missiles in flight.

"Star wars" are offered by the Regan Administration as a panacea for nuclear war. The "reassuring" thought is peddled that a defensive "shield" in outer space can ensure a dependable "nuclear shelter" and render the enemy's entire strategic arsenal useless. In a worst-case scenario, weapons will destroy weapons in outer space, leaving people on the Earth unaffected. This image of what is described as a "humane" war has



been conjured up to debilitate the mass protest against the plans for spreading the arms race to outer space.

The new types of weapons designated for anti-missile and offensive tasks in and from outer space are by no means science fiction any more. The preparations for "star wars" have already begun in the USA. Satellite-killer missiles have been tested, and anti-satellite systems are to be tested in the autumn. The Pentagon expects to have over 100 units of such weapons by 1987.

Reagan's instructions for the commencement of a massive programme of research and development of space missile-killers have been in operation since January 1984 under the official heading: "The Strategic Defense Initiative" (National Security Directive No. 119). The Pentagon is asking for 26 billion dollars to fund research into anti-missile systems in the next five years. Experts are already estimating that a complex system of this kind will cost roughly 500 billion dollars.

All this activity is being conducted in circumvention of the limitless 1972 Soviet-US treaty banning the development of anti-ballistic missile weapons. Nevertheless, the Reagan Administration is stating hypocritically that its "Strategic Defense Initiative" fits into the framework of this treaty: the claim is made that nothing is going on except "scientific and technical" studies for the adoption of a "competent decision" on such weapons at the beginning of the 1990s. The letter and spirit of the 1972 treaty are met by the Soviet proposal for abandoning the very idea of deploying anti-missile systems in outer space.

Suspicion is also aroused by the behaviour of the USA's military-industrial barons. Anticipating a boom as a result of a switch from research and development to the production of anti-missile weapons, they are virtually tearing the contracts with the Pentagon out of each other's hands and egging Washington on to extend the arms race to outer space.

The dissipation of the Reagan myth about a miracle space shield capable of protecting the US population against any nuclear threat has moved to the forefront of the ideological struggle over the imperialist plans for militarising outer space.

The Union of Concerned Scientists, whose members include many prestigious American academics, has debunked this myth. In March 1984 it published a report giving the comprehensively substantiated conclusion that in technical terms it is not feasible to create in the foreseeable future a dependable shield against ballistic missiles in outer space. The scientists point out that an anti-missile system consisting of all currently conceivable types of space weapons "would not successfully carry out precisely the defensive function. This system would be neither impenetrable nor invulnerable. Counter-measures could be taken to render it invalid. The possibility of even five per cent of missiles with nuclear warheads breaking through the space shield would defeat the whole idea. Even if it were to be assumed that the shield was sufficiently dependable against outer space, other carriers of nuclear warheads, notably missiles, launched along low trajectories would reach their targets anyway. But the main thing is that the idea, purveyed by the Reagan Administration, about the possibility of a "pure" war limited to battles in outer space is not only untenable but criminal. The activation of the combat systems that the USA intends to deploy in circumterrestrial orbits would lead to the mass annihilation of people on the Earth.

Commenting on a study of the capabilities of anti-missile space weapons conducted by the Union of Concerned Scientists, Hans A. Bethe, a leading American physicist, declared: "The solution (of the problem of eliminating the nuclear threat. — *E.J.*) can only be political. It would be terribly comfortable for the President and the Secretary of Defense if there was a technical solution. But there isn't any."<sup>2</sup> The report of the scientists recommends that the US Administration should immediately begin talks on banning all space weapons.

This conclusion of the scientists sheds light on the ideological significance of the US President's "anti-nuclear" rhetoric. The empty promises to remove the nuclear threat



sometime at the beginning of the next century are a cover for the escalation of this threat *today* as a result of the USA's military buildup and for the USA's refusal to reach international agreements on preventing the extension of the arms race to outer space.

The debunking of the Reagan myth is inducing proponents of the militarisation of outer space to engage in ideological manoeuvring. For example, speaking in the US Congress in March 1984, the Under-Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering Richard D. DeLauer declared that although present knowledge of space weaponry is "inadequate", it could potentially "enhance deterrence".<sup>3</sup>

This claim is another diabolical invention, and another justification for the plans to militarise outer space. Instead of leading to "enhanced deterrence" the creation of an anti-missile system by the USA would *adversely affect the strategic situation in the world*. The "defensive" space arms race, should it begin, would inevitably trigger a race for "offensive" weapons. As a result, the threat of a global nuclear disaster would be greater than ever.

Assessing the Reagan "Strategic Defense Initiative" from the standpoint of the postulates of the "deterrence" theory, *The New York Times* newspaper wrote: "The old answer remains as cogent as ever: Defense is destabilising. It stimulates the opposing side to develop offenses that will defeat it, and offers a premium to the side that strikes first. As far ahead as anyone can see, the most effective protection is agreement with the Soviet Union to limit the nature and quantity of nuclear forces."<sup>4</sup> It can be added that any extension of the arms race to outer space would undercut the chances of limiting and reducing armaments generally.

The Reagan "Strategic Defense Initiative" is as much a dangerous political provocation as the stationing of US first-strike missiles in Western Europe. Both actions are expressive of the US Administration's striving to break the military-strategic balance. Here the calculation is to deny the Soviet Union a retaliatory capability by militarising outer space (as part of a vast programme for increasing and modernising the USA's nuclear and conventional armaments in keeping with the guideline towards the possibility of winning a nuclear war). In the context of the Pentagon's nuclear first-strike strategy the anti-missile space weapon indeed has a sinister role to play, namely, to create the illusion that invulnerability would be attained by an aggressor counting on intercepting in flight the strategic missiles that a "disarming" strike fails to destroy in their silos. If the USA achieved superiority in defense systems this would evidently encourage the adventurism of the aggressive imperialist circles, tempting them to attack in the hope that this would go off with impunity.

A similar threat lies in the creation and deployment by the USA of anti-satellite weapons. The Reagan Administration is arguing that these weapons are vital to the USA's "national security". However, the purpose of these weapons is, in particular, to destroy space systems giving advance warning of the launching of ballistic missiles. In this capacity, too, the anti-satellite potential would obviously serve the first, "disarming" strike strategy. Possession of such weapons would increase the threat of a sudden attack and thus undermine the efforts to ensure confidence between the nuclear states as a key condition of national and world security.

The US Administration's hopes to pave the way to military-strategic superiority via outer space are illusory. This is realised by sober-thinking bourgeois politicians. In this respect there is a noteworthy forecast in a study presented in April 1984 by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment. It states that if the concept of mutual assured destruction were to be applied to the technology development level instead of to a nation's policy it would remain in force for the foreseeable future. In other words, from the standpoint of the presently available technical capabilities, no situation other than military-strategic parity can be realistically foreseen. This conclusion cannot be faulted, especially if one takes into account the economic potential of the socialist community countries and the fact that their policy is aimed at dependably ensuring



their own security and peace throughout the world.

The Reagan Administration's course towards the militarisation of outer space is countered by the Soviet Union's consistent and unambiguous stand that there should be no weapons in outer space. "Urgent steps must be taken," said Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "before the ominous process of the militarisation of outer space becomes irreversible. There should be no room here for propagandist tricks or attempts to gain this or that temporary advantage for oneself. It is a matter of importance for all humanity to prevent the militarisation of outer space. This problem requires radical solutions and such solutions are quite feasible. It is essential to realise the full extent of one's responsibility to the peoples and to show a desire for an accord."<sup>5</sup>

The task of preventing the militarisation of outer space is realistic though not easy because it entails surmounting resistance from imperialism's aggressive circles and the military-industrial complex of the USA.

