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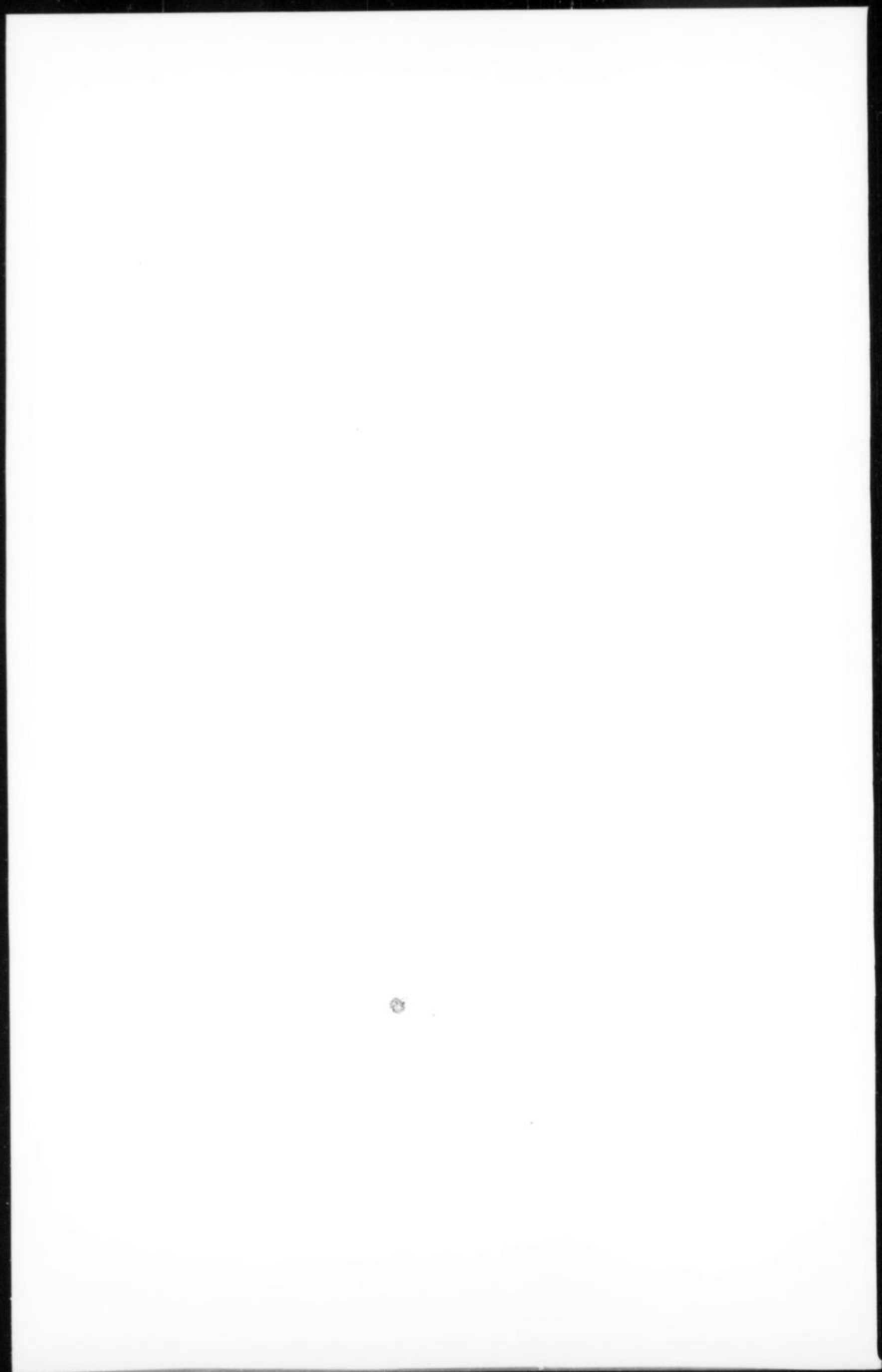
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features

The Communists and Our Day's Pressing Issues

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

THE Communist movement, working class movement, and the liberation movement as a whole, in fact millions of people throughout the world are focusing serious attention on the problems of war and peace, on the struggle against the threat of war. Europe and the entire world, for that matter, have had a disturbing year: the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in a number of West European countries and other actions by the USA and NATO have dramatically escalated the danger of a nuclear war. On the other hand, there has been an expansion, consolidation, and invigoration of the forces countering this danger. The USSR and all the other socialist community countries have done and continue to do their utmost to achieve a turn for the better in the international situation. The confrontation course and power politics of the White House have caused great anxiety in the most diverse public and political circles. There has been an unparalleled growth of the anti-war protest of the masses.

Visible changes are also taking place in the world's social makeup. World socialism is asserting its positions more solidly. The great principles and values it is implementing—the abolition of exploitation, economic planning, accelerated surmounting of backwardness, universal employment, social security, and the extirpation of class and national antagonisms—are becoming the ideals of the working people of the whole world and giving humankind its prospect for the future. Non-aligned states, including those oriented on socialism, are gathering strength. At the same time the crisis of capitalism is becoming ever more severe, the class contradictions have sharpened. In many capitalist countries the political struggle has grown harsher. The conditions under which communist and revolutionary-democratic parties are working are changing correspondingly, and the tasks they are performing have broadened.

1

It is no secret that in recent years the attitude to existing socialism and its international role have been the subject of discussion in the communist movement. Some urgency was given to these discussions by difficulties that arose in the course of socialist construction in a number of countries, the belated tackling of pressing problems, and some negative phenomena. All this was eagerly used by the class

adversary, who intensified pressure on the socialist countries and did not shrink from shameless interference in their internal affairs. In this context and in view of the role being played by existing socialism in the world today special attention must be given to a number of fundamental questions of the policy pursued by ruling communist parties at the present stage of the world's development.

The CPSU and its leadership have launched energetic efforts in all directions of domestic and foreign policy. In a speech of policy-making significance at a sitting of the CC Political Bureau on November 15, 1984, Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted: 'The economy has begun to develop more dynamically. The past two years have been marked by positive changes in the work of practically all branches of the national economy.'¹ Last year the industrial output increment rate rose by 4.4 per cent instead of by the planned 3.8 per cent, the quality of products has become higher. The living standard of the Soviet people is rising on that basis. The higher demands being made of cadres of all levels have yielded results, as have the steps to tighten labour and production discipline, improve organisation, and introduce more efficiency.

The resolutions of plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and the work of the CC leadership are characterised by a creative approach to all problems related to perfecting developed socialist society. Our party is firmly abiding by the policy bequeathed to it by the great Lenin. It assesses achievements soberly, realistically, sees shortcomings, and takes steps to eradicate them. Its plans are forward-looking. *They are plans of peace, of peaceful endeavour.*

The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the fact that victorious socialism has to go through certain stages of development. The stage of developed socialism is a historically long period of socio-economic and political changes, of the ideological and cultural growth of the whole of society. The Soviet Union is at the beginning of this stage, during which the socialist ideal still remains to be translated fully into reality. I am referring to qualitative changes for which the way has been paved by all preceding development.

As regards the material basis, the main task is to accelerate and ensure balanced economic growth and the intensification of production. During the past two years we have halted the trend towards a decline in the economic growth rate that became manifest at the beginning of the 1980s and have given it a new dynamism, which has had an immediate beneficial effect on the living standard of the Soviet people. This is the principal criterion of the correctness of the party's economic policy.

In the twelfth five-year period we shall have to achieve a fundamental turn towards higher efficiency in the economy as a whole on the basis of accelerated scientific and technological progress. Under the Food Programme, adopted two years ago, important steps are being taken to intensify agricultural production. We have endorsed a long-term land-improvement programme, whose fulfilment will make it possible to minimise agriculture's dependence upon the weather's whims. A large-scale economic experiment has been started to improve the system of planning and management. It boils down to giving industrial facilities more rights and increasing their responsibility for and material interest in the end results of their work. With account of the experience gained, the comprehensive improvement of management will be extended to the entire national economy.

The complexity of international life compels the USSR to divert substantial resources for defence. But even under these conditions social programmes are not being halted. *The principal objective of our economic plans is to promote the people's welfare, to raise their living and cultural standards.* According to most of the indicators of the social section of the plan for 1985, the country is reaching the level of the targets set for the five-year period. This concerns increasing the social consumption funds

and the building of dwellings, schools, hospitals, polyclinics, kindergarten and nursery schools. The population's real incomes in 1985 will rise by 3.3 per cent, which is more than the average for the preceding four years.

Much is being done to continue developing socialist democracy. Here it is a matter of enhancing the people's socialist consciousness to the utmost and ensuring their broader and more competent participation in socio-political life through the Soviets, the work collectives, the people's control organs, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and the women's and other organisations. The school reform started last year is of the utmost importance. The new generation of Soviet people who will continue the great cause of the October Revolution in the 21st century will have a professional, ideological, and intellectual training measuring up to the requirements of the new century.

In the light of these tasks the party is giving considerable attention to ideological work—to the mass media, to the utmost encouragement of publicity in the work of party and local government institutions, and to increasing the practical returns from the social sciences. The party is orienting the creative intelligentsia, the people working in art and literature, on bold intervention in life, on more effective participation in perfecting the socialist way of life.

Our party has now entered the period of preparations for its 27th Congress. Preparations for a congress signify understanding and actively consolidating all that has entered Soviet reality during the past few years; they also signify a self-critical analysis of what is still to be accomplished and determining the ways and means of resolving new important tasks. The congress will endorse a new edition of the CPSU Programme and amendments to the party Rules.

The present international situation requires a clear and lucid knowledge of *the socialist community's role in and significance to the world communist and working class movement, the liberation struggle of the peoples, and the present and future of humanity.*

As early as during the initial years after World War II, when socialist revolutions triumphed in a large group of countries in Europe and Asia, the Marxists-Leninists assessed this epoch-making fact on its merits. They foresaw its tremendous impact on the world's development. Of course, it was impossible at the time to foresee the rate and specifics of socialist changes in such different countries—from former colonies to industrialised capitalist states—and to foresee what concrete forms would be acquired by the relations between socialist states and what problems would arise in the process of the formation of the new social system on an international scale. *The historic mission of the socialist community is visible today from the height of the experience gained during the past four decades.*

First, it has made and continues to make the decisive contribution to preventing a nuclear war. For the first time in world history the struggle against the threat of war has become the cause not only of public movements and not only of the Soviet Union but also of a large group of countries. The nuclear-missile capability created by the USSR is deterring the US hawks from starting another war that would destroy civilisation. The combined military strength of the Warsaw treaty member states not only protects their own security but serves as a dependable bulwark of peace in Europe.

While doing everything to safeguard the revolutionary achievements of its peoples, the socialist community is seeking to lower the level of military confrontation, end the arms race and, in the final analysis, deliver the world community from the nuclear threat. Existing socialism is the main force fighting to ensure to all people their most vital of rights, the right to life.

Second, the socialist community is creating favourable external conditions for the national liberation struggle of the peoples. There is every reason to say that had it not

been for socialism's appearance on the world scene, imperialism's colonial system would not have collapsed within a short span of time and tens of countries would not have embarked upon the road of independent national and social development.

Third, the socialist community is making an immense contribution to social progress in the world, implementing fundamental new forms of social organisation. In terms of history world socialism is a young, developing community of peoples and states. But we have already now every justification for speaking of it as of a lasting achievement in humankind's progress, of the major changes it has brought about throughout the world, and of its ability to resolve in the interests of working people problems before which capitalism is helpless.

Fourth, the socialist community embodies a new type of international relations based on the principles of socialist internationalism. The growth of the community's aggregate potential helps to develop and ensure the progress of each individual country of that community. The relations between the fraternal socialist countries are relations of cooperation and mutual assistance. The eradication of the nationalistic prejudices planted by exploiters in the course of long centuries and the surmounting of rivalry, hostility, and distrust between peoples constitute one of socialism's greatest achievements.

Of course, problems may arise in the practice of economic and political cooperation between sovereign socialist states. The guarantee of their opportune and correct settlement lies in the constant contacts between the central committees of the fraternal parties and between their leaders, in the close interaction of parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and in their policy, which organically combines national with common interests.

Fifth, the socialist community is making an inestimable contribution to the struggle to restructure the entire system of international relations on the principles of justice. On initiatives taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and supported by a large group of non-aligned states the highly important democratic principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, and non-interference in the affairs of other states are codified in documents of the United Nations.

Sixth, the socialist community is the bulwark and hope of the fighting working class of the working people of capitalist countries. One can appreciate the great significance to them of the awareness that in the world there is a powerful force that is always in solidarity with them and champions the same great aims.

The socialist community is exercising an influence in many other directions. One is the dissemination of truthful information which prevents imperialism's ideological centres from imposing on world public opinion their mercenary interpretation of developments. Another is the colossal work in generalising the experience of building the new world, of the class struggle against capitalist rule, and of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Or take the inestimable service that socialism is rendering civilisation by building up a new, humanist culture and safeguarding the classical heritage against assault by imperialist pseudoculture.