Throughout Reagan's tenure, the White House has been subverting the Soviet Union's initiatives and the demands of people throughout the world for a total ban on all types of space weapons. In 1981 the Soviet government suggested prohibiting the launching of any weapon into space, but the government in Washington turned down this initiative. In the spring of 1983 the Soviet Union proposed keeping outer space free of all types of weapons — the USA did not even take the trouble to reply. Further, it shrugged off the Soviet draft of a treaty banning the use of force in outer space and from outer space relative to the Earth. In August 1983, in order to facilitate agreement, the USSR proclaimed a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of anti-satellite weapons in outer space as long as other countries acted analogously — the US President did not feel "it would be productive" to enter into international negotiations. In March 1984 the Soviet Union proposed that countries possessing nuclear weapons should, in their relations with each other, be guided by clear-cut norms of peace, one of which should be the obligation to refrain from extending the arms race to new spheres, including outer space. The Reagan Administration once again responded negatively.

At the close of June 1984 the Soviet government suggested the initiation of Soviet-US talks in September with the purpose of working out and adopting radical, comprehensive measures that would reliably safeguard outer space against any extension of the arms race. It was proposed that these talks would resolve also the question of a mutual renunciation of anti-satellite systems, and that there should be a mutual moratorium on the testing and deployment of space weapons from the moment the talks began.

The Soviet initiative has received wide support in the world. However, the Reagan Administration has made yet another attempt to evade considering the substance of the Soviet proposals and erect a barrier to talks that could prevent the militarisation of outer space. Reagan's National Security Adviser Robert C. McFarlane declared that all the USA was interested in was to study "feasible approaches" to "verifiable" anti-satellite weapons limits. The Reagan Administration has shown no readiness at all to accept the Soviet proposals for banning and destroying an entire class of armaments — space attack vehicles, including space-based anti-satellite and anti-missile systems, as well as all land-, air-, and sea-based weapons designed to destroy targets in space. Its position boils down to using negotiations to obtain quick political benefits for the presidential election campaign and, at the same time, continuing the implementation of its programmes for turning outer space into a springboard for aggression.

While affecting to be prepared to begin the proposed talks, the USA has deliberately made the unacceptable condition that space weapons should be "coupled" to nuclear weapons. It is unacceptable because any consideration of nuclear weapons is impeded by the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe, and to link it to talks on preventing the militarisation of outer space means dooming these talks to failure.



The acute diplomatic struggle of the past few months over the Soviet proposals has demonstrated that exactly talks on preventing the militarisation of outer space do not suit the Reagan Administration. In the White House they are not only rejecting the need for and the urgency of measures to safeguard outer space against the spread of weapons of any kind but are stepping up their military preparations. Instead of accepting the Soviet proposals for a mutual moratorium on the testing and deployment of anti-satellite weapons, Reagan is insisting on further tests of such weapons without delay. What he is doing is to kill every possibility for preventing the arms race from spreading to outer space. This shows that the US President's declarations about wanting to "halt" the rivalry in space armaments and being "ready" for talks are no more than a propaganda ploy designed to damp down criticism of the Administration's policies during the election campaign.

There is no justification for refusing to join in working out practical measures to prevent a space arms race. The peace movement is beefing up its protest against the plans of the White House and the Pentagon to turn outer space into an arena for the deployment of mass destruction weapons. It is demanding a halt to this course of development before it is too late.

Eugen Jorgen

<sup>1</sup> *Time*, April 4, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> *International Herald Tribune*, June 14, 1984.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, March 27, 1984.

<sup>4</sup> *The New York Times*, April 2, 1984.

<sup>5</sup> *Information Bulletin*, No. 14, 1984, Peace and Socialism, Prague, pp. 12-13.

## Against Repression and Persecution

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### THE ANSAR CONCENTRATION CAMP MUST BE CLOSED!

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The Ansar Concentration Camp Prisoners' Association founded by Lebanese Communists and patriots which have recently gained freedom, has published a statement which exposes acts of brutality committed in Israeli jails and calls for international solidarity with those still languishing in Ansar.

The statement reports continuous human rights violations in the Israeli-occupied Lebanese territory — incessant reprisals, the indigenous population driven from its land, torture and murder of civilians. All these large-scale arbitrary acts are perpetrated by the invaders and their henchmen of the so-called South Lebanon Army.

The Israeli Army set up the concentration camp in question, allegedly for "prisoners of war" in the southern Lebanese city of Ansar in June 1982. However, in contravention of the accord on the exchange of prisoners which occurred in November 1983, the camp was not closed; according to the International Red Cross, over 600 new prisoners are being kept there now.

Hundreds of prisoners are also subjected to brutal treatment in Israeli prisons and in the barracks of the invasion army on Lebanese soil. By no means prisoners of war, they include clergymen, youngsters, old people, women and even children. The sick and the maimed receive no medical assistance; people die of wounds and are killed by the jailers' guns.



Faced with Israel's terror campaign against the Lebanese people, the former Ansar prisoners consider it their duty to sound the alarm and inform international public opinion of what is happening. We hope that it will help to put an end to Zionist brutality by bringing direct pressure to bear on Israel.

Lebanese patriots demand that the blockade of the south of Lebanon and the western part of the Bekaa Valley be lifted, all routes of communication in the country opened, and a special international committee established to verify their evidence regarding the condition of prisoners in Ansar and other camps and jails, break the wall of silence behind which the invaders commit atrocities, and have the prisoners released. The Ansar concentration camp must be closed!

**Rafic Samhoun**

Member of the Political, Bureau, Central Committee, Lebanese Communist Party.

# the book scene

## A Book About the Communist Party of Argentina

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Athos Fava, *Qué es el partido comunista?* (What Is the Communist Party?), Editorial Sudamericana, Buenos Aires, 1983, 239 pp.

One cannot pass over the circumstances in which this book appeared, for only in this way can one explain why a major commercial publisher asked Athos Fava, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, to write a book tracing the landmarks of the history of Argentine Communists and highlighting the principal meaning of their struggle.

The very fact that the book has been published is a reflection of the changes in the situation in the country, the swift intensification of political life since the beginning of the 1980s. The year 1982 was a turning point in the people's struggle against the dictatorship, when the forces which had previously fought separately merged, thus making it possible to increase the potential of this struggle. The country's major parties agreed to coordinate their efforts within the Multi-partidaria, a multiparty alliance supported by a variety of democratic organisations.<sup>1</sup> The year was marked with an upsurge in the struggle of the popular masses — workers, peasants, and students. The scope of their action is evident from the following examples. On March 30 the Proletarian Day of Protest was held, sponsored by the General Confederation of Labour. The participants were subjected to violent reprisals. Still, on April 10 the masses again poured into the streets, this time to denounce the imperialist aggression in the Malvinas. Since then, mass action continued uninterrupted, throwing into relief the weakness of the dictatorship which was forced to lift some of the political bans. On September 3 the Communist Party held its first legal rally; a multitude of people filled the biggest indoor stadium in Buenos Aires and adjacent streets. Finally, on December 6 a general strike was held and, ten days later, the Multipartidaria conducted a March for Democracy and National Reconstruction which drew huge crowds in different cities around the country and in the country's capital where it was suppressed brutally.



The people's struggle pried open the door leading to the restoration of democracy after long years of cruel oppression, violations of the most elementary civil rights and strangled cultural life.

In these conditions, political activity attracted millions of people because they wanted to put an end to the reactionary regime and to take part in the restoration of democracy, this time imparting a more profound social content to it. This made people more eager to learn about the causes of the grave crisis which affected all aspects of the nation's life. Increasingly vigorous efforts were made to find a way to a stable and new democracy after the fall of the dictatorship.

These were the circumstances which made it possible for Fava's book to appear. He wrote it primarily for readers who did not usually read communist publications. And so he began by addressing "you, my dear and unknown friend, be you a working man or a housewife, a young worker peasant or student" (p.9). This conversational tone is present throughout the book, including the closing passage: "Dear reader, I am finishing these pages when the working masses, youth and all the people of our country feature prominently in great battles, and when social and political developments herald the advent of stormy and, perhaps, decisive times. But this will, as they say, be a part of a *different history* which will come and which, I hope, we will make together" (p. 90).

Recalling, page after page, the path that has been traversed, the author combines an easy to understand style with a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the party's history. Another merit of the book is that in describing various developments, Fava speaks about their participants and draws on his own revolutionary experience. And when he deals with the initial stage of the road the party has travelled, he draws on his talks with founders and veterans of the PCA such as Victorio Codovilla, Gerónimo Arnedo Alvarez and Orestes Ghioldi, who are no longer with us, or Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the Political Commission of the PCA Central Committee.

And so the reader is listening to a lively account of what the Communists are, what they have been and are fighting for. Fava recalls how he as a young man searched for the answer to questions "about the causes of the prevailing ills and injustices, and whether they were inevitable or could be overcome". He speaks about his growing desire "not only to understand the world but also to help change it" (p.13). His "trade union, social and political activity was an indispensable school" (ibid.). After joining the Communist party in 1945, he plunged into trade union and political work at the industrial enterprises where he worked. The story about this is also a historical account of major landmarks in PCA history.

In 1946, at the beginning of his revolutionary work, the 11th Party Congress took place. It mapped out the principal directions of communist action for years to come. Among other things, the congress "urged that no efforts or sacrifices be spared to act hand in hand with Peronist working people" (p. 59). Fava recalls "the understandable feelings which arose among many of our staunchest and militant trade union leaders when, for the sake of complete organic unity of the trade union movement, dissolution of the old unions — living branches of the tree of history of the Argentine proletariat — and entry into the officially sanctioned unions, the only ones recognised, was recommended"<sup>2</sup> (ibid.). This move by the communist trade union leaders who complied with the party's decision aided in the establishment of the first single trade union centre ever which united the overwhelming majority of working people; this facilitated the Communists' work among those influenced by Peronism. The principal objective was for these working people, acting on their own experience, to free themselves of the influence of bourgeois nationalist ideology, gain confidence in their own strength and understand the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

Despite the anti-communist prejudice which existed among some Peronist workers, despite the differences which arose between Communists and Peronists with regard to



this or that move of the Peron Government, the author stresses, Peronists and Communists (both rank-and-file party members and leaders), who worked hard side-by-side at enterprises and lived next door to one another in the same neighbourhoods were united by their common anti-imperialist views, their striving for democracy and hopes that it was possible to build a more just society. This, coupled with the persistent and unifying efforts of the Communist Party, prevented the reactionaries from splitting and crushing the working class movement (see p. 60).

Other periods of the PCA's history discussed in the book demonstrate that no matter what the conditions in which the Communists had to act, the cornerstone of their strategy and tactics was the struggle to enhance the role of the working class in the movement for national liberation and social emancipation. Given our specific national conditions, this goal could be attained only through the joint action of Communists, Peronists and other democratic forces. Only in this way was it possible to create a socio-political force capable of effecting democratic and anti-imperialist transformations which would open clear socialist vistas.

The author presents a broad panorama of Argentina's socio-political affairs, including the 1955 coup which overthrew Peron. Repeatedly but, unfortunately, to no avail, the Communists had in advance called for "ensuring unity of the people to combat the conspirators who intended to again put an end to constitutional legality" (p. 62). As soon as the military launched their rebellion "the Communist Party opposed it resolutely and insisted that Peron resist it and arm the people", (p. 62) an appeal which was not heeded either.

The rest of the 1950s and a good part of the 1960s were characterised by extreme institutional instability and by reactionary efforts to suppress mass action aimed at establishing government by the people and securing fulfilment of their vital requirements. Fava dwells on the pitched battles fought between 1960 and 1962 and on the rise of the militant spirit and political consciousness of working people. He explains the domestic and external factors which contributed to the leftward shift in the masses. Among these reasons he stresses the following: "In Latin America, the 1960s began with the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in Cuba which advanced rapidly towards socialism" (p. 65). He adds that "Cuba successfully confronted a fierce enemy which was hatching plots 90 miles off her shores; attacked, she routed this enemy in the Bay of Pigs. The reason, aside from Cuba's exemplary heroism, was that she was not alone and relied on the vigorous solidarity of the Soviet Union and all of the world's democratic forces" (ibid.).

Subsequent pages comment on the masses' increasingly profound shift to the left and on the reactionaries' efforts to check it — sometimes by offering concessions and partial reforms, and sometimes by fierce reprisals. The book recalls several of the more striking manifestations of the rise in the militancy and consciousness of the working class and the popular masses: the intense struggle against the military dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s which, several years later, in 1975, was also aimed against the anti-labour action and terrorism of the extreme right wing of the government; also, more recently, the broad movement against the dictatorship which made it possible to oust the military regime and restore constitutional norms.

Victories alternated with defeats and setbacks. Fava reflects on the fluctuations of politics in Argentina when the monopolies and the oligarchy have failed to perpetuate the more reactionary forms of their domination; at the same time he shows why the working class and the democratic forces have not prevailed decisively either. "The weakness is not an absence of struggle but the fact that this *struggle . . . is waged in a fragmented way, without a single, representative, and firm leadership*" (p. 84).

The author stresses that there are forces capable of paving the way to a better society in Argentina and points to the international factors which favour the attainment of the lofty ideals of justice and brotherhood: "Tomorrow is maturing today, in the socialist community led by the Soviet Union; the way to this future in Latin America was



opened by Cuba and is continuing in the heroic democratic and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples . . . of the entire continent." He adds: "But this is also an era . . . of the peoples' solidarity and vigorous struggle to safeguard peace and historical progress" (p. 89).

Attached to the main body of the book are answers to a questionnaire drawn up by the publisher; these shed light on various domestic and international issues which bourgeois writers often use to distort the communist position. Another very useful addition is a supplement containing the more important documents of the PCA Central Committee, as well as speeches by the party's distinguished figures. Of particular interest here are excerpts from the Manifesto to the Proletariat and the People adopted at the founding congress of the International Socialist (Communist) Party on January 6, 1918, certain pages from the report of Victorio Codovilla to the 11th Congress of the PCA in August 1946, the speech of Gerónimo Arnedo Alvarez at the 14th Congress in 1973, Central Committee statements from the periods when the party operated underground, party documents concerning the retaking of the Malvinas in April 1982, and other material. The book closes with a chronological table of the more prominent twentieth-century events in the history of Argentina and the world.

The fact that this book has been published is unusual for Argentina; it reflects the masses' eagerness to learn more about a party which, in the face of brutal oppression by the dictatorship, has succeeded in asserting a vigorous and important role in the nation's political affairs.

José Maria Lanao

CC member, Communist Party of Argentina

<sup>1</sup> For more details see: Athos Fave, "An Indispensable Condition of Social Progress", *WMR*, No. 4, 1984. —Ed.