In the prevailing situation a particularly important role is played by the close cooperation among and further cohesion of the socialist countries, by their coordinated actions on the world scene, and by their concerted resistance to the subversive activities of imperialism, which is trying to split our community.

The CMEA summit of June 1984 was of fundamental significance in strengthening socialism as an international force. To implement its ideas and conclusions, the session of the heads of CMEA states held in Havana passed a series of exceptionally important decisions concerning a process of epoch-making importance, namely the economic integration of socialist countries.

There is every justification for saying that for humankind it is a happiness that there is a socialist community and that this community is moving confidently towards

further achievements. It is a duty of all revolutionary fighters to defend this bulwark of peace and progress and to make their utmost contribution to its further consolidation and development.

2

The lessons of the past few years, when Washington hoped to achieve military superiority and disrupted the negotiations in Geneva, have not been lost on the peoples of the world. The threat of war has grown during these years, but the resistance to it has also grown. Developments have once again reaffirmed the correctness of the socialist community's international policy. The socialist states have not let themselves be intimidated and have not turned away from their fundamental course towards peaceful coexistence and the prevention of nuclear war. By taking counter-measures they have demonstrated that it is futile to talk to them 'from positions of strength', that such a policy is boomeranging against those pursuing it.

Ever since the disruption of the Geneva negotiations by the USA the Soviet Union has perseveringly sought to unite the knot of international problems that had grown tighter and more entangled as a result of the appearance of new US first-strike missiles in Europe. The Soviet leadership has stressed time and again that no opportunity should be lost to return to the road of negotiations, to detente.

Last November the USSR urged the US Administration to begin talks on the entire spectrum of issues relating to nuclear and space armaments. *This is a proposal for entirely new negotiations* at which all problems would be considered and settled in their relationship to each other. This comprehensive approach is dictated by the need to take urgent and effective steps to prevent a further destabilisation of the strategic situation and avert new spirals of the arms race. By virtue of objective reasons it is of key significance to resolve the question of banning space weapons. Should an arms race begin in outer space, it would not only prevent speaking seriously of limiting and reducing strategic armaments but would inevitably be the catalyst of arms races in other areas. On all these issues the USSR is prepared to look for and work out the most radical solutions allowing to advance towards a total ban on and, ultimately, the destruction of nuclear weapons.

A major factor compelling the US Administration to agree to negotiate has been the pressure from *the mass anti-war movement* and the anti-war feeling that has spread even to circles that cannot be called anti-imperialist. Despite some vacillation that manifested itself as soon as the deployment of US 'Euromissiles' was started, there has been, on the whole, no decline in this movement. On the contrary, a more active participation in it is to be observed in some countries on the part of Social Democrats, Greens, religious leaders, writers, lawyers, doctors, actors, and athletes. The movement is acquiring depth. The trade unions are becoming gradually involved in the anti-war struggle. Demands are widening, growing more clear-cut and competent and envisioning a comprehensive settlement of the problems of nuclear disarmament. The entire NATO military structure and its war doctrines are coming under criticism. The anti-war protest is assuming new and more effective forms.

Confronted by the US Administration's peremptory policy, which is increasing the threat of war, the ruling circles of a number of European capitalist countries have urged a normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Even governments allied to the USA have stated their misgivings about the American plans for the militarisation of outer space. Practically all the West European leaders have welcomed the Soviet-US understanding on the commencement of new negotiations.

A role of no little importance has also been played by many of the parties affiliated to the Socialist International. An anti-nuclear stand has been adopted by influential social democratic parties with the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany among

them. Most of them are opposed to the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe. The Finnish and Scandinavian Social Democrats are advocating the idea of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. Significant anti-war initiatives have been launched by the ruling Greek Socialists and also by the Labour government of New Zealand, which has raised the question of reconsidering the military ANZUS alliance and intends to forbid US nuclear-armed naval vessels from entering the country and to secure the South Pacific's conversion into a nuclear-free zone. The Labour Party of Great Britain has approved a programme envisaging the renunciation of nuclear weapons and the dismantling of all US nuclear bases in that country. In a talk with Labour leaders Konstantin Chernenko declared that if that programme is carried out the USSR will correspondingly reduce the number of its missiles, guarantee that its nuclear systems are not targeted on Britain, and be prepared to sign an official agreement with it on this count. This would be a major advance in the struggle for nuclear disarmament.

In the USA itself the understanding of the mortal danger implicit in the course towards confrontation with the USSR and towards military superiority and also the mounting opposition to this course in various socio-political quarters, including a section of the ruling Republican Party, have likewise affected the posture of the administration in Washington.

The Soviet conception of negotiations—and this is the conception of the entire socialist community—has not changed. We want equitable, constructive, and productive talks that will lead to an actual reduction of armaments.

Our proposals for diminishing the threat of war likewise remain in force. Their concentrated significance is expressed in the idea of the nuclear powers undertaking such commitments on norms of mutual relations as would ultimately lead to the total ban and destruction of nuclear armaments. In the opinion of the CPSU, the most urgent and objectively the most feasible steps along the road to this aim are commitments by all the nuclear powers, after the example set by the Soviet Union, on a no-first-use of nuclear weapons, and the attainment of agreements on preventing the militarisation of outer space, the quantitative and qualitative freezing of nuclear arsenals, and a total and general ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. The proposal for delivering Europe entirely of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, remains in force.

A ray of light has thus come through the closely-packed clouds of international tension. However, the situation in the world remains explosive. It cannot be counted that in Washington they will easily abandon their course towards military superiority. Political and diplomatic manoeuvres fraught with the danger of negotiations being subverted cannot be excluded.

Neither the US Administration nor NATO are slowing down the rate of their *material preparations for war*. They continue to regard armed strength as the principal instrument of their foreign policy. The USA's military budget for 1985 is to amount to 313 billion dollars; it totalled 265 billion dollars in 1984; while in the next five years it is to add up to the astronomical sum of over 2,000 billion dollars. Not a single military programme has been cancelled or reduced. Evidence of far-reaching military designs is to be seen in the programme for the utmost buildup and substantial renovation of the US strategic nuclear capability. Provision is made for the full implementation of the programmes for the development and deployment of MX and Midgetman ICBMs and of B-1B and ATB (Stealth) strategic bombers, the building of Ohio-class nuclear-powered submarines equipped with Trident-2 nuclear missiles, and the production of long-range cruise missiles. Under these programmes the US strategic capability is to be increased to 20,000 nuclear warheads. The deployment of 572 intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe is to be completed by 1988-1989. The USA is continuing the testing of anti-satellite weapons.

The NATO military planning committee has approved the Rogers Plan, which envisages hitting the territory of Warsaw Treaty Organisation states to a depth of hundreds of kilometers east of the present frontier of the FRG with accurately-targeted laser weapons, missiles, warheads, and shells. Its objective is to give the USA the possibility of fighting a 'European' war that, while having, in terms of consequences, little distinction from a total nuclear war, will allegedly not affect the territory of the USA.

The Council of the Western European Union has lifted the ban preventing the FRG from manufacturing strategic bombers and long-range missiles. In practice this can mean only one thing, namely, an addition to the NATO capability and spurring the arms race on the European continent. Thus, despite the anxiety of the West European nations, a policy that ignores the realities of the nuclear age continues to be pursued.

This makes it imperative to continue the efforts in defence of peace from, so to speak, 'both ends': 'from the top', by the diplomatic means of peace-loving nations, and 'from below', by the mass anti-war movement.

A major role in advancing the cause of peace is played today by the exposure of the specious allegations being spread in the West; these confuse a section of the anti-war movement. The most widespread of these is the talk about the 'equal responsibility of the two superpowers' whose obvious purpose is to vindicate the actual architects of international tension and the arms race—US imperialism and its allies.

Moreover, people continue to be influenced by the 'Soviet military threat' lie. There is a surfeit of evidence refuting it. Take just the fact that ideological differences are being moved into state-to-state relations not by socialist countries but by the US Administration, which has proclaimed a 'crusade' against communism.

Undisguised attempts are being made to use ideological distinctions in order to wreck the constructive dialogue between the public of socialist and non-socialist countries. The false argument offered here is that since the public organisations of socialist countries support the policies of their governments they do not express the true sentiments of their peoples. But public support for peace initiatives of governments is to be seen not in socialist countries alone. Take Greece, Finland, India, Sweden, and some other nations. There the anti-war movements likewise make many demands that dovetail with the foreign policy of their governments. The whole point is thus in the policy pursued by this or that government. The entire Soviet people supports the foreign policy of the CPSU and the governments of the USSR precisely because the aim of this policy is to strengthen international security.

3

The struggle of the newly-liberated nations against imperialism is acquiring a new character and a steadily growing significance. In Africa and Asia difficult problems are being tackled in conditions under which the legacy of colonialism makes itself felt at every step in economic and social life, under which the countries of these continents are increasingly lagging behind the industrialised nations and the transnational corporations are stepping up their expansion. To this day some peoples have to fight with arms in hand to defend their independence, their revolutionary gains, their right to live in a new way. These are the peoples of Nicaragua and Kampuchea, of Angola and Afghanistan, the Namibian and Palestinian peoples, and the people of Lebanon.

It has now been in fact proved that the socialist-oriented countries have opted for a correct, promising road. But they too have innumerable problems, some of which have no analogy in either the past or the present. They are nevertheless steadfastly moving to the lofty aims of social progress, led by their vanguard parties that have evolved into an influential political force. Many of these parties have proclaimed

Marxism-Leninism as their ideological and political foundation and are acting from positions of solidarity with the communist movement.

We are witnessing a new upsurge of the liberation, anti-imperialist struggle and of the communist movement in Latin America and this is also affecting the stand of Latin American governmental circles.

All these developments and processes—liberative, progressive, and inevitably anti-imperialist—have an objective foundation and this is recognised by judicious leaders in the bourgeois camp. However, reactionary circles in the USA see in them the 'hand of Moscow'—a bogey which is used to justify state terrorism, social revanchism, and imperial, hegemonistic claims of the latest sort.

Facts of this kind virtually stare one in the eyes: the attempts to 'unite' the Middle East knot in favour of imperialism with the aid of Israel, which does not shrink from the most barbarous adventures; the broadsides fired by the battleship *New Jersey* and the mass bombing of peaceful Lebanese villages and towns; the rapid deployment units and subversion groups set up to erode and suppress liberation movements in different parts of the world; the institutionalised doctrine of armed intervention 'where there is a chance and firm determination to win'; the invasion of Grenada, the support for the butchers of the people of El Salvador, and the undeclared war against Nicaragua; the threats hurled at Cuba. Inter-state conflicts (for instance, the war between Iraq and Iran) and separatist movements have become a painful phenomenon. They are giving imperialism a convenient pretext for encouraging reactionary forces and regimes, and for kindling internecine strife permitting it to maintain in many regions huge armed forces ready for action against progressive nations.

All this is affecting the character of the present stage of the national liberation and revolutionary liberation movements of three continents. The developing nations are growing increasingly more active in their quest for ways and means of social progress. Moreover, there is growing understanding that there is a diversity of these ways and means, that it is vital to resolve acute problems such as starvation that affects millions of people, the social consequences of neocolonialist exploitation, the new world economic order, and so on. The question of the inseparable link of these social problems to humankind's task of averting a nuclear war is sharply topical.

Special attention must be given to the potentialities of the *non-aligned movement* for upholding peace, countering imperialist policy, and promoting social progress.

New questions have also appeared in the *class struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries*. These are linked to the specifics of the development of capitalism's crisis in the 1980s and to the impact of this crisis on the condition of the masses and on their political and ideological mood. The structure of the working class is changing under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution. Unemployment is snowballing. There is still an imbalance between the huge potentiality of the working class movement in the anti-war and social struggle and the obviously inadequate utilisation of this potentiality. A large proportion of workers vote for conservative parties. In some countries the numerical strength of the trade unions is declining.

In big capital's anti-communist and anti-labour strategy a major place is assigned to the wide employment of cheap labour in the developing world in order to cutback employment in industrialised capitalist countries and use the scourge of unemployment to undermine the trade unions and curb the strike struggle. The political objective of 'modernising production' is also obvious: it is to erode and demoralise the large and most militant contingents of the working class. Attempts are being made to intensify the differentiation in the working class: for instance, to make the workers employed at facilities of the military-industrial complex aid and abet aggressive policies and the arms race by deceiving them with the hypocritical slogan of 'prosperity through armament'. Steadily growing topicality and significance are being

acquired by questions related to the specifics of the conditions and political role of the working class in developing nations.

Present-day 'neoconservatism' has already seized influential positions in a number of countries and continues to spread, pushing forward its strategy of attack at the socio-political advances of the working people. Moreover, it is endeavouring to direct the people's protest into the channel of nationalism and racism.

All this is making it vital to mobilise the forces of the working class and its vanguard representatives and raise the international solidarity level of the working masses.