<sup>2</sup> In late 1954 and early 1964 Peron set up parallel trade unions as a counter-force to old trade unions in which Communists enjoyed great influence and some of which they led. Only the new trade union bodies were legal; only they could demand better conditions for working people. In these circumstances the workign masses flocked to the recognised trade unions. Faced with this situation, the PCA, true to the principle of being together with the masses and acting in their midst, advised its members to dissolve the old trade unions and join the new ones no matter who was leading them at the moment.

## Criteria of Effective Ideological Work

Pavol Kacmár, *Aktuálne otázky zvyšovania efektívnosti ideologickej práce* (Current Problems of Raising the Effectiveness of Ideological Work), Bratislava, Pravda, 1983, 220 pp.

Every stage of society's development confronts the ruling fraternal parties of socialist countries with new big and difficult problems. Their solution requires sustained organising and ideological effort by Communists. The larger the scale of socialist construction, the more dependably it must be safeguarded in the ideological sphere. Such is the logic of our advance. "The history of the revolution and socialist construction," the 16th CPCz Congress pointed out, "furnishes sufficient evidence that he who is equipped with Marxism-Leninism, thoroughly devoted to socialism and convinced of its correctness never retreats before obstacles, loses confidence under the



most complicated circumstances of life, or hesitates to go into action in order to put socialist ideals into practice."<sup>1</sup>

The main line of the ideological work of party organisations, a line approved by the 15th Plenum of the CC CPCz and the 16th Congress of our party, is to impart these qualities to citizens of the republic.

Documents of the CPCz and other fraternal parties bring to light an important aspect of the new stage of socialist construction, the stage of transition from chiefly extensive to intensive economic development. It calls for effort to raise the people's social awareness and strengthen ideological convictions, for encouragement of the labour initiative and commitment of the masses, for their extensive participation in the fulfilment of socio-political tasks. These documents take account of the present international situation, which has been further aggravated by the deployment of US medium-range nuclear missile systems in several West European NATO countries, and by the "psychological war" which imperialism is now waging against socialism.

Internal and external factors induce the CPCz to see constantly to the growth of the militancy of party organisations and ideological workers and to the use of increasingly effective ways and means of exerting political influence on the masses. Hence the importance of analysing the work of party committees to find out how it can be perfected.

The book under review, written by a Secretary of the Kosice City Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, is worthy of note in this respect. It has the unquestionable merit of closely linking theory with practice. The author does not confine himself to examining the Communists' various ideological activities in theoretical terms. Marxist-Leninist methodology helps him assess and generalise the experience gained by party organisations and their leading committees.

Pavol Kacmár gives much space to the problem of a differentiated and comprehensive approach to ideological work. The paramount task of anyone doing this work, he writes, is to make a thorough study of the problems involved and take account of the ideological situation at the local level, in the given work collective, while at the same time firmly implementing the party line for closer cooperation with the masses.

A comprehensive approach means achieving an intimate inter-connection of world view, moral principles and behaviour, shaping people's ideological convictions that would stimulate their production effort and socio-political activity. Accordingly, the author lists the demands put by the party to ideological work today as follows:

- setting in general terms educational tasks indicating the qualities which we want people's thinking and behaviour to acquire;
- using every means of propaganda, agitation, information, education and culture for moulding these qualities;
- systematically publicising the experience of front-rank workers and their achievements in raising the effectiveness of production and managing social processes;
- closely combining educational effort in work collectives with similar effort in places of residence;
- making flexible use of collective and individual methods of such activity with due regard to work conditions and the characteristics of diverse population groups.

In telling about the experience of using the main forms and methods of ideological work, the author shows why it is necessary to perfect them, to search for new ways of influencing large sections of the population ideologically and politically. This means "always keeping track of people's rising educational and cultural standards, the changing political and economic situation in the world and current problems being solved by the party" (p. 120).

The routinism and formalism betrayed by some comrades who refuse to renounce outdated methods cannot be tolerated, for they are a most serious obstacle to greater efficiency. The author points out the importance of concentrating the Communists'



ideological education effort on work collectives and searching there for ways of optimising it. He is perfectly right in calling for research to ascertain how working people spend their free time. Our sociologists have not yet worked out this problem whereas this could bring out considerable reserves and potentialities for the Communists' educational effort. This is why Pavol Kacmár writes that "our society should continue focussing attention on the problem of making judicious use of free time" (p. 159).

The experience of deepening the working people's socialist economic thinking presented in the book is very interesting. The advances made in this sphere, Kacmár notes, are largely a result of adjusting the content of party schooling and other forms of political and economic education to the conditions prevailing in the enterprises. Studies are so organised as to acquaint workers with the art of management and show them its impact on society and their particular collective. In keeping with these tasks, Communists widely use wall newspapers, progress reports, and so on, and organise front-rank workers' talks about the potentialities of increasing output and raising product quality.

It is very important to evolve criteria of effective ideological work because they are needed for an objective estimation of the impact of the educational work of the party, government bodies and mass organisations. At the level of individuals, there is no doubt that a socialist attitude to labour and public property, conscious labour discipline and socio-political commitment, mastery of the scientific world view and assimilation of the intellectual values linked with it, all of which forms the basis for a citizen's convictions and for a collectivist morality, can serve as such criteria. In our country the degree of effectiveness of the ideological work of party organisations is judged according to the devotion of the masses to the new system, their activity as socialist patriots and internationalists, and their ability to take a class stand on bourgeois ideology and morality.

Debates have been going on about the problem of evolving the above criteria. The author's view on this problem may be regarded as a contribution. He emphasises that the criteria of effective ideological and political work have numerous quantitative and qualitative aspects. They may be interpreted and approached variously but are interconnected and constitute a single whole.

We all work on the basis of a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and our ideological media are operating in one direction. The goal is to help bring the party's policy home to the masses and mobilise them to carry it out as they work for the triumph of communist ideals.

The book is intended primarily for party functionaries, lecturers, propagandists and agitators. It is an unquestionable contribution to the exchange of experience on the ideological front.

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Cand, Sc. (Hist.)

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<sup>1</sup> XVI. sjezd KSC, Prague, 1981, p. 59.



## Old Stuff Rehashed

Charles Zorgbibe, *Les Politiques etrangeres des grandes puissances*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1984, 127 pp.

Given the sharply increased public interest in problems of war and peace, bourgeois ideologists try to saturate the "market of ideas" with products which would shape people's thinking to fit the needs of monopoly capital. Not least in importance as far as these efforts are concerned are handy, comparatively inexpensive editions aimed at a broad range of readers.

One example is *The Foreign Policies of the Great Powers*, by Charles Zorgbibe, dean of the Law Faculty of South Paris University. Addressed primarily to students, postgraduates, young teachers and journalists — in short, to intellectuals in the making — it is also directed at those who are generally interested in international politics. The book reflects the views of certain influential West European monopoly capital quarters with regard to the role of the "great powers" and the global strategy of imperialism. The author applies the term "great powers" to the United States, the USSR, Western Europe as a whole, Japan and China. But, since the emphasis is on the relations of the first three, I will confine myself to this subject only.

Monsieur Zorgbibe would like to pass himself off as an unbiased and objective observer of developments on the international scene. For example, he admits that in pursuing its foreign policy goals, the United States ignores international law and the UN Charter and does not stop at direct aggression. Washington's customary attitude, the book goes on, is best described as an approach to international law as a tool for defending "Western liberal democracy in the face of the challenge from various totalitarian dictatorships" (meaning the socialist countries). Also noted is the justification of any means at all used to achieve this end, including "preventive use of force" (p. 16) — although the author cites only a few examples, recalling US aggressive moves against Cuba and the armed intervention in Lebanon, the Dominican Republic and Southeast Asia. In actual fact, cases of this kind are much more numerous. The Reagan Administration is a past master of one-upmanship in this regard — witness its action against Grenada, Lebanon, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Discussing US policies in Western Europe, Charles Zorgbibe notes that Washington has always tried to play the "mentor" to its NATO partners. He also pinpoints a major motive of Reagan's "anti-detente" strategy — to crush any attempts at resisting US diktat in the North Atlantic bloc, weaken the West European countries' urge for greater independence in foreign policy, and deprive them of even the relative leeway they secured for themselves during detente (p. 49).