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The experience of the communist and working class movements shows that the *gravitation towards internationalist solidarity, mutual assistance, and coordination of actions* is naturally implicit in fraternal parties and gets a particularly powerful impetus in critical periods of world development. The present is precisely such a period, which witnesses a dramatic growth of the influence of international factors on the domestic political situation and class contradictions, with the forces of imperialism seeking to reinforce their militarist and counter-revolutionary alliance and imperilling peace and social progress. "A reality of the so-called nuclear age," said Konstantin Chernenko, "is that international conditions are acquiring a determining, priority significance from the angle of the internationalist interests of the communist movement."

At such moments it is of particularly great importance to meet more frequently, compare views and assessments, and coordinate actions. It must be noted that this imperative of the day is making itself felt increasingly in the communist movement. This is demonstrated by the very active bilateral inter-party contacts and by the periodical meetings of communist parties on the scale of large regions: Latin America, Arab countries, and Northern Europe. The striving for effective inter-party contacts is expressed by the regular meetings of leading representatives of the communist and revolutionary-democratic press. A common voice by the communist parties against the military threat and the arms race, in defence of peace is particularly important in the present situation. All this indicates that this matter merits attention and consideration by the leadership of communist and workers' parties.

The present situation is making it imperative to reinforce the resistance to the unprecedentedly intensive *anti-communist campaigns of imperialist propaganda*, which is engaged in ideological aggression in the real sense of the word. Imperialism's colossal propaganda machine is opposed by—alongside the mass media of socialist countries—the communist and revolutionary-democratic press. Of course, in non-socialist countries this press is in an unequal position in terms of funds and technology as compared with that of the bourgeois press. All the more important then are the lofty ideological commitment and quality of anti-imperialist propaganda. The components of success are fidelity to truth, a militant spirit, a correct choice of aims, a politically accurate approach to problems, a vivid and understandable presentation, and consistent internationalism.

The prestige and efficacy of the party press depend on how accurately it reflects the class image of its party and on how principled its stand is in countering anti-communist, anti-socialist slander with truth about existing socialism and the latter's role as the principal bulwark of peace. The communist press is a proponent of fraternal solidarity of the working class, of all working people. It gives the people, in the spirit of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, a scientific understanding of historical developments and confidence in the success of the struggle for freedom, peace, and socialism. The newspapers of many fraternal parties have become people's newspapers in the real sense.

In the immediate future one of the most topical orientations of the work of the communist press is the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. In the light of the present international situation the lessons of the war will be seen in bolder relief and more correctly if they are linked more closely to the pressing issues of the struggle against the threat of another war, especially against the military preparations of the USA and NATO on German soil, i.e., where the Second World War began; against the attempts of the reactionary circles to revise the results of the war and of the postwar settlements, and to question the inviolability of frontiers; and against all the falsifications of the history of World War II that are used to extol the role played by the USA in the victory and to fan anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The peoples must have an objective picture of the war's outbreak, course, and results, of the actual contribution made by the world's first socialist state to delivering nations from fascist slavery, and of the actual role played by the Communists, who were in the front ranks of the anti-fascist Resistance, just as today they are in the front ranks of the anti-war movement.

The central lesson of the Second World War is that *war must be resisted before it breaks out*. In order to safeguard peace there must be united, coordinated, and militant actions by all the peace forces, and a high level of vigilance on the part of the peoples.

The communist movement bears a great responsibility for the destiny of humankind. By realistically and soberly assessing the magnitude of the military threat emanating from imperialism's most aggressive forces, by their militant support for the anti-war protest, and by promoting the unity of all the peace forces, the Communists are helping to carry out the will of the peoples, which is to prevent a slide into nuclear catastrophe. In this, along with the struggle for the social emancipation of working people, lies the historic mission of the Communists of all countries.

¹ *Pravda*, November 16, 1984.

Struggle for Peace— Even More Vigorously Now!

Hermann Axen – CC Political Bureau
member, CC Secretary, Socialist Unity Party
of Germany (SED)

THE struggle between socialism and imperialism, and the global confrontation of the forces of peace and of war have been exacerbated to an extent unparalleled since the Second World War. Aggressive imperialist circles headed by the most reactionary and bellicose wing of US monopoly capital have mounted a massive attempt to exact social revenge for their historical defeats, seeking to secure military-strategic superiority and domination of the whole globe. The US Administration's line of confrontation and the arms race heightens the danger of a nuclear world war.

However, the gap between the objectives of imperialism and the potentialities for realising them is now wider than it has ever been in the past. Socialism's invincible

might and its consistent policy of peace, the growth of the anti-imperialist and anti-war forces and the sharpening contradictions and rivalries between the imperialist states make it necessary and actually possible to stop the warmongers in their tracks and to frustrate their schemes.

That assessment of the world situation and the conclusion that there is a need to 'Struggle for Peace—Even More Vigorously Now!' came from the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the SED CC (November 1983), and they have been fully borne out by the events of the past year.

Main Trends in World Politics Today

While the communist and workers' parties view the US Administration's line of confrontation from the standpoint of its class substance and have good ground to see it as a policy of social revenge, they have simultaneously emphasised the main trend in international politics: despite all the counter-attacks by imperialism, the balance of forces in the world has continued to shape in favour of socialism, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The socialist world is entering upon a new stage of its social development. The forthcoming 27th Congress of the CPSU, the 11th Congress of the SED scheduled for April 1986, and party congresses in other fraternal countries will be historical milestones along our community's upgrade.

The SED's priority task is to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community states and to promote their more intensive and efficient cooperation, a task which is all the more pressing today considering that, on the one hand, socialism has reached a high level of maturity, and on the other, the reactionary imperialist circles are carrying on a general offensive against our society's objective advance.

The socialist society has long since demonstrated its political, moral, social and cultural superiority. Thanks to the Soviet Union's achievements and sacrifices, it has attained military-strategic equilibrium as the crucial basis for the preservation of peace. In terms of its structure, basic law, pace of growth, and social results, our system also has economic superiority over the exploitive capitalist society, which is driven by profit and rent with deep and insoluble contradictions. The whole people's property in the means of production and balanced economic development have enabled the new system to establish social justice. Its progress is oriented towards the ever fuller satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual requirements. Socialism has done away with such vices of capitalism as crises, unemployment, fear of the future, and social and economic oppression. However, in labour productivity and technological level in some important industries it still has to overcome the historically-rooted lag behind the technically most developed capitalist states.

Implementation of the decisions taken by the economic summit of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which was held in Moscow in June 1984, is of major long-term importance. Their purposeful realisation has already been started, as will be seen, in particular, from the results of CMEA's 39th session in Havana, the long-term cooperation programme in science, technology and production up until the year 2000, which the GDR and the USSR signed last October, and the preparation of similar agreements between the GDR and other community countries.

The fraternal parties of the socialist countries have set themselves a truly revolutionary task, which is to gain, step by step, through all-round intensification of the national economy, leading positions in labour productivity in the crucial sectors, which, Lenin predicted, would have a decisive role for the triumph of the new social system in the world.

Communists in non-socialist countries are faced with the extremely negative political, social and economic efforts of the scientific and technical revolution, and they are perfectly aware of the historical significance of the fact that the new society is

capable of combining scientific and technical achievements with the advantages of socialism for the people's benefit. Advance along this way helps more fully to disclose the potentialities of socialism and to enhance its attractive power, while continually assuring our countries of defence capability at the required level. This serves to preserve peace and determines the measure of assistance which we are able to extend to the peoples fighting to strengthen their independence.

We have been making a contribution to building up the vast material and spiritual potential of the fraternal countries' community by strengthening our socialist workers' and peasants' power in every way—and of this the GDR's 35th anniversary provides most convincing evidence—because the outcome of the great battle for mankind's future in peace and progress is determined above all by the new society's might and international influence. The SED believes that it is especially important to explain that historical truth in a convincing manner in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the German people's liberation by the valiant Soviet Army, a noteworthy anniversary that will be fittingly marked by our party, and the government and people of the GDR. For us, fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union is and will continue to be the foundation for strengthening socialism and peace. For our party, the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism provides the occasion for applying the lessons of the past in solving the most urgent problem of our day—preservation of peace.

Political and Military Balance

In a sober summing-up, one could say that there are now more missiles than before, more obstacles to arms limitation and disarmament, and more dangers in Europe—and elsewhere—but less security, and that not only for the socialist countries, but also for Western Europe and—also not least importantly—for the American continent. Such are the unfortunate results achieved by the advocates of the Brussels agreements. However, they have not succeeded in upsetting the military equilibrium.

It is becoming ever more obvious that the military counter-measures taken by the USSR, the GDR and Czechoslovakia to maintain the military parity in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty countries' general line on security matters has been necessary and correct. These measures are designed to neutralise the threat posed by the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and to block the warmongers' main way of preparations for war, namely, the attainment of military-strategic superiority. The military counter-measures testify that the Warsaw treaty countries are fully resolved and capable of preventing the equilibrium from being upset in favour of imperialism. In this way, the socialist countries' interests in security matters and the interests of peace generally are secured.

There is still a need for long, hard and tireless struggle in order to bring about a turn for the better in international affairs. The United States continues to take the line of confrontation and the unprecedentedly vast arms buildup programme and refuses to give up its striving for military superiority. The leaders of the United States and other NATO countries following in its wake, and of that military bloc itself have been making fresh dangerous efforts to upset the military-strategic equilibrium in their favour. They are prepared to do anything in order to step up and complete as soon as possible the deployment of the new US missiles in Western Europe. First of all, the Reagan Administration has made an extremely dangerous attempt to prepare for 'star wars' by militarising outer space. The peoples cannot accept the clumsy argument that the US space weapons programme will take several years to realise. It is highly important to put an end to this new threat to mankind in due time, before the space weapons machine has been switched into high gear.

Against a Devastating War on the Earth and in Space

Elimination of any threat to mankind whether by nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction continues to be the fundamental objective of the socialist states' international line, and they have put forward a broad and realistic foreign policy programme. We support the Soviet Union's new and important initiatives set forth in the interview given to NBC and the *Washington Post* by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For several reasons, the US government has been forced to respond to the Soviet proposal for starting negotiations, among them not only Washington's own interests, but also the military counter-measures of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the GDR, the response throughout the world to the proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and also the actions of the peace fighters, which have continued to mount even after the deployment of the new US missiles in Western Europe was started.

That is why from the very outset our party welcomed last January's meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States, whose purpose was to define the subject-matter and ways of conducting new negotiations on the whole range of nuclear and space weapons. The peoples expect the Reagan Administration to avail itself of the Soviet Union's readiness in order to get down to fruitful negotiations on disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security. Effective actions by peace fighters throughout the world could make a big contribution to the creation of a favourable climate for constructive talks.

It is important to mobilise world opinion in defence of peace now that the situation has been exacerbated, and there is a need to act together with everyone who, like us, regards the nuclear madness as posing the main danger to mankind. This also pertains to the relations between the socialist German Democratic Republic and the imperialist FRG, where, following the start of the deployment of the new US missiles, some incorrigible politicians, including high-ranking ones, have once again begun to trumpet revanchist slogans of the 'cold war' period. However, no one will be able to revise the results of the Second World War and postwar development.

General Secretary of the SED CC Erich Honecker unambiguously declared at the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the SED CC (November, 1984): "Two sovereign German states exist independently of each other as a result of the Second World War and postwar development. They are an integral element of the balance of forces in Europe and thereby are also organic to the European peace order. All the European nations can live in the presence of the two German states, whereas any attempt to overturn the existing equilibrium of forces is unacceptable."¹

World-Wide Coalition of Reason

The imperialist 'strength' policy and the arms race tend to deepen the crisis of capitalism and impede the solution of the global problems facing mankind. The abandonment of detente has gone hand in hand with a major offensive against the rights and social gains of the working class, the peasantry, and the broadest strata of the population in the non-socialist countries. The imperialist states have resorted to political and economic pressures to shift the burdens of the arms buildup and the effects of the crisis onto the majority of the developing countries, which undermines their national economies and worsens the hunger and poverty of hundreds of millions of people.

There is a growing understanding within the working class and among trade union members in the non-socialist world that the struggle against the crisis and cutbacks in social programmes can ultimately be carried on successfully only if it is tied in with the struggle against the arms buildup. On the international scale, this leads to a clearer awareness by the governments of the non-aligned states that peace and disarmament

are a necessary condition of success in the struggle to restructure international economic relations on democratic lines. This is exemplified by the joint initiatives of the heads of state and government of India, Argentina, Mexico, Tanzania, Greece and Sweden.

Preservation of peace in the present conditions is the prerequisite for any progress. That is not an invention of the Communists, but a reality deeply rooted in our day.

There is a need clearly to comprehend that the course of developments in the international arena is nowadays determined not only by the fight of the three main revolutionary streams against imperialism. There is evidence of a new and irreconcilable contradiction, namely, that between the most reactionary circles of imperialism headed by the United States and obsessed with the idea of nuclear war, on the one hand, and the overwhelming majority of mankind (including a sizable section of the monopoly bourgeoisie) whose vital interests are closely bound up with the need to avert a nuclear disaster, on the other. There is also the fact that US monopoly capital's line of confrontation is aimed not only to bring socialism down to its knees, but also to bend, discipline and rob its own allies, which are known to be its competitors and rivals.

All these contradictions create a real basis for forming a world-wide coalition of reason, a coalition of all the opponents of nuclear war. Such a coalition could encompass Communists, Social Democrats and pacifists, representatives of socialist countries, members of parliaments and governments, and representatives of the business world of the capitalist West. For all the differences of view and motivation by which they are all severally guided, there are many common or identical positions on the questions of preserving peace, ruling out war as a method of settling controversial international issues, and conducting a policy of peaceful coexistence as the only realistic alternative to armed conflicts. That is borne out, for instance, by Erich Honecker's meetings and talks with the prime ministers of Canada, Sweden, Greece and Italy, the President of the Republic of Finland, the Chancellor of Austria, and many other politicians from non-socialist countries.

We are aware, of course, that politicians in the capitalist countries defend the interests of their ruling forces, but we have before us the case in which it is necessary to maintain relations of peaceful coexistence on the basis of equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, immunity of borders and territorial integrity, non-interference and mutual advantage.

All these factors offer broad opportunities for markedly increasing the international weight of the peace movement which, together with the chief peace force—the socialist community countries—is capable of checking the warmongers.

The supreme precept for us, Communists, is defence of man's right to life in peace as the prime and crucial human right. Our duty is not only to expose the causes of the present war danger and to show the way to preserve peace, but also to mobilise the masses for the attainment of this goal. That is precisely the objective of our party's policy. In accordance with the decisions of its 10th Congress (1981), the SED has been working for broad cooperation by all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, which is so vital for solving general international problems. We support all proposals and practical initiatives which go to extend joint actions by communist and workers' parties, so that our movement should more fully meet the demands of the times. We support the holding of bilateral and multilateral, regional and international meetings on pressing problems in the joint struggle. The international conferences held in honour of Georgi Dimitrov and Karl Marx have shown very well that such measures are necessary and useful.

Situated, as it is, along the line of class confrontation between socialism and imperialism in Europe, the German Democratic Republic is doing its utmost to

thwart the aggressive line of the United States and the other NATO countries, and to pave a solid way to peaceful coexistence and international detente. This meets the interests of all the peoples and serves the cause of peace and socialism.

¹ 9. Tagung des ZK der SED. Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an das ZK des SED, Berlin, 1984, p. 24.

For a Coalition of Reason and Realism

WE, Communists, are expected not only to issue calls for peace. We are rather expected to shed light on the causes of the increased war threat and the ways leading to secure peace and a turn towards a better state of affairs in the world. The well-justified alarm for peace tends to be transformed into a compelling force if it develops into a determination to do something personally in order to ward off the danger and strengthen peace. That is precisely the orientation of our policy.

There is no doubt that in the exacerbated situation there is a need to mobilise international opinion in defence of peace and to act together with all those who regard the nuclear madness as posing the main danger to mankind. We now need a coalition of reason and realism against the mad nuclear-arms-race policy, which threatens the whole of mankind.

The SED wants peaceful coexistence to become the fundamental principle of relations between states with different social systems. It supports all the forces taking a realistic approach to the vital issues of international politics, approving of equitable cooperation, and resolutely opposing all the forces which are hostile to peace.

Accordingly, we have always acted in close accord with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. We have never lost sight of this primary and profoundly humanistic objective and have never sacrificed it to short-term political considerations. Consistency and purposefulness have always been the hallmark of our peace policy. It has always been reliable and could always be trusted. Such it will also be in the future as well. We all know that this perseverance in seeking to attain the common peace goals of the socialist states not only has the understanding and approval of citizens of our Republic, but crucially helps to strengthen the relations of trust between the party and the people of our country.

*Extract from the documents of the
Ninth Plenary Meeting of the SED CC*

Our Platform: A Democratic Alternative

Alvaro Cunhal – General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party

THE present situation in Portugal mirrors the evolution of complex and deep-going processes which have affected the country over the past ten years. Let us recall that the April 1974 Revolution put an end to the fascist dictatorship and led to the establishment of a democratic regime, but it did not confine itself to a mere proclamation of democratic liberties and introduction of a political system under which the government is formed on the basis of universal suffrage. It liquidated state-monopoly capitalism, and also the large landed estates in the course of an agrarian reform, so that the powerful popular movement led not only to political but also to profound socio-economic structural transformations. That made it possible to pave the way to socialism for Portuguese democracy which sprang from the revolution. Life subsequently showed that in Portugal's conditions, the preservation of political democracy, rights and freedoms is inseparable from the defence of such major gains as the elimination of monopoly capital and the large landed estates, the nationalisation of the banks and the basic sectors of the economy, and the agrarian reform.

Counter-Revolutionary Offensive

Following the defeat of the revolutionary army units and the dissolution of the Armed Forces Movement at the end of 1975, a process got under way in the course of which the reactionary circles strove to nullify the people's great socio-economic gains. The main objective of the successive governments was to restore the monopolies and re-establish the political and economic domination of the big monopoly bourgeoisie and the landowners, who had exploited and tyrannised our people throughout the forty-eight years of the fascist dictatorship.

We judge of the nature of a government not by the denomination of its constituent parties, but by the substance of the policy they pursue. So, we now have a government in Portugal consisting of two parties: the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party. On the strength of their labels alone, one could be tempted to regard it as a left-wing or, at any rate, a centrist government. In actual fact, it is not just a right-wing government, but one which we, Portuguese Communists, regard as counter-revolutionary. That is a harsh assessment, but our party has good reasons to say that, as an analysis of the Portuguese realities clearly shows.

The present situation in the country cannot be understood if one ignores the way in which monopoly capital was liquidated in Portugal. Nationalised enterprises will be found in various capitalist countries, but these may be nationalised either as a result of the struggle by the working class and the popular masses, or by choice on the part of a bourgeoisie wishing to unburden itself of unprofitable industries which it puts in the charge of the state. In Portugal, the nationalisation was carried out by the working class and the other revolutionary forces. They threw out the capitalists and the bankers, and took over the banks, the big companies, the key sectors of the economy, and the giant latifundia, on which they set up collective farms and cooperatives. The laws on the agrarian reform and the nationalisation were enacted later.

In the past several years, these transformations have become the issue in a sharp struggle. The string of governments since 1976 have regarded their reversal and restoration of the monopolies and the latifundia as their principal goal. But this policy met with resistance from the Portuguese working people, and the fruits of

nationalisation and agrarian reform have in the main been preserved thanks to the mass struggle and despite the heavy blows inflicted on the gains of the April Revolution.

It is true that the collective farms and cooperatives have been deprived of more than one-half of the expropriated lands, i.e., 650,000 of the 1,140,000 hectares. They have been deprived of 250,000 head of cattle (including more than 50,000 cows), 1,750 tractors, and a sizable part of the crops they garnered. However, there remain 350 collective farms with roughly 500,000 hectares of land, which means that, despite the terrible difficulties being created by the counter-revolutionary offensive, the working people have continued their farming, planting new crops, and looking to new agricultural techniques.

The reactionaries are doing their utmost to destroy the nationalised sector. They strive to create all kinds of obstacles for the public enterprises through prices and credit policies and other forms of intervention. These enterprises are being stripped of their most profitable fields of activity, which are transferred to private capital. They are obliged to use foreign, dollar-denominated credits, interest on which keep soaring due to the devaluation of the escudo. The managers appointed to run these enterprises are intent on ruining them. The nationalised enterprises are being driven to the wall, the aim being to declare them to be 'inefficient' because of the very fact of nationalisation, and so to justify the calls for a return of the banks, factories and plants to those who allegedly 'know how to run them', i.e., the big capitalists representing the former monopolies linked with imperialism.

However, it has proved to be far from easy to put through such schemes. Despite all these machinations, which have been stepped up under the present Soares Government, not a single bank has yet been reprivatised; the capitalists have failed to repossess any of the principal sectors of our economy: the insurance companies, metallurgy, shipbuilding, air, marine and road transport, the railways, petro-chemistry, mineral fertilisers, cement, chemicals, and the glass, tobacco and beer-brewing industries. Within the framework of the regime of political democracy, our people enjoy important rights and are able to organise, to demonstrate their will and their opinion, to resort to strikes and to face up to the counter-revolution. In these conditions, the reactionaries do not have the strength to re-establish the domination of the monopolies.

That is why the incumbent government hopes to break down the resistance of the popular masses by curbing democratic rights, multiplying the repressive measures and trying to set up a new police state. It has mounted an offensive designed to cut at the very roots of political democracy, civil liberties, the powers of the local authorities, and the electoral system. What is more, the government is preparing a 'constitutional law on the ministry of defence' as a means of establishing control over the armed forces and changing the balance of forces in its own favour so as to be able to use the army against the people.

Threats to National Independence and the Struggle for Peace

Defence of the gains of the revolution is inseparable from defence of the democratic regime, and also of our national independence, because in its fight against the people the government lacks support at home and is looking to external forces, namely, aid from US imperialism. It pays for such aid with economic, financial, diplomatic, political and military concessions, and this tightens the heavy fetters of dependence. There is no deployment of new US missiles on the territory of Portugal, but the Soares Government's cooperation with Washington in the military sphere is becoming ever more intimate, a policy which poses a threat to our independence, our sovereignty and our security.

The country's entry into the Common Market could prove to be a real disaster, a

conclusion the Communist Party reached after a most painstaking analysis of the possible consequences of such a step for every sector of the economy and, in fact, for every enterprise. In view of our relative economic lag behind the other EEC members, once the tariff barriers are abolished, Portugal will be virtually incapable of standing their competition even on its domestic market. Those are some of the economic reasons for which our party has come out against integration with the Common Market. We have also said that, like its predecessors, the present government seeks integration for counter-revolutionary political purposes: restoration of the monopoly groups and liquidation of the agrarian reform under the pretext of the need to tie in Portugal's economic structures with those of the EEC members, which, as everyone knows, are countries of state-monopoly capitalism.

It is no part of our intentions to judge what is good or not for the Common Market countries, but in what concerns Portugal, we have every right to declare that its entry into that community would have the most negative consequences for our people and for the gains of the revolution.

Portugal's external debt is another aspect of its dependence. It has been growing from day to day, as the country becomes ever more dependent on the international financial centres. Its external debt is now close to \$16 billion, which is a figure out of all proportion to an economy as weak as ours is. Portugal is forced to pay interest coming to roughly \$2 billion a year. Suffice it to say that it will take more than the earnings from the export of cereals and wines over a period of three years to pay one year's interest. This debt stifles the national economy and undermines its future.

Our experience shows that, when extending its credits, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) initially offers some possibilities, only to attach more and more strings and so keep the national economy in its grip. At first, the IMF required Portugal to slow down the rate of its GNP growth to 1.2 per cent a year, but now we are being impelled to stagnation and even to recession on the pretext that otherwise it is impossible to avoid inflation. The IMF fixes prohibitive interest rates—up to 30 per cent. Such expensive credit hits the small and middle enterprises and mainly encourages big capital. The IMF interferes in our internal affairs and demands a reduction in manning levels at enterprises in financial straits, cutbacks in social spending, depression of wages, and so on.

The Soares Government has been quick to accept such peremptory demands, which coincide with its own line of winding up the revolutionary gains even at the price of a breakdown of the national economy and submission to imperialism.

Among the tasks constituting a democratic alternative policy should, therefore, be the pursuit of a new economic line to strengthen the socio-economic structures set up by the revolution, and renegotiation of the external debt.

In Portugal, defence of the democratic regime and national independence is closely bound up with the struggle for peace. The Communist Party has been carrying it on along two lines.

First, we seek to invigorate mass action for disarmament and detente, notably, against the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in Europe, and against concessions to the United States in the military field, such as the establishment of bases for rapid deployment forces, and against the entry of US nuclear submarines into the port of Lisbon. There is a powerful peace movement in Portugal staging demonstrations and rallies with participants from the most diverse social trends.

Second, in our concrete conditions, defence of peace is closely bound up with the struggle for the resignation of the Soares Government. The prime minister's foreign policy line, including relations with other countries and action on the world's 'hot spots'—in Central America, the Middle East and South Africa—is a line meeting the interests of the US Administration and the strategy of US imperialism.

That is why the struggle for peace in Portugal is inseparable from defence of the

democratic regime and national independence, the struggle for the resignation of the incumbent government and for a democratic alternative.

For a Democratic Alternative

Anxious to justify its counter-revolutionary policy, the Soares Government claims that this policy is the only way out of the economic crisis, but the past several years have shown that the offensive against the nationalised sectors of the economy designed to return them to capital have plunged them into disorganisation and recession. The lands taken away from the working people in the agrarian-reform zone and handed back to the landowners now lie abandoned.

The attempts to restore the system of exploitation which existed under the fascist dictatorship have led to a deepening of the socio-economic crisis and a worsening of the working people's condition. There are now more than a half-million unemployed, or 15 per cent of all those who work for a wage; 150,000 workers have not been receiving any wages; inflation has reached 30 per cent, and according to official data, real wages have declined by 10 per cent over the past year.