However, as one reads on, it becomes clear that the occasional critical remarks about the United States are merely a crafty move to placate the feelings of dissatisfaction and irritation with Washington's high-handed policy which have struck deep roots in Western Europe. The "anti-Americanism" of the book comes in scrupulously measured portions.

As soon as the author turns to Soviet foreign policy, his "objectivity" evaporates completely. By quoting reactionary propaganda stereotypes almost verbatim — including the hackneyed lies about the USSR striving for "direct domination" over many nations and for "enhancing its global influence" — Charles Zorgbibe actually supports the logic of Reagan's "crusade". He claims that detente and the cold war are two tactics alternately applied by Moscow depending on the demands of the moment. The foremost Soviet goal in Europe, he asserts, is to "effect a new partition of the continent", to "dominate" European capitalist countries with the help of their communist parties (see pp. 57-58). What is this but a rehash of the familiar



"communist conspiracy" bugbear Joseph McCarthy and his ilk used to brandish during the cold war?

Distorting some facts and suppressing any mention of others is another tried and tested swindlers' trick the author resorts to. For example, he says absolutely nothing about the numerous initiatives the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have advanced to promote disarmament, security and cooperation in Europe and settlement of acute international problems.

Like his allegedly critical attitude to US foreign policy, the anti-Soviet antics of the French political scientist serve a definite and obvious goal — to lead the reader to the book's major conclusions. First, proceeding from the false precept of an ever-present and ever-growing "Soviet threat", he claims that there is nothing left for Western Europe but to follow the United States and support whatever foreign policy it pursues (see p. 121). Second, the author urges West Europeans to step up their military and political integration as much as possible and to take up the formulation of a common military policy without delay. The book calls for the establishment of a regional militarist system, for further buildup of the British and French nuclear capabilities and joint efforts in the manufacture and standardisation of weapons (see pp. 107-108).

It should be noted that the idea of a "European defence community" is no novelty. The first attempt to implement it — the so-called European Army project of 1952 — collapsed rebuffed by the French parliament. But the notion itself has not been abandoned; from time to time it surfaced among certain political interests in Western Europe, including such quarters in France. The book in questions additional proof that recently attempts to revive this idea have been growing increasingly pronounced. Besides, some moves are already under way in this direction — I refer primarily to joint weapons development.

It appears that the prime motive behind all these efforts is the desire on the part of the more reactionary West European interests to step up their support of the US imperialist strategy aimed at confrontation with the socialist world and suppression of national liberation movements.

It is significant that in this case Washington, usually so wary of any attempts at West European unity in any sphere, clearly shows an interest in the matter. The "need for a European defence system" was the Number One topic of the Reagan-Mitter — and talks held during the French President's official visit to the United States this spring. The White House sees no threat to its positions on the European continent in this notion. On the contrary, the United States holds that its realisation will prompt its NATO partners to further intensify their military efforts (an objective insistently championed in Washington), thus weakening them as economic competitors: after all, none of the "European defence community" projects envisage any major shifts in the weight of the NATO members. Any Europeanisation of Western defence, *L'Express*, a French right-wing weekly, writes, must serve to strengthen, not weaken the Atlantic Alliance. The US ruling quarters also expect the new militarist association to help in gradually reintegrating France in the NATO military structure. This also makes the new "community" a part of the US strategy. There is a regional motive, too, behind this advocacy of a "defence community". It is that the political integration of Western Europe — something the Common Market spokesmen have been going on about for a decade — has reached a dead end. "European unity will remain a fiction until continental solidarity extends to the military spheres," Charles Zorgbibe maintains (p. 106), revealing the hopes of the West European monopolistic quarters that the creation of a military organisation of their own will accelerate political integration. Here, it is important to note the position of the French Communist Party. It emphasises that this right-wing scheme poses a grave threat to the nation's security and independence.<sup>1</sup>

The thrust of the concept publicised in the book is obvious. As the antithesis of detente and European cooperation, it is fraught with a deeper freeze in the international climate. As to the domestic situation in West European countries,



realisation of these ideas would mean stronger positions for the right-wing, reactionary forces and a fiercer onslaught of big capital on the democratic and gains of working people.

Alex Ason

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *l'Humanite*, February 13, 1984.

# surveys, information and mail

## The Syrian Communist Party is Sixty Years Old

October 28 is a date every Syrian Communist holds dear. Sixty years ago that day a group of workers, peasants and intellectuals founded our glorious communist party.<sup>1</sup> That same year the party was admitted to the Communist International.

After the World War I, under a British-French agreement on the spheres of colonial rule, our country was saddled with the French mandate. The then Syrian society was dominated by feudalism. At the same time, capitalist relations had achieved a certain degree of development in trade, the handicraft industries and in the nascent modern industries — the textile, and tobacco industries, electric power production, railroad transport, etc.

An industrial proletariat was in the making, born of the stubborn struggle against the arbitrary rule of local employers and foreign companies. However, the country's dominant ideology conformed to the feudal stage of social development and came into conflict with the ideas of national liberation gaining ground among intellectuals.

The October Socialist Revolution made a great impact on the liberation movement of the Syrian people. The name of Lenin, the leader of the victorious revolution, became widely known. His ideas generated a response in a variety of social strata, and the victory of Russia's Bolshevik-led masses in the war against domestic counter-revolutionaries and imperialist invaders reverberated in the hearts of Syrian workers and peasants who saw it as proof that they, too, were capable of freeing themselves from exploitation and establishing their own popular socialist state.

The Soviet government made public its famous Message to All Working Muslims of Russia and the East; this was the first assertion ever of their right to independence and self-determination. The Syrian popular masses welcomed this message with enthusiasm. It contributed to a swift upsurge of the national movement which had led to uprisings against French colonial rule sweeping the country in 1920 and 1921, and then in 1925-1927. The fact that the Syrian Communist Party (SCP) was formed at that time reflected the interests of our working class and peasant masses, as well as their historical need for an organised vanguard in the national and social struggle.

Over the past six decades, Syria's Communists have marched gloriously under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, having withstood



vicious reprisals. The best sons of the party (including Farajalla Al-Hulu, secretary of the SCP Central Committee) sacrificed their lives for the sake of the interests of the Syrian people in the struggle against reaction, repulsing the Israeli aggression and upholding the party's right to exist.

Our first policy document highlighted the fundamental difference of the communist party from the other elements of the Syrian national movement; this salient feature was its resolute struggle against colonial rule and unconditional unity with the popular masses in upholding their economic and political rights.

"The first stage", Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary of the SCP Central Committee, notes, "was when the party took its political, organisational and especially ideological shape, when it developed its own distinct image: first, it was an implacable opponent of imperialism, second, it was a party of the working masses and third, a party of socialism. These three characteristics were what ensured its success on the political scene."<sup>2</sup> In the late 1930s the SCP abandoned its rejection of the role of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-colonial movement. Guided by the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the Communists called for the establishment of a broad national anti-colonial front; at the same time, they stressed the need for vigilance and for combating the vacillations of the bourgeoisie rooted in its class nature.

The party was flexible in its cooperation with the anti-imperialist strata and firm in its clashes with colonialism, remaining a factor in the consolidation of the national movement. The influence and prestige of the SCP in the struggle for the withdrawal of French and British troops from our country can be seen, among other things, from the fact that at that time, the SCP was referred to as the "evacuation party."<sup>3</sup>

Serious attention was paid to mobilising workers and peasants for action for their democratic rights and against exploitation, for a more just distribution of land and better living, hygienic and cultural conditions. Communist workers played a noticeable part in the organisation of the trade union movement. They were involved in the establishment of the first Syrian industrial trade union (1925) and contributed greatly to the founding of Syria's General Federation of Labour Unions in 1938.

The Marxist-Leninist world view had been quite influential in our country, especially among democratic intellectuals, even before the advent of the party, but only the SCP became the first organised force which launched a planned effort to disseminate the ideas of scientific socialism among working people. Day after day, Communists steadily promoted class consciousness among the masses, using a diversity of methods and examples to acquaint them with progressive ideas. It is significant that the first Arabic translation of the Communist Manifesto by Khaled Bagdash appeared as early as 1933. To this day, the Communist Party fights tirelessly for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Friendship with the great party of Lenin, with the country of the October Revolution is a cornerstone of our policy. The SCP firmly rebuffs reactionary forays and right-wing attempts to distort and misrepresent the party's position.

When the Soviet Army routed fascism at the end of World War II, favourable conditions emerged for the intensification of the Syrian people's struggle against the French mandate. In 1946, at the price of many lives and relying on firm support by the USSR, Syria attained independence. We were the world's first truly sovereign Arab state.

In the period when power in the country was in the hands of reactionary military dictatorships (1949-1954) which trampled the people's interests and freedom underfoot and tried to hitch Syria to the imperialist bandwagon, our party was in the forefront of the struggle against the tyrants. Their overthrow, which became possible after the army joined the people, cleared the way for the development of democracy. For the first time in the Arab world, Communists were represented in parliament (Khaled Bagdash); the SCP's cooperation with the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Baath)



Party and other national democratic forces began. At that time, foreign companies and enterprises were nationalised; the working class and trade union movement expanded and grew stronger. With communist participation, peasant action for an agrarian reform mounted. Friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries in various spheres — political, economic and military — were established and gained strength.

The party keeps up its tireless work to consolidate our political and economic independence. We resolutely oppose imperialist and Zionist schemes and reject plans to set up neo-colonialist alliances in which these quarters would like to drag Syria in order to undermine its independence and again impose imperialist bondage on the country. At times the Communist Party's warnings and calls for joint efforts to rebuff reaction were understood only after a delay, after there appeared proof of the importance of these warnings to the nation's interests. And then we had to bear the brunt of the struggle alone.

The party closely follows the situation in the Arab world. All its policy documents reveal a clear-cut and principled position with regard to Arab unity and point the way to its attainment. The SCP tirelessly advocates a truly democratic Arab unity based on the struggle against imperialism and Zionism and with due regard to objective conditions in each country.

Syria's Communists have always upheld the just interests of the Palestinian people, making a direct contribution to the struggle for their legitimate rights. We are for the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, for the overcoming of the existing differences and the restoration of its militant alliance with Syria. The SCP rejects all imperialist plans aimed at "doing away" with the Palestinian problem and firmly supports the idea of an international conference under UN auspices which would proceed from complete recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and establishment of an independent state.

The principled policy pursued by the Syrian Communist Party has raised and strengthened its prestige with working people and all non-exploiter strata of the population. The SCP cooperates with the Baath Party and three other parties in the National Progressive Front (established in 1972), is active in its work at different levels, including the government level, as well as in public organisations, and works to ensure a greater and more profound role for the Front. While advancing various political, economic and social initiatives, the SCP preserves its political, organisational and ideological independence and champions the interests of the popular masses.

Given the struggle for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the growing aggressiveness of US imperialism and Israel — an organic element of the threat of world peace — the Communists work to preserve the unity of the patriotic forces and to mobilise people and economic resources to repel the aggression. We hold that it is imperative to restructure the national economy which is now in decline due to imperialist pressure and the predatory policies of the parasitic and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Syria's social progress will demand removal of this bourgeoisie from participation in political and economic affairs, and a just course based on strict observance of the interests and democratic freedoms of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals; this will serve to consolidate the domestic front in the face of possible imperialist aggression.

**Khaled Hammami**  
member, CC Political Bureau,  
Syrian Communist Party

<sup>1</sup> From the time it was established and until 1964 the party included both Syrian and Lebanese Communists.

<sup>2</sup> Khaled Bagdash, *The National Liberation Movement and the Struggle for Socialism*, Damascus, p. 6 (in Arabic).

<sup>3</sup> Withdrawal of foreign troops was the central issue of the Syrian national movement in the wake of World War II. April 17, the day the French and British troops were evacuated in 1946, is a national holiday in Syria. — *Ed.*



## **The Reader Wants to Know . . . The 'Moscow Line' or Common Interests?**

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It is constantly claimed in this country that the foreign policy of East European countries is not independent and is directed from Moscow. What are the motivations of the foreign policy of Poland, for one?

Walter Kowalski, USA

CLAIMS of that sort are nothing new for us, Mr. Kowalski. For nearly 40 years now, or ever since the rise of socialist states in South-Eastern and Central Europe, bourgeois political centres and their media have been harping on this theme in various ways and with varying emphasis. As for the present US Administration, it sees the "hand of Moscow" in the policies of every socialist country and, indeed, in almost every world event. A lie is no less a lie for being told over and over again. However, the sustained psychological pressure of the bourgeois media forces many people in the capitalist world into believing lies without stopping to think. This is why your question calls for a detailed answer.

The foreign policy of any state, being a continuation of its home policy (according to the classical formula), expresses the interests of the ruling class or classes and is therefore always a class policy. This is all the more evident today, when the main contradiction in the world is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism and the objective process of internationalisation of all social, political and economic antagonisms has greatly intensified.

The policy of capitalist countries expresses the interests of the bourgeoisie, both nationally and globally. It pursues such aims as undermining and weakening existing socialism, maintaining the class domination of capital all over the non-socialist world and preserving the possibility of exploiting economically less developed countries in neocolonial forms. To achieve these aims, the reactionary, right-conservative forces in power in a number of imperialist states have launched a feverish arms race putting the world on the brink of war. They are trying to gain military superiority over socialism and to alter the existing balance of forces in this way, resorting to diktat, blackmail and economic pressure.

The socialist countries invariably counter this policy with the Leninist principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. These principles are intended to rule out war as a means of resolving the main contradiction of the contemporary world, to end the arms race and bring about disarmament, to renounce the policy of discrimination and sanctions in favour of promoting stable, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological cooperation, and joint efforts to protect the environment and solve other global problems. Peaceful coexistence also means renouncing psychological warfare as a form of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and providing favourable conditions for the exchange of genuine cultural and intellectual values. Needless to say, the ideological struggle between the two opposed systems is not "called off" but it must not infringe on universally accepted standards of international relations. In present-day conditions there is no sound alternative to peaceful coexistence.

Another pillar of the foreign policy of socialist countries is proletarian internationalism. It implies international solidarity of the workers and Communists of the world in the struggle for common goals, their solidarity with the struggle of peoples



for national liberation and social progress, and voluntary cooperation among the fraternal parties with scrupulous observance of the equality and independence of every one of them.