The line of undermining the revolutionary gains in Portugal leads to bankruptcy and catastrophe. That is why we demand, as a matter of priority, the earliest resignation of the government and implementation of a democratic alternative policy.

Conscious of the extreme complexity of the situation, the Portuguese CP has emphasised the need not only for vigorous and consistent action in defence of the gains of the revolution, but also for a counter-offensive. The conditions existing in the country make it possible to bring about positive changes.

In Portugal's specific conditions, the government needs more than a parliamentary majority to stay in power: since April 25, 1974, a string of 'majority governments' have been toppled by the people's struggle. The people's strength and the sweep of the mass movement can shatter the structures on which power rests, i.e., its social, political and electoral basis. The government's support has been dwindling from day to day, while support for the democratic alternative struggle has been broadening.

The discontent of that part of the electorate which voted for the ruling parties with their activity creates favourable conditions for the formation of new political entities. Initiatives are now being put forward for organising a party linked with the President, who, it will be recalled, has the prerogative of dismissing the government and dissolving the Assembly of the Republic. The formation of such a party is important, and even crucial, for realising a democratic alternative. It could tip the balance of political forces in Portugal and pave the way for new social and political alliances for democratic change.

The Communist Party lays no claim to solving the country's problems on its own. The democratic alternative policy should rely in social terms on all the anti-monopoly classes and strata, and in political terms—on the Communists and the Socialists who are disappointed with Soares's policy, progressive Catholic trends, non-party people and independents, and also on the military men who are true to the April 25 ideals and support General Eanes, the incumbent President of the Republic, who enjoys great authority among every strata of the society.

A major task facing the Portuguese democrats and patriots is to join all the efforts to attain the primary goal: the government's resignation and implementation of a democratic alternative, including the formation of an electoral majority of all the social and political forces coming out for such an alternative.

But this prospect is a realistic one only with a mass struggle for democratic solutions gaining momentum and a strengthening of the Communist Party and the working class movement.

The Communists and the Mass Struggle

The depth of the revolutionary transformations that have been carried out and the possibility of their defence were predetermined precisely by the activity of the working people in the course of the entire revolutionary process. Our party believes that the strength of the popular masses led by the working class is the most important and fundamental factor in the development of the present situation in Portugal.

The sweep of the working class movement is of primary importance. There is only one genuine trade union centre in the country, and it is the CGTP-Intersindical National. One group of revisionists and provocateurs, directly supported and generously financed by the employers, the government, the right-wing parties and imperialism, has failed to become a real trade union centre, although some claim that it is. Out of the two million unionised workers, 1.6 million are members of the intersindical. This working class organisation does not confine itself to formulating the short-term demands, but equally sets itself the objective of defending nationalisation, the agrarian reform and other revolutionary gains. It demands the government's resignation.

The broad mass movement is also represented by associations of peasants, small and middle merchants, intellectuals, women, youth, and those who are the most deprived, among them old-age pensioners and disabled persons. They do not support the government.

The political orientation of the Portuguese rural population differs greatly in various parts of the country. A predominantly agricultural proletariat, with long-standing revolutionary traditions was concentrated in the South, the area of the latifundia, where there was no peasantry in the traditional sense of the term with its characteristic small-holder mentality. The agrarian reform in the South had a proletarian and not a peasant character: the latifundia were replaced by collected farms, which are organisations differing from cooperatives. The Communist Party's influence in the area is very strong. We have a majority on all the municipal councils, with one exception. The majority of the population, including a section of the middle classes, both in town and country, follows the Communists.

The situation is very different in the North, which is a typical area of small peasant farms, with a deep-rooted influence of the Church and reactionary circles, and the right-wing parties enjoying considerable electoral support. But it is characteristic that the electoral geography does not quite coincide with the pattern of forces involved in the socio-political struggle. Many peasants who usually vote for the right-wing parties have now joined us in fighting against the government's policy. We seek to involve them in mass action and have met with a wide response. But it is much more difficult to translate this influence into electoral returns, the elections being controlled by the state machine and the local rich who have ample means of putting pressure on the peasants. It is one thing to take part in the day-to-day struggles in defence of one's interests, and quite another to cast one's ballot at the polls.

However, the peasants' social struggle is becoming ever more active. The National Farmers' Confederation, the most representative trade-union-type association of the peasants, was set up with the support of over 400 peasant bodies.

Women's unitary associations have a great part to play. There is first of all the Democratic Women's Movement, an influential organisation fighting for the social emancipation of women and the defence of their basic interests. There is also a women's movement within the trade unions. In addition, there are so-called unitary women's commissions. Forty-five thousand women are members of our party.

The militant youth movement is making an important contribution to the Portuguese struggle for peace and social progress. The young communist organisation has 30,000 members. It comes forward with its own initiatives, acts vigorously in mass, students', athletic and cultural associations and in the field of

recreation. Youth organisations have to face complicated problems posed by the ideological influence of imperialism, which is being powerfully pushed through the cinema, television and music. Many young people are afflicted with alcoholism and drug addiction, which have assumed alarming proportions in some regions. Over 200,000 young men and women have never had a job since leaving school. They frequently find themselves in a deadend, and the reactionary circles make demagogic use of this in their efforts to exert their ideological and political influence on them.

Our party, a seasoned contingent of Portugal's working class movement, has continued to gain in strength. A characteristic feature of the situation in the country is that the counter-revolutionary period has not weakened us. Just after April 25, 1974, the Portuguese CP had 15,000 members; at its latest congress in December 1983, it had more than 200,000 members, and the party ranks have continued to grow. These are not just card-carrying people, but activists and fighters joining vigorously in the political struggle. The party has a strong influence in the working class, among the peasants, intellectuals and young people. It has solid positions in the mass organisations. It is no secret that the overwhelming majority of trade union leaders of every level—from the grassroots organisations to the centre—are members of the Communist Party.

There is a similar situation in many other social organisation. In the last parliamentary elections, the party won a total of 20 per cent of the votes across the country. Communists are in a majority on the municipal councils of 50 cities. Almost one-third of the country's territory is run by local organs of power with a Communist majority. Our party exerts a considerable influence on every sphere of economic, social and cultural life in our society. Its contribution to the struggle for a democratic alternative is not just necessary but is indispensable.

Short-Term Perspectives

The extreme complexity and instability of the present situation indicate that in the short term either positive or negative changes are bound to take place in Portugal.

If the present government continues in power, there remains the real danger that the democratic gains in the April Revolution—nationalisation, the agrarian reform, the working people's rights, the democratic regime and independence—could be liquidated. There is also the risk of a new dictatorship being set up in one form or another.

If the popular struggle forces the Soares Government to resign and inflicts a defeat on the coalition of the Socialist and Social Democratic parties, the way will be opened for a democratic alternative, advance along the way of April, and the solution of the gravest national problems.

Some democrats assume that such an alternative depends on the outcome of the presidential elections which are due to be held in December 1985.

In our view, the people cannot afford to wait that long: it would be too dangerous. The struggle is being continued for the earliest resignation of the incumbent government.

What then? A democratic national salvation government could well be formed. A government could be set up to tackle the most urgent problems. The Assembly of the Republic could be dissolved and elections held before the due date.

The democratic regime in Portugal has a potential that is ample enough for pulling out of such a crisis. We are confident that the way out will be found in the struggle.

Commentary Truth and Lies About Human Rights

Ali Ileri – CC member, Communist Party
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Editorial Council

YET another trial was held in Ankara late last year: even against the grim background of the extremely reactionary legal proceedings in today's Turkey, this trial stood out as nothing but a blatant case of arbitrary rule. This time reprisals were aimed at 56 outstanding civic figures whose only 'guilt' was that they were among the 1,236 prominent Turkish intellectuals who addressed a petition to the country's leaders. The authors (their number increased subsequently to 1,383) expressed their concern over the violations of elementary democratic rights and freedoms in Turkey, called on the authorities to declare an amnesty for political prisoners, stop the practice of torture during interrogation and end the brutal treatment of detainees. They suggested that martial law be lifted and that citizens be granted the right to engage freely in politics. As a result, they themselves were put in the dock.

The trial of the Turkish intellectuals who came out in defence of fundamental human rights and freedoms is additional proof bearing out our party's warning against the illusion that the advent of the Ozal civilian government would serve to moderate the repressive regime. As before, our country is in the grip of the most reactionary and aggressive interests of foreign and indigenous monopoly capital ruling the country by open terror. The creation of a civilian government enjoying the support of international imperialist quarters, above all those in the United States, and operating side by side with General Evren's military junta which has been ruling the country since the military coup of 1980 was merely an attempt at the consolidation of the existing regime in pseudoparliamentary guise.

Martial law is still in force in most provinces and in all major Turkish cities. Progressive parties and organisations have been banned; cunningly devious legislation has made strikes and other trade union activities impossible; rigid censorship has been imposed. Scores of thousands of members of left-wing parties, trade unions and other democratic organisations have been imprisoned. A veritable assembly line has been set up to turn out unjust and brutal sentences. An Istanbul military court has sentenced a group of activists from the Peace Society, including its chairman Mahmut Dikerdem, to various prison terms on an absurd charge of 'subversive activity against the state'. Courageous protests by all of the country's democratic forces, as well as broad international solidarity, have succeeded in bringing about the release of some of the peace champions, including Mahmut Dikerdem, from prison where they were serving lengthy sentences on trumped-up charges. Meanwhile, a new wave of arrests, torture and executions has risen. The number of those tortured to death now exceeds 150. Even an official spokesman of the general staff has admitted that '53 detainees have died from torture'.

Reprisals have been unleashed against the Kurdish people too. For decades they have been victims of social and national oppression. The present regime has switched to open terrorism against them. In the course of its military operations along the Iraqi border and even on Iraqi soil, Kurdish peasants were subjected to torture and forced deportation. Turkish troops continue their illegal occupation of a large part of Cyprus, which frustrates the wishes of the population to restore its unity.

Political reaction is accompanied by an onslaught on the living standards of working people. Unemployment affects 3.7 million people—20 per cent of the able-bodied population. Inflation is as high as 50 per cent. Millions of Turks have

been forced to seek employment in other capitalist countries where, as migrant workers, they have no rights at all.

The bourgeois mass media which look for and invent any pretext to hurl accusations at the socialist countries prefer not to draw public attention to the gross violations of democratic rights and freedoms in Turkey. Instead, they painstakingly advertise the pseudodemocratic manoeuvring of the current regime; this is in accordance with the official position of most NATO countries which support this regime despite its repressive policies. It was they who prevented Turkey's expulsion from the European Council. And it is Washington which is the first to encourage the present Turkish regime.

Having raised the banner of an anti-communist 'crusade', the Reagan Administration has virtually approved the persecution of patriots in Turkey. This was demonstrated by the visit of E. Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, to Ankara last summer. The Washington bureaucrat delivered a lecture in the Turkish capital and articulated the official political credo of the US government proclaiming that the struggle against communism should have priority over observance of human rights. Our prime duty in matters of human rights, Abrams held forth, is to resist the communist offensive. A human rights policy which is not anti-communist cannot be serious, he claimed. Without batting an eyelid, he called on the Turkish authorities to ignore criticism by the democratic public and, at times, even by official spokesmen of European capitalist countries. The latter, he said, never look at the map and ignore the geographical position of Turkey which protects NATO's southern flank.

This cynical statement is sufficiently clear. The Turkish reactionaries' sponsors on the other side of the Atlantic are not at all concerned with upholding human rights. The 'communist offensive' is what they are worried about. Translated from Washington's political Newspeak into plain language, this means that Washington is alarmed by the fact that more and more Turkish citizens, deprived of elementary political rights and freedoms, of jobs, of a future, are increasingly attracted to the new life people live in the neighbouring Soviet socialist republics of Georgia and Armenia and in People's Bulgaria. They see that there, as in all of the socialist community, there is no unemployment, no one is homeless, no people are dying from lack of medical care. There, parents do not have to go hungry so as to provide their children with at least a minimum of education—the schools are open to everyone. Peace champions are not thrown into jail, authors of letters to the government are not taken to court. In the socialist world, social justice and confidence in the future have been ensured, and the working man is truly the master of his life.

Most of my countrymen have never had an opportunity to read Lenin who, at the very dawn of Soviet government, stressed that it ensured for working people 'greater practical opportunities for enjoying democratic rights and liberties than ever existed before, even approximately, in the best and the most democratic bourgeois republics'.¹ The example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries shows working people all over the world that personal freedoms and the observance of the rights of both individuals and nations depend first and foremost on the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation.

The movement for national liberation and social emancipation, for socialist transformations in the life of society is precisely what Washington officialdom labels as the 'communist offensive'. This is the 'offensive' it attempted to stop by bombing Vietnam, engineering a fascist coup in Chile and staging a bandit invasion of Grenada; this is what it is vainly trying to strangle using Somoza's thugs in Nicaragua, counter-revolutionary butchers in Afghanistan and army 'gorillas' in El Salvador and Guatemala. The statement of Jean Kirkpatrick, the US representative at the United Nations, that the Reagan Administration and General Pinochet's dictatorship work

'on the same wavelength' against 'Marxist expansionism', is no accident. This is the reason why, instead of condemning the Israeli aggressors who launch brutal reprisals against Palestinians and Lebanese, or the South African racists who maintain their colonial grip on the indigenous population by violence and the infamous system of apartheid, the United States supplies them with weapons and money, becoming an accessory to their criminal policies. Propping up dictatorships all over the world, US imperialism acts as an enemy of human freedoms and national independence. Washington has elevated terrorism against freedom-loving peoples and countries to the status of national policy.

International public opinion resolutely condemns the crimes of imperialist reaction, including human rights violations in the capitalist world. Bourgeois politicians would like to equate this justified protest with the hypocritical 'concern' of capitalist governments over alleged human rights violations in the socialist countries—in fact, a form of interference in their internal affairs.

The theory and practice of international relations follow the fundamental precept that human rights are first and foremost a matter of domestic national jurisdiction and that they are ensured by domestic measures. This principle was reflected in the Final Act which was adopted at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and which states that the signatories shall 'respect each other's right to freely choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems, as well as their right to lay down their own laws and administrative rules'. The UN Declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in internal affairs adopted in 1981 says it in so many words that nations must 'refrain from the exploitation and the distortion of human rights issues as a means of interference in the internal affairs of states'.²

Imperialist politicians—and among them Washington calls the tune—try to gloss over or distort these provisions since the United States' and its allies' approach to human rights issues is sharply at variance with the instruments quoted and with the generally accepted norms of international relations. Paying lip service to human rights, Washington works to undermine peaceful coexistence, weaken socialism and all progressive forces and foist upon the world its own view of rights and freedoms.

In the course of yet another farcical 'captive nations week' staged last summer, the man in the White House declared bombastically that the United States 'must and will condemn all tyrants who deny their citizens human rights, whether they be dictators of the left or the right'.³ In the twisted logic of imperialism, these captive nations are not Chile, Paraguay or Turkey, languishing under fascist and all sorts of military dictatorships but, absurdly, the peoples of Eastern Europe which have established a socialist system in their countries. Hardly anyone would take it upon himself to say if bourgeois politicians of Reagan's type really believe in what they say. However, it might be useful to consider what meaning they read into the concepts of 'freedom', 'democracy' and 'human rights'.

The Communists' class position on human rights differs fundamentally from the class position on this issue held by the reactionary monopoly capital quarters. As a form of domination of an exploiter minority over a majority of working people, bourgeois democracy above all guarantees the foremost right of the bourgeoisie—the right of private property, of returns from capital, the freedom of exploitation of man by man. Socialist democracy, as a form of government by the people, has its own ideals and values which, in their substance, are not identical with, or differ radically from, the ideals of a bourgeois society. Besides, the difference is not that of quantity—the same rights and freedoms, only 'greater'—but that of quality. Formalised in the constitutions of the socialist countries (sometimes even expressed in a language close to that accepted in bourgeois constitutions), these rights and freedoms have a completely different class content. Socialism both expands

democracy and makes it more far-reaching so that it would first and foremost cover the decisive sphere of the social fabric, that of the relations of production. Socialism guarantees democracy that really works. Having abolished private property in the means of production, socialism makes working people equal and free from exploitation.

The socialist countries do not claim that they have done everything in establishing democratic norms and ways. Under socialism, too, certain limitations apply to citizens in order to benefit the entire society. But it is a fact that socialist democracy, including the interrelationship of personal and social rights and duties, is constantly developing and improving in the interests of the working masses. Therefore, instead of 'approaching' bourgeois democracy, the better socialist democracy ensures the freedoms and rights of working people, the farther it moves away from the practices of an exploiter society. Subversion, war propaganda, dissemination of anti-socialist and pornographic literature and the like are not human rights. It is the right of the socialist countries to protect themselves and their citizens from imperialist forays, from ideological subversion, from attempts to introduce into their social fabric bourgeois moral values which are alien to the new society.

Resistance to this on the part of the socialist state which safeguards the fundamental interests of working people is what bourgeois propaganda attempts to present as human rights violations. Moreover, given the different class content of these rights and freedoms under capitalism and under socialism, bourgeois reactionary politicians regard as a 'violation' the absence in a socialist society of the right of private property in the means of production, of the freedom to 'make money', to buy political influence and the like. This explains why, in such context, the US imperialist intervention in Grenada is hailed as a 'rescue mission'. Preservation of these capitalist 'freedoms' is also the reason why the ruling quarters of imperialist countries overlook, to different degrees, the blatant violations of human rights in Turkey. However, it is an important development when this or that capitalist country dissociates itself, albeit cautiously, from the brutalities committed by the dictatorship. This is the result of unswerving action by the progressive forces, a success of international solidarity with the Turkish people, with their struggle against the inhuman dictatorship.

While aware of the limitations of bourgeois democracy due to its class content, the Communists do not belittle its significance for working people in capitalist countries. In many, the existing democratic institutions are the result of protracted and stubborn class struggle. Also contributing to their rise were international factors, such as the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism, the emergence of the world socialist system and the collapse of colonial rule. All this has helped working people to overcome the resistance of the ruling class and secure incorporation in the national legislation of a number of both political and socio-economic rights and freedoms. But even at their highest, they change nothing in the nature of capitalist government. Therefore, infusion of tangible meaning into the rights formally proclaimed by the bourgeoisie and use of democratic institutions in the interests of the masses depend on unflagging efforts of a broad democratic movement led by the working class.

We are witnessing the already curtailed rights of working people being restricted even more in traditional bourgeois democracies behind the smokescreen of talk about 'human rights'. This is borne out by numerous cases: the unconstitutional 'occupational bans' affecting thousands of progressive West Germans, the police reprisals against the striking British miners and against women from the peace camp near the Greenham Common military base, the persecution of anti-missile demonstrators in the FRG and Italy, the suppression of the social protest movement in

Northern Ireland, the arrests of homeless squatters in the Netherlands and so on and so forth.

US imperialism, the leader of the capitalist world, also leads in violations of human rights and freedoms. Political advertising experts have bent over backward to build up the image of a 'great Western democracy' for the United States. But no amount of makeup can disguise the rampant racism, violence and arbitrary action against working people to preserve the sway of capital.

The case of Leonard Peltier, a civil liberties activist, has again attracted world-wide attention to the plight of Americans persecuted for political reasons. For eight years now he has been imprisoned on a trumped-up murder charge. He never committed this crime; in actual fact, he was put behind bars because, as a leader of the American Indian Movement, he was active in the struggle against Washington's policy of genocide aimed at native Americans.

It is also common knowledge that today, persecution threatens many US citizens because computer technology has helped to develop a virtually total system of political surveillance and identification of disaffected citizens or those whom the authorities regard as undesirable. The unconstitutional meddling of the FBI, the CIA and other agencies in the private and public lives of citizens has assumed giant proportions. For example, the FBI has compiled files on 34 million people. Coupled with the additional 78 million fingerprint files and all sorts of 'data banks', this means that the repressive apparatus has virtually the entire adult population of the United States under control. The US press reports that the authorities have begun to set up concentration camps for 'security risks', each with a capacity for 25,000 detainees.

As in other capitalist countries, mass unemployment has robbed millions of people in the United States of their right to work. The moves to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the masses are accompanied by an offensive against labour union rights and by the suppression of strikes.

In December 1984 progressive humanity again marked the International Human Rights Day designated by the UN General Assembly to commemorate the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This basic instrument of international law which codified an integral complex of fundamental norms and provisions laid the groundwork for the elaboration of two international covenants: on economic, social and cultural rights, and on civil and political rights (1966). The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were instrumental in the drawing up of both covenants and ratified them before many capitalist powers did. We all know that they submit to the United Nations annual reports on their compliance with international agreements concerning human rights. These reports are discussed openly and anyone is free to read them. Meanwhile, the United States refuses, to this day, to ratify the covenants, just as it has not ratified most of the other similar accords—about 20 have been signed—aimed at protecting human rights.

Today, a matter of the utmost concern is the growing threat to the cornerstone of basic rights—the right to life, without which all other rights are meaningless. That is why the problem of personal freedoms in all its aspects is inseparable from the need to preserve peace and to guide the historical process back to the track of detente and peaceful coexistence. Disseminated by bourgeois propaganda, the 'Soviet military threat' slander and the lies about human rights violations under socialism complement each other and are aimed at justifying the pernicious US and NATO policy of war preparations.

We Communists are convinced that joint efforts by nations dedicated to peace can curb the militarists, safeguard peace and preserve life on Earth. This conviction permeates the decisions taken by congresses and leading bodies of the fraternal parties and shapes their practical activities. In a special message on the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of Turkey called on all citizens to vigorously join the action to defend peace: 'If we do not want to perish in a nuclear war, we must mobilise all our forces so as to uphold our right to life. . . . Peace can be preserved only by fighting for it.'

The most dedicated and consistent champions of the interests of working people, the Communists are also the most resolute defenders of personal rights and freedoms. This position is rooted in the historic task they have set for themselves—to free man from all forms of oppression and exploitation. This is why the Communists of the capitalist world demand that the political, economic and social gains of working people be upheld and expanded and rebuff any encroachments made on them by the monopolies and the bourgeois state.

This largely determines the strategy of the fraternal parties. For example, the July 1984 conference of the South American communist parties held in Buenos Aires defined the struggle for human rights, for genuine freedoms and for democratisation of political life as a major task. At its Fifth Congress, our party called on the people to organise nationwide resistance to US imperialism and the Turkish dictatorship, its puppet. 'Only resistance,' the CPT congress underlined, 'will enable us to regain the democratic and economic rights we have been robbed of.'

Turkey's Communists have to work underground, struggling against great odds. People have been deprived of political freedoms which exist in many capitalist countries—the freedom of conscience, of expression, of the press, inviolability of the individual. We hold that success in the struggle for these freedoms hinges on the unity of all democratic and patriotic forces. Today, conditions are ripe for the emergence of a broad opposition advocating peace and democracy; it is clear that the people are ready to support it. Striving for unity of the broadest possible strata of the population, the Second Plenary Session of the CPT Central Committee has decided to step up all efforts to strengthen and expand joint action by the Left while conducting, on a national democratic basis, a dialogue with all quarters opposing the dictatorship.

Undoubtedly, the leading role in the restoration of democracy in Turkey belongs to the working class, the driving force behind working people's resistance to the dictatorship. Addressing workers, the Fifth Congress of the CPT stated: 'You have the final say in the struggle to free our people. Your weapon is the experience you have gained over the years of action against oppression.' One of the priority tasks facing Turkey's Communists is to invigorate the workers' action for peace, for their vital rights and interests and to merge this action with the efforts undertaken by other sectors of working people because if we take, for example, the demands laid down in the statement of Turkish intellectuals, they cannot be met without working class involvement.

We believe that the significance of this conclusion transcends our country's boundaries. The example of Turkey, where the present regime has done away even with the limited bourgeois-democratic rights, underlines the need to fight against authoritarian trends in government, against neofascism and racism, against persecution of progressives, for preserving and expanding the democratic rights which have been won, for actually exercising them in the interests of working people. True, opportunities for such action differ in different capitalist countries. The record shows that success depends on rallying the broadest possible democratic strata of the people around the Communists and the working class.

Anti-communism is accompanied by slander of the socialist countries. It is perfectly clear that pretending to 'uphold' human rights, bourgeois propaganda tries to discredit existing socialism and divert public attention from the situation in the capitalist world. The class bias behind such subversive campaigns becomes particularly obvious in the context of the 'crusade' against the socialist countries launched by US imperialism. That is why we believe that Communists everywhere must rebuff imperialist insinuations alleging human rights violations under socialism.

In Turkey, US imperialism and the oligarchy collaborating with it do their utmost to foment anti-communist prejudice among the opposition so as to keep it from attaining unity. Concessions to these insinuations only serve to preserve and shore up the current terrorist regime. By rebuffing reaction's anti-communist campaigns we aim, on the one hand, to expose before working people the pseudodemocratic nature of the authorities' moves and, on the other, to explain the Communist Party alternative to the masses, thereby winning them over to our side. We do it in the course of specific actions taken by working people to uphold their political rights and economic interests. The party believes that a critical situation is developing in Turkey: while the strength of the forces of peace and democracy is growing, so is the danger that the regime may unleash a new wave of terror. The Third Plenary Session of the CPT Central Committee has stressed that more vigorous action by the popular masses and resolute moves against the Ozal government taken in concert with it by all those who oppose the dictatorship can deal a painful blow to the current regime.

The Communists are invariably in the front ranks of human rights champions. They are the first victims of reactionary attacks and repression in capitalist countries. At times they suffer great losses, but one cannot kill their dedication to freedom and justice, a dedication strengthened by the inspiring example of the socialist countries where working people are free from exploitation and are therefore free to exercise all democratic rights.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 465.

² *Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly*. From September 15 to December 18, 1981. Department of Public Information, Press Section, United Nations, New York, 1982, p. 157.