There is a further important circumstance. The content of proletarian internationalism has grown in depth and breadth within the socialist community. A new type of international relations has emerged; it is socialist internationalism, which takes shape and develops on the basis of friendship, equality, mutual respect and all-round fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance.

The principles of socialist internationalism, which rules out expansionism, chauvinism and the subjection of one country to another, a stronger one, which is so very typical of imperialist policy, are embodied in relations between a great power like the Soviet Union and the other, middle-sized countries of the socialist community. This is what bourgeois ideologists refuse to understand or recognise, for they apparently believe that the world is governed by the dog-eat-dog laws of imperialism. The internationalist relations between socialist countries have taken specific legal forms as diverse institutions of economic integration and mechanisms of evolving collective positions on key problems of the contemporary world. Functioning on the principles of socialist internationalism are the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, major instruments of multilateral cooperation.

The socialist countries' similar political systems and coinciding historical objectives and fundamental interests determine the community of their foreign-policy tasks. These include close economic cooperation, defence of the achievements and international positions of socialism, resistance to imperialist aggression, and effective solidarity with fighters for the freedom and independence of peoples, for peace and progress throughout the world. All this translates into a collective foreign policy, which is perfectly natural.

You may ask whether this commitment to common goals does not "override" the national interests of each of the community countries and whether these countries are not "made" to follow the "Moscow line". Well, let us look at the matter from the standpoint of the Polish People's Republic.

When, in 1944, power in Poland was taken over by the working class and its allies, the peasants and intellectuals, who set out to build socialism, the foreign policy of the country acquired a new class content. For 40 years past, it has been based on an alliance with those political forces of the world with which People's Poland is united by common ideological lines and principles of government and a common desire for peace and social progress. At the same time this policy is thoroughly national in content and serves the interests and security of the Polish people.

We remember the bitter experience of the past, the fact that in September 1939 our people found themselves alone in the face of nazi aggression because the Polish bourgeoisie, blinded by class egoism, put anti-communism and anti-Sovietism above national interests. The Western powers, which had committed themselves by treaty to help us, reduced their "assistance" to meaningless gestures. The bankruptcy of bourgeois foreign policy was complete.

Poland's Communists and the left and democratic forces that rallied together behind them drew from that tragic lesson the far-reaching and only correct conclusion that solely a durable alliance with the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, could guarantee the security and territorial integrity of their country. The Polish Workers' Party stressed in its programme declaration, "What We Are Fighting For" (1943), that "the establishment of relations of goodneighbourliness and alliance with the USSR will be an important and decisive factor for strengthening our defence capability, economic potential and positions in Europe."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time the Soviet Union was interested from the point of view of its own security in the creation of a strong, sovereign and friendly Poland. Thus Polish-Soviet



relations owe their durability to the coincidence of the vital interests of the two countries.

Anti-communist subversive centres in the West and counter-revolutionaries in Poland keep claiming that this alliance is merely a result of the Yalta and Potsdam accords (1945) and was "imposed" on the Polish people or prompted (a modified version) by purely geopolitical necessity. These false allegations are akin genetically to the concepts of those ideologists who insist on revising the agreements on postwar Europe and on changing the territorial and political order on the continent. The Polish-Soviet alliance is the result of a conscious choice made in 1943, as we have said, by Poland's Communists and all left and democratic forces concerned about the vital interests of the nation. Their choice was aimed at safeguarding the security and territorial integrity of the country and at providing conditions for its peaceful development. It was supported by the overwhelming majority of the Polish people.

The foreign-policy trend of People's Poland brought about a radical change in its position on our continent. For the first time in a thousand years of its existence, the country found itself surrounded by good neighbours and trustworthy friends, within historically just frontiers formalised in 1950 under the Zgorzelec Treaty with the GDR, having recovered its ancient Piast lands all the way to the Odra and Nysa Luzycka. This played an important part in the solution of big problems, such as those of allotting land to peasants, ending the overpopulation of the countryside and carrying out industrialisation.

Cooperation with and assistance from the Soviet Union enabled Poland to heal in a reasonably short time the wounds inflicted on it in a devastating war and to greatly build up its economic potential. This alliance proved its worth above all at the most difficult stage of the Polish crisis. When the United States and other NATO countries applied so-called economic sanctions against us in violation of all agreements, it was the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries that gave Poland the support it needed. Extra deliveries of Soviet raw and other materials on credit prevented disruption in many Polish industries. Without this aid it would have been impossible to overcome current difficulties and pave the way for economic rehabilitation. Ample support from the socialist community made it possible to end the political haggling under way behind Poland's back and regain her stable status on the world scene.

We have pointed out that a common ideology and common goals in building socialism and communism and in fighting for peace, security and social progress are the bedrock of the fraternal countries' socialist internationalism, solidarity and unity of action. Does this imply any "levelling" of their concrete foreign policies?

Not at all. Each socialist country has both common tasks and interests and national ones arising from its position in the world, its relations with neighbours, its traditions, historical experience and regional characteristics. All this finds a reflection in the country's contribution to the framing of a common foreign policy of the socialist community countries and in its specific diplomatic moves.

Participating in the implementation of this collective foreign policy, People's Poland has always paid special attention to problems of European security, primarily to the need to strengthen its basis, the inviolability of the territorial and political order established after World War II and in the course of postwar development. An indication of this is Poland's efforts towards winning international recognition of its Western frontier.

The FRG refused to do so till the seventies. Yet recognition of this frontier was the main condition of normalising relations with the West German state. Our efforts in this sphere were intended to secure the renunciation of territorial claims and hence to remove a source of tension, conflict and threat to peace in Europe. The Treaty on the Principles of Normalising Relations Between Poland and the FRG, signed in December 1970, as well as the treaties signed by the FRG with USSR, with the GDR and with Czechoslovakia, paved the way for the Helsinki Conference on Security and



Cooperation in Europe, whose Final Act recognises the inviolability of the frontiers existing on the continent.

Concern for European security, prompted by conclusions from our experience, has always induced People's Poland to emphatically condemn attempts to revive a revanchist spirit in the FRG. This is also the case now that we again hear from the banks of the Rhine voices questioning valid agreements. What we Poles are particularly disturbed by is that the revanchists are becoming more active under the patronage and with the virtual support of the present West German government.

The policy of dividing Europe into military blocs is contrary to Polish interests and our country has invariably advocated the provision of real prerequisites for a collective security system on the continent. In December 1964 our republic tabled at the 19th Session of the UN General Assembly a motion for the convocation of a European conference on security and cooperation. The motion was backed by fraternal socialist countries and this found a reflection in the Communique released on January 20, 1965 by a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the WTO countries. This idea underpins the July 1966 declaration of the PCC which became a programme for a peaceful advance of the socialist countries under the motto of normalising relations in Europe.

Poland also attaches great importance to the problem of disarmament. It made a notable contribution to this important cause. As early as 1946, our delegation at the First Session of the UN General Assembly submitted a draft resolution calling for an agreement on the utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only and for the renunciation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The more noteworthy Polish security initiatives include a plan for the creation of an atom-free zone covering the FRG, GDR, PPR and CSSR (known as the Rapacki Plan, 1957) and the Gomulka Plan (1963), which proposed a freeze on nuclear and conventional armaments in Central Europe. These proposals were rejected by the capitalist powers but played a big role, nonetheless, in clearing the decks for the signing of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and afterwards prompted proposals for the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and Scandinavia. Lastly, it was Poland that proposed to convene the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe now deliberating in Stockholm.