³ *The International Herald Tribune*, July 17, 1984.

the party

Fidelity to the Chosen Path

Say Phouthong – CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, State Council Vice-Chairman, People's Republic of Kampuchea

THE year 1985 is an important milestone in the history of the revolutionary movement of Southeast Asia. It marks the 55th anniversary of the Communist Party of Indochina (CPIC), from which sprang the Marxist-Leninist vanguards of three fraternal peoples: Communist Party of Vietnam, Lao People's Revolutionary Party, and People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea. The very fact of their common origin compellingly shows the deep-rooted affinity between our peoples, the strength of their special, fraternal relations, and the great significance of the traditions of the joint revolutionary struggle to the socialist transformations in our region.

Let us make the point at once that while they have the same past and common aims none of the vanguard parties of the three countries of the peninsula ever claimed an exclusive role, the right to speak on behalf of all the fraternal peoples of Indochina, or disregarded their independence and sovereignty. In laying down strategy, the veterans of the Communist Party of Indochina—the Vietnamese, the Khmers of Kampuchea, and the Laotians—headed by Ho Chi Minh and his comrades-in-arms—were guided by the Marxist-Leninist tenet postulating dialectical harmony between internationalist and national interests. *Representing the further development of the finest features of national consciousness*, internationalism and revolutionary patriotism form an indivisible whole.

In those years long ago when the Communist Party of Indochina was constituted, the Communists of the three countries united in one party because they were fighting for a common cause, that of overthrowing French colonialism that was oppressing the three nations. Besides, in those years it was unfeasible to divide the ranks of the Indochinese Marxist revolutionaries. While the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism had many followers in Vietnam, who had received some training in this respect, this doctrine was only beginning to penetrate Kampuchea and Laos. The Vietnamese Communists helped the Kampuchean and Laotian comrades to master the science of revolution; this was fostered by their joint work in one party. But while it sought unity in the common struggle, the CPIC was not planning to create a single state in Indochina. The resolution of the 6th Plenary Meeting of the CPIC Central Committee in 1939 stated: 'Not a single people can win its liberation by fighting in

isolation because Indochina is under the unitary rule of the imperialists in political, economic, and military terms.' And further: 'The coalition of the peoples of Indochina will not evolve into a single state, for the Vietnamese, Khmer, and Laotian peoples have long been independent. Each people has the right to decide its future as it sees fit.'¹

This has always been and remains the basic approach of the Communists of Indochina to combining internationalist and national interests. We were pained when this Communist policy was monstrously distorted by renegades and traitors of the common cause—Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, and their accomplices. using the mask of what they termed 'genuine revolutionary Marxism', they pursued a left-extremist, petty-bourgeois, chauvinistic policy and to further their foul aims they put Kampuchea under the domination of great-Han hegemonism. They turned a country of almost eight million people into an enormous hard-labour camp and subjected their own people to genocide, killing more than three million, destroying science, culture, and art, and reducing society to almost the primitive-communal level. Linked by kinship (their wives are sisters), Pol Pot and Ieng Sary established a bloodthirsty family dictatorship, taking a distorted pseudorevolutionary policy to extremes and making it a brutal weapon against the people. Of course, the Marxist-Leninist party was also subjected by the Pol Pot clique to savage repression; its leading cadres were exterminated almost to a man.

The rejuvenation of Kampuchea, of its people and of the party began after this gang was expelled in January 1979. The six years that have passed have been a period of arduous struggle against the remnants of the Pol Pot rabble, who, having united with all of the republic's other enemies and enjoying the unlimited support of the imperialists, the hegemonists, and the reactionaries in the ASEAN countries, notably Thailand, are keeping up their futile but nonetheless destructive attempts to prevent the consolidation of our system. But these same years have witnessed major advances in restoring a peaceful life and in strengthening the Kampuchean people's vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea.

Last year the party's CC passed a resolution on celebrating the party's 33rd anniversary. This was a further step towards concretising and developing the resolutions of the party's 4th Congress (May 1981), which represent a programme for building and defending the new society in the republic and for further enhancing the party's leading role.² This resolution states: 'In order to continue our onward development, the party, the army, and the people have to be more active in the process of building the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, its primary organisations in the localities, and make the utmost effort to fulfil the priority tasks facing the country.'³

The important matters named in the resolution include *giving the people a knowledge of the main stages of the party's development*, for history is not obsolete. It spells out the accumulated experience in which the party has its roots. The Communists must have a clear vision of what heritage they must cherish and what they must reject, and how to apply the lessons of the past in resolving pressing present-day problems. I am sure foreign comrades will find it useful to have a clearer idea of the road traversed by the PRPK, especially as this has not been dealt with comprehensively in the foreign press.

Our party's prehistory, as I have already noted, began in the Communist Party of Indochina. It was then that the Communists of Indochina distinctly saw two key regularities by which they had to be guided: the need to combine the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for social emancipation and the importance of consolidating the alliance of three revolutions—Vietnamese, Kampuchean, and Laotian. The realisation of these regularities was a vital condition of victory, and this

was borne out by our movement's hard-fought, long, but ultimately triumphant advance.

The first steps of the Kampuchean Communists in this direction were linked to the formation, in the face of the brutal French colonial regime, of a revolutionary group at the Sisovat Secondary School in Phnom Penh (1930) and then to the work of the Kampuchean Committee of Representatives of the CPIC (1934) and its first cells, which in those years had 30 members. But by 1938 all the party cells had been destroyed. During the Second World War, French colonial oppression was complemented by the hardships that came with the Japanese occupation. Although the Japanese invaders were driven out in 1945, the condition of the Kampuchean people did not become any easier. The people rose in armed struggle against the French colonialists, a struggle that culminated in the Geneva agreements of mid-1954.

A new cell of the CPIC, one of whose members was the outstanding Kampuchean Communist Son Ngoc Minh, was formed at the very outset of this period. Units of the Khmer Issarak (Free Khmers) Front began to be formed under the party's leadership. It was the party's policy to unite all the patriotic anti-colonialist forces. A congress of representatives of Kampuchea was convened on the initiative of the Khmer Issarak Front. This congress elected the Central Political Committee of the United National Front with the Communist Tou Samout at its head.

The Khmer Issarak Front operated in close cooperation with comrades from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that emerged from the revolution of August 1945. The DRV became the bulwark of the entire liberation movement of the peoples of Indochina.⁴

The line towards rallying all the anti-imperialist forces of the peninsula and forming an alliance of three revolutions was thus put into effect. While implementing this policy the Communists took into account the changes that were taking place in the historical situation. In particular, by 1951 it had become obvious that since the revolution was passing through different stages of development in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, the tasks facing these countries were different in character and magnitude and required different methods for their fulfilment. The Second Congress of the CPIC (February 1951) passed a resolution on the party's self-disbandment so as to make it possible to form the Working People's Party of Vietnam⁵ and the people's revolutionary parties of Kampuchea and Laos. The First Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea was held in June of the same year and elected a leadership headed by Son Ngoc Minh and Tou Samout.

All three parties maintained fraternal relations with each other, and this was one of the foundations of the further successes of the liberation struggle. By 1954 the Resistance forces led by the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea had liberated two-thirds of Kampuchea inhabited by half of the country's population. The revolutionary organisations had nearly 790,000 members at the time. The PRPK had roughly 1,800 members in 165 primary cells, most of which were in rural localities.

For a number of reasons the Kampuchean people were unable to make full use of the results of the victories won in 1954. The royal government of Norodom Sihanouk and the reactionary political parties went to all lengths to weaken the revolutionary forces. In Geneva, where the question was being decided of ending the war and devising the postwar pattern for Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, the Chinese representatives engaged in backstage intrigues with the purpose of preventing what they saw as an 'excessive' strengthening of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the internationalist, patriotic movement of the two other countries of Indochina. This strengthening would not have served their hegemonistic interests.

As a result, the Khmer Issarak fighting units were demobilised under the supervision of authorities controlled by the king, the feudal barons, and the

bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The forces of revolution were thus seriously undermined.

After Kampuchea won independence King Norodom Sihanouk chose to pursue a dual policy. He had the experience for this: he had earlier found a common language with the French colonialists and with the Japanese invaders. His power was now directed, on the one hand, towards the ruthless suppression of the revolutionary movement and, on the other, towards wresting the initiative away from that movement on account of the influence it enjoyed among the people. In a country where, led by the PRPK, the people had considerable experience of revolutionary warfare, the governmental circles did not venture to enter into a direct conspiracy with the imperialists. Sihanouk therefore pursued a foreign policy of peace and neutrality in the hope of winning the support of a section of the people and receiving economic and cultural assistance from socialist and capitalist countries.

Manoeuvring, he abdicated the throne in 1955 in favour of his father and set up the Sangkum Reash Nyiom (People's Socialist Association) with the declared purpose of building a 'Khmer, Buddhist, royalist socialism'.

Meanwhile, using economic and military aid as bait, the US imperialists formed a group of toadies among the ruling classes of Kampuchea. They planned to use it to turn Southeast Asia into a new type of colony and a military base.

In this situation our party steered towards a continuation of the national-democratic revolution, the disruption of US imperialism's plans, and the development of the struggle to improve the life of the people, promote democracy, and preserve and train revolutionary forces. It based its policy on a Marxist analysis of the class structure in Kampuchea. The feudals, who had time and again capitulated to imperialism, still had substantial influence, and the compradore bourgeoisie, which wanted an alliance with US capital, was gaining strength. The intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie were numerically small. The peasants were prepared to fight oppression but were encumbered with the weight of religious survivals and the many centuries' long cult of the divinity of kings. The working class and other urban working people were much too weak.

In its work the party sought to combine underground and legal methods. The latter methods were employed by the Pracheachoun (People) organisation headed by Keo Mia.

While supporting the royal government in its positive measures, in its policy of peace and neutrality, and in its cooperation with socialist countries, the party did its best to prevent the government from limiting and abolishing democratic freedoms and from suppressing progressive tendencies. However, the party lacked the experience for a consistent and effective political line in the complicated situation of those years. The Sangkum Reash Nyiom was quite influential and some of the PRPK's leaders came under this influence. One of them, Sieu Heng, publicly defected to the ruling forces with the result that the authorities smashed many party organisations and there was a diminution of the party membership. Tou Samout alone continued to direct the political struggle in the towns.

The crisis in the party created a situation favourable for the strengthening of the pseudo-Marxist Pol Pot group. How did this occur?

After the war Pol Pot and Ieng Sary studied in France. Upon returning to Kampuchea in 1953 the former tried to join the Democratic Party⁶ but was rejected. He then found a foothold in the Khmer Issarak Front and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea. Ieng Sary arrived in Phnom Penh in 1957. By 1960 the two pseudo-Marxists, on account of their cunning, higher education level than that of many other party functionaries, and their knowledge of city life, were able to assert themselves in a strong position in the party. At the Second PRPK Congress (1960) they were elected to the CC, which was then headed by Tou Samout. Two years later the latter disappeared. There are many facts indicating that this disappearance is the

work of Pol Pot. The family clique seized key positions in the leadership.

In 1965 Pol Pot visited China where he enlisted the support of the Maoist leadership. He lauded Maoism, calling it the 'Marxism-Leninism of our time'. He was evidently confident that the hegemonists would help him to rise to power in a country that was experiencing considerable difficulties. By that time Norodom Sihanouk's dissembling policy had entered an impasse and pro-American forces had become active. In 1967 the Pol Pot group took the adventurist decision to start a 'civil war' against the royal government. This gave the extreme right-wing forces, the myrmidons of the Americans, an added pretext for seizing power. In early 1970 the reactionary Lon Nol group overthrew the Sihanouk Government and paved the way for Kampuchea's invasion by US troops and the puppet regime that was ruling South Vietnam at the time. This group was joined by the now not unknown Son Sann, who betrayed Sihanouk.

The war that broke out—this time against the US imperialists and their stooges—was yet another grim test for the Kampuchean people. However, this test gave further confirmation that the internationalist policy of alliance of the three revolutions in Indochina was correct: it was this policy that brought victory to the people.

A result of this policy was the creation in 1970 of the National United Front of Kampuchea, a contingent of the anti-imperialist liberation forces, and the convocation, in the same year, of a summit conference of representatives of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina. This conference formalised the strategic alliance of these peoples in the struggle against the US aggressors. Although they used over 100,000 of their own and Saigon troops in the Kampuchea theatre of hostilities and subjected Kampuchea to heavy bombing (more than half a million tons of bombs were dropped on our country by US bombers in the period from March 1969 to August 1973), the imperialists and their lackeys were defeated. By the end of 1973 up to 90 per cent of the country's territory with a population of over five millions was liberated. Aided by Vietnamese volunteers and with the active support of the Laotian people, the armed forces and people of Kampuchea completed the liberation of the country from the imperialists and their puppets on April 17, 1975.

An end was put to colonialist and feudal rule. The prospect for building a new life opened up for our people. However, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which hid its true image during the war of liberation and sometimes even spoke in favour of friendship with Vietnam, now threw down its mask. It began a 'radical social revolution'. The inhabitants of Phnom Penh and other towns were herded into remote villages and mountain areas, and people were moved forcibly from one district to another. This destroyed the normal links between people, made it easier for the dictatorship to act, and allowed it to conceal its crimes. Markets were closed, money was repealed, schools were closed, and pagodas were destroyed. The population was forced to perform backbreaking labour. Genocide got under way. Pol Pot declared that of its eight million inhabitants Kampuchea needed only one or two million.

The hegemonists began turning the country into a military springboard. A large army was concentrated in it: the number of divisions increased from seven in 1975 to 23 at the close of 1978. It was the mission of the Pol Pot thugs to clear the way for great-Han expansionism in Indochina. They launched armed provocations along the frontier with Vietnam. The mass extermination began of Marxist PRPK cadres. According to incomplete data these included four members of the CC Standing Bureau, 79 zonal committee secretaries and members, 67 provincial committee secretaries and members, and 85 secretaries and members of leading party bodies of central ministries and departments. Keo Mia was stripped of his posts, and Son Ngoc Minh was murdered in China where he was sent ostensibly for medical treatment.

The PRPK's internationalist links were ruptured, young people were artificially

separated from the party's veterans, and increasing uncontrolled power was concentrated in the hands of the highest body, the Angkar, which was sustained by surveillance and terror. A party that had been revolutionary gradually fell into the hands of an adventurist clique. As a result of intense Maoist indoctrination it degenerated into an anti-people organisation, whose leaders were determined to make the people obedient tools of their criminal designs. They did this through illiterate young men, whom the Angkar recruited, binding them by mutual criminal pledges.

In spite of all this the cause of the people's liberation struggle, the cause of the genuine socialist revolution did not perish in Kampuchea. Party members and other decent people joined in ever larger numbers in the resistance to the anti-people policies.⁷ By 1977 there were risings against the bloodthirsty gang throughout the country. Revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea were formed and these liberated entire districts from the Pol Pot tyranny. The United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea⁸ was formed on December 2, 1978 in one of these districts by 200 representatives of the people who came from the different provinces and from abroad, and also delegates from people who had broken with the Pol Pot Administration and its army. The Front called upon the people to unite in order to depose the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group and proclaim a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, and non-aligned Kampuchea with the building of socialism as its aim. The Front adopted a flag—the five golden domes of the Angkor temple (the nation's pride) on a red background—and elected a Central Committee with Heng Samrin as its Chairman (formerly Heng Samrin was a member of the Eastern Zone Party Committee and political commissar and commander of the 4th Division).

Under the Front's leadership the spontaneous anti-Pol Pot risings evolved into a broad revolutionary movement. At the close of December 1978, when government troops who were trying to mount a major offensive against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam were defeated the Front's command ordered a general offensive against the clique. This was accompanied by a nationwide uprising. Operating together with units of Vietnamese volunteers, our forces liberated Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979. The People's Republic of Kampuchea was proclaimed on January 11. The Front's banner was adopted as the republic's flag. Power in the republic passed to the People's Revolutionary Council headed by Heng Samrin.⁹ The regular units of the Pol Pot army were soon utterly defeated.

The party's restoration proceeded in the course of the struggle against the Pol Pot clique. The 'congresses' held by this clique had nothing to do with the history of the Marxist-Leninist People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea. The threads of this history were picked up in early January 1979, when the true Communists convened a conference that was later, on account of its significance, recognised as the Third Congress of the PRPK. It was attended by 66 delegates, who unanimously approved the new political programme and the steps to restore the party.

The programme clearly defined Kampuchean society's basic contradictions, objectives, and motive forces. Special mention was made of the party's leading role in the revolution. The defence of revolutionary gains and the advance towards socialism were proclaimed as the principal objective. The party declared that the People's Republic of Kampuchea desired to live in peace and friendship with all countries, above all with the fraternal socialist states. Special significance was attached to reinforcing solidarity with Vietnam and Laos and with their ruling parties.

Moreover, it was declared that in ideology the party was waging a relentless struggle against bourgeois-nationalistic ideas that formed the theoretical basis of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, against dogmatism and manifestations of left opportunism in the theory of the class struggle, against all attempts to misrepresent history, smear

the party, and split its ranks, and against manifestations of dictatorship, arbitrary rule, and individualism in the party.

It is of the utmost importance to draw up a political programme, but we attached and continue to attach similarly great significance to the entire party structure—from its lowest to its highest organisations—and to the education of leading cadres. Following its rejuvenation, the PRPK set the course towards becoming a party of the working people, but the growth of the party's numerical strength cannot be an end in itself. Party members must justify the trust placed in them by being representatives of the revolutionary vanguard in the true sense of the word and by adopting, mastering, and creatively applying the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Of course, it takes time to educate cadres of this level.

When we speak of admitting new members and selecting cadres we mean the finest people from among the working class, the peasantry, and the revolutionary intelligentsia who had not stained themselves aiding and abetting crimes against the people. Former party members who have not been involved in any crime and who approve the new programme are recognised as members.

Painstaking work among people is the basis for reinforcing the party and its leading role. It is closely linked to the people through groups of activists, who comprise its immediate and main reserve. In preparing for membership of the party, activists go through a test period of practical work and study. A person's work, views, and behaviour come under close scrutiny by party committees when he or she applies for membership. Those who are accepted go through a probation period, which is six months for workers who have worked in a factory for at least three years, and nine months for peasants and persons from other strata. Upon the expiry of this period the probationer is admitted to membership if he or she has shown the qualities of a real Communist. The growth of the party's ranks is proceeding steadily without haste.

To give an idea of the party's numerical growth, let us glance at the organisation in Bati district, Takeo province. In this district, which has a population of about 80,000, there were nine full and probation members of the party and 144 activists in the summer of 1984. These belonged to a provisional district party section. Towards the close of the year several dozens of persons had been prepared for admission to the party, and the local organisation is now expected to have between 45 and 55 members. In the leading organs of provinces, towns, and districts there are activists, Front members, and members of the Trade Union Federation of Kampuchea, the Association of Revolutionary Women, and the Association of Revolutionary Youth.

Of course, many difficulties are encountered in party building. These include difficulties in political study and in training leading cadres. In these matters we are helped by our Vietnamese comrades. The important task is to increase the number of workers in the party. So far their number is still inadequate.

By and large, the party is gaining strength and carrying out its role of society's leading and guiding force more and more effectively. Its political line is oriented on major objectives: to educate the people to be prepared to defend their country; to direct economic and cultural restoration and development; and to create the conditions for the gradual transition to socialism.

Much has already been done towards the attainment of these objectives. The first elections to the National Assembly took place in 1981. The republic's Constitution has been adopted. Despite the difficulties caused by last year's poor weather, the threat of starvation has been averted. The area sown to rice, which we plan to increase to 2,500,000 hectares, is expanding, and more fish, of which there is an abundance in Kampuchea, is being caught. Rubber plantations are being enlarged. Many industrial enterprises, including textile mills and food-processing plants, have been restored.

Much attention is begin given to the education and training of specialists, on whom

the nation's future depends to a large extent. The schools are attended by 1,700,000 children (one-fourth of the nation's population), a record number in Kampuchea. Several institutions of higher learning and vocational schools have been opened in Phnom Penh. The health services, which now employ more than 11,000 specialists, are expanding.

Solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos and considerable support from other socialist countries, from the Soviet Union in the first place, are helping to restore the nation's life. Last year some of our republic's leaders visited the USSR and other CMEA member states. Important agreements were signed on cooperation, and these usher in an important stage in Kampuchea's all-round development. The republic's international prestige is growing; it is now recognised by more than 40 countries.

At the same time, an avalanche of slander, mainly from the imperialist centres, is aimed at our country and party. All sorts of rumours are peddled—that the people's government and the party are in a precarious position; that Kampuchea is being robbed by Vietnam. Nor is there a shortage of unrealistic advice on how to change the situation in the republic in accordance with the recipes being offered by the hegemonists or the reactionary circles in the ASEAN countries. For instance, it has been suggested that we should enter into an alliance with the so-called coalition government, which in fact is no more than a cover for the Pol Pot gangs.

Does this need a reply? That the life and economy of the republic are being restored is seen by every delegate observer, and many have noted how impressed they are. Our relations with Vietnam and Laos are and will go on being strengthened on the basis of equality, mutual respect, fraternity, and cooperation. The Vietnamese volunteer units are helping us to defend our country, for the armed elements of the so-called 'coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea' are continuing their provocations along the Kampuchean-Thai border. These are supported by the hegemonists and have bases on Thai territory. Had it not been for these bases, nothing would have remained of the forces of the 'coalition government'. But we respect the sovereignty of our neighbour Thailand and are not crossing its frontier to pursue the thugs.

Our leadership and the Vietnamese government have stated on several occasions that we have common aims: to replace the Vietnamese troops on our territory by units of the Kampuchean army. We are drawing steadily closer to that aim: the number of Vietnamese units in Kampuchea has been cut down three times, and will continue to be decreased annually. Our own army is growing stronger. It is already now big enough to defend the republic had the enemy not enjoyed such massive foreign support.

Our government is an elected one and functions legally. It is urging concord with all countries and forces prepared to conduct a dialogue with us. Of course, the butchers Pol Pot and Ieng Sary cannot count on such relations. Both have been sentenced in absentia to death by a people's tribunal. As regards the people who have been deluded, including those who served in enemy units, we are pursuing a humane policy towards them. They can return and all their civil rights will be restored to them if they accept the Constitution of Kampuchea. More than 150,000 former supporters of Pol Pot, Son Sann, and Sihanouk have returned to their homes since 1979. They have repented their delusions and have become full-fledged citizens of Kampuchea. This policy extends also to Son Sann and Norodom Sihanouk, although their activities have brought our people much grief. But we have no intention of forming a 'coalition government' with them: the 'Buddhist, royalist, Khmer socialism' of Sihanouk and the pro-imperialist regime served by Son Sann have long ago shown their lack of viability and their incompatibility with the interests of the Kampuchean people.

We are convinced that the road chosen by the republic and the party is correct and

productive, and we believe in the growing strength and unity of the party and the people. We have the support of the fraternal countries of Indochina and of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In this lies the earnest of our progress. The aggressive imperialist circles and reaction will not put back the clock. We believe that final victory will be won by the forces of socialism and progress, by the forces who are standing firm in their defence of peace and in their determination to prevent war. Together with their allies and comrades-in-arms, the Communists of Kampuchea support the call 'Socialism and Peace!' and are prepared to give it all their strength.

¹ See *Công san*, No. 11, 1983 (in Vietnamese).

² See Heng Samrin, 'Three Years of Rehabilitation and Construction', *WMR*, No. 8, 1982.

³ *Kampuchea*, No. 249, 1984 (in Khmer).

⁴ The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed in 1976.—*Ed.*

⁵ Renamed Communist Party of Vietnam in 1976.—*Ed.*

⁶ Bourgeois party of the intelligentsia and senior government officials. It was formed in 1946.—*Ed.*

⁷ The people of Koh Kong province were among the first to rise against the Pol Pot policy of terror. This rising was led by Say Phouthong, the sole veteran provincial level functionary left alive after the provincial party committee was massacred by the Pol Pot butchers.—*Ed.*

⁸ Now the United Front for National Edification and the Defence of the Kampuchean Motherland.—*Ed.*

⁹ The People's Revolutionary Council has been reconstituted into the State Council, which is the representative organ of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the standing body of the People's Assembly of the PRK.—*Ed.*

Annals of Courage Those Were Hard Years

Bruno Furch — *WMR* Editorial Council
member, Communist Party of Austria

WITHIN a few months the world's nations will mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazism. As this memorable landmark approaches, our memories turn to the lessons of the past which often help us to gain a better grasp of what is happening today, to avoid falling into the same pitfalls. This prompts me to recall the 1930s and 1940s—the years of struggle against the Nazi plague in Europe—and what I learned and experienced at that time.

Freedom's Volunteers

The tragic days in February 1934, when almost 10,000 Austrian workers, Communists and Social Democrats, took to arms in an attempt to prevent a complete takeover by the Nazis and clericals,¹ were a turning point in my life: like many Socialists, I joined the Communist Party. Four weeks later I was arrested for the first time on charges of 'high treason' and participation in the abortive uprising. I was repeatedly detained by the police later too, but each time the prison terms were comparatively short because the investigation failed to unearth sufficient evidence.

When Hitler's troops marched into Austria in March 1938,² I crossed the mountains into Switzerland on skis and then left for Paris where I signed up as a volunteer with the International Brigade to continue the armed struggle against fascism in Spain.

Between 1936 and 1939, 2,000 Austrians fought in the Spanish Republican Army. Some 700—Communists, Socialists and politically unaffiliated anti-fascists—did not return. Each risked death at his own free will, convinced that by fighting Franco and his fascist sponsors he was helping to stave off a world war and liberate Austria from the Nazi yoke. We were inspired by our deep affection for the Spanish people and our devotion to the Spanish Republic, the volunteers' second home. There we breathed deep the air of freedom. Never, before or since, have I felt the elation I experienced then.

Austrian Communists