You will see, Mr. Kowalski, that Poland's foreign policy is motivated by national interests as much as by interests common to all socialist community countries. However, the former do not conflict with the latter, and vice versa. The grim trials which the Polish people had to go through in recent years confirmed once again the truth that any threat to socialism is also a threat to Polish interests. The destiny of our country and the prospects of its further progress call for close cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. These realities are the chief guideline of our foreign policy.

**Jerzy Wasczuk**  
PUWP representative on WMR

<sup>1</sup> *Kształtowanie się podstaw programowych PPR w latach 1942-1945. Wybór materiałów i dokumentów*, Warsaw, 1958, pp. 145-169.



## **Communist Youth Leagues Brief Information\***

### **THE DIMITROV YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE (DYCL)**

The DYCL is a mass, independent socio-political Bulgarian youth organisation which comprehensively expresses the interests and concerns of the younger generation. Guided in its activities by the Bulgarian Communist Party, it is the party's reserve.

Created in 1946, the DYCL is a successor to the cause and revolutionary traditions of the Union of Young Social Democratic Workers (founded 1912), the Bulgarian Communist Youth League (established 1919) and the Young Workers' League (established 1928).

The League currently unites 1.5 million members, 83 per cent of them employed in the national economy. The DYCL directs the activities of the Dimitrov Septemvriyche (Septembrist) Young Pioneer Organisation.

The DYCL sees its prime task in shaping a Marxist-Leninist world view and an active attitude to life among Bulgaria's young men and women. It educates them in the revolutionary and labour traditions of the BCP and the people and in the class, partisan approach to social phenomena, and works to shape all-round personalities, dedicated and selfless builders of socialism and communism.

The Dimitrov Young Communist League attaches special importance to preparing young people for participation in the scientific and technological revolution. It draws young men and women into creative work and encourages in-depth involvement with science and technology. League members assist in raising labour productivity and intensifying social production in all spheres of the national economy and make a tangible contribution to the building of developed socialism.

The DYCL involves youth in the management of society. Under the Bulgarian Constitution, the League has the right to initiate legislation. DYCL organisations discuss and submit for consideration by party, government and other bodies issues concerning improvements in the operation of enterprises, offices, educational establishments, cultural agencies and research institutes. They also monitor the work of government offices and economic management agencies.

Patriotic education of youth is closely intertwined with internationalist education. The Dimitrov Young Communist League raises the younger generation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence. The League's international activities are aimed at consolidating the unity of the world democratic movement, friendship and cooperation with the young men and women of the socialist countries and with progressive youth throughout the world. The DYCL attaches great importance to the consolidation of friendly relations with the peoples and youth of the USSR, to the expansion of fraternal relations with the Soviet Komsomol.

The League contributes considerably to the struggle for peace, is active in the world democratic youth movement, and is a member of the WFDY.

The country values the work of the Dimitrov Young Communist League highly and has awarded five decorations to it.

Democratic centralism is the guiding organisational principle of the DYCL. The League scrupulously observes the Leninist norms of collective leadership and comprehensively promotes democracy, initiative, criticism and self-criticism within its ranks.

The DYCL is structured on a territorial-industrial basis: primary organisations — societies — are established at places of work, study or residence of young people.

\* Continued from *WMR*, Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8.



Today the League numbers 38,600 societies. The congress is the League's supreme body. The latest congress — 14th — was held in 1982. Between congresses, the League's activities are directed by its Central Committee whose members are elected to comprise a Bureau and a Secretariat.

The DYCL maintains 27 publications; the central organ is the newspaper *Narodna mladezh*.

The budget of the League is made up of membership dues, revenue from the sale of its publications and returns from the implementation of youth labour initiatives.

### THE COMMUNIST YOUTH OF AUSTRIA (KJÖ)

The KJÖ unites young industrial and office workers and secondary and vocational training school pupils aged 15 to 19. College and university students have an organisation of their own — the Communist Students Union, which KJÖ school leavers join upon entering a higher education institution. The division into a worker and a student organisation is traditional in Austria. Children of workers have a progressive association called "Land of Children — Young Guard". The KJÖ cooperates closely with both these organisations.

The KJÖ is a reserve of the Communist Party of Austria, works in close contact with it and is represented in party bodies at all levels.

The KJÖ was founded in 1970 by the activists of Free Austrian Youth, an anti-fascist democratic confederation which ceased to exist in the late 1960s. Although small in membership, the KJÖ plays a considerable role in the life of Austria's younger generation. It sees one of its central tasks in equipping young people with a revolutionary class consciousness and moulding them into patriots and internationalists.

Unswervingly upholding the rights of the younger generation, the KJÖ involves young men and women in the struggle to improve their economic and social position, against unemployment and its destructive consequences. It is active in the anti-war and anti-imperialist movement, rebuffs neofascist forays, takes part in campaigns of solidarity with the peoples fighting for their national liberation and social emancipation, and cooperates with other Austrian youth organisations: it continuously conducts joint action with Socialist and Catholic youth and with young trade union members, and sometimes stages action together with the Austrian Bundesjugendring (Federal Youth Ring).<sup>1</sup>

The Communist Youth of Austria maintains fruitful ties with its counterparts in many countries and is a founding member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The KJÖ is structured territorially, in accordance with the country's administrative division. Primary organisations — groups — exist in all provinces. They organise political education, conduct discussions and hold cultural events in their own club facilities.

The highest body is the federal congress which elects a Federal Board and a Secretariat. The central press organ is the *Explosiv* monthly which regularly publishes *Explosiv-Extra* issues oriented on vocational training schools and provincial organisations. Individual groups bring out regional and local periodicals, leaflets, posters and other printed propaganda.

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<sup>1</sup> This alliance unites 17 youth and children's organisations. Anti-communist trends surface in its policy, expressed, among other things, in its refusal to admit the KJÖ as a member.



## Diary

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During his stay in Czechoslovakia, Giocondo Dias, General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party CC, visited the WMR editorial office. The discussion concerned further expansion of the BCP's cooperation with the journal.

\* \* \*

Kali Shankar Shukla, member of the Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, visited the WMR editorial office. Further cooperation between the CPI and the journal was the subject of the talk.

## New Books

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Le Duan, *Forward Along the Charted Course*, Su That, Hanoi, 1984, 118 pp. (in Vietnamese).

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee discusses the more topical theoretical and practical issues of building socialism in the country, above all those concerning the economy. Considerable emphasis is laid on an analysis of the current international situation, of the struggle for peace, against the war threat, and of the need to further strengthen fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Clara Zetkin, *Selected Writings*, International Publishers, New York, 1984, 208 pp.

This is the first English-language collection of articles and speeches by the prominent revolutionary, a founder of the Communist Party of Germany and an ardent fighter for women's rights, against militarism and the colonial policy of imperialism.

Clara Zetkin (1857-1933) was active at the constituent and all subsequent congresses of the Second International and for a quarter of a century edited *Gleichheit*, the Social Democratic newspaper of German women workers. She was the one who, in 1907, proposed the convening of the first International Women's Conference and, three years later, the designation of March 8 as the International Women's Day. During World War I she, together with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, opposed the chauvinism of German Social Democratic leaders. Imprisonment and dismissal from the job she loved failed to break her staunch spirit, her dedication to the cause of peace and socialism. Clara Zetkin welcomed the October Revolution with enthusiasm and organised a movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia. In the Communist International she was in charge of the International Women's Secretariat and served on the Executive Committee. Opening the newly elected 1932 Reichstag as the oldest member, she warned against the danger nazism posed to Germany and called for the establishment of a united proletarian front.

Philip Foner, a well-known US historian, wrote a biographical essay included in the collection and edited the book. The foreword is by Angela Davis, member of the CPUSA Central Committee.







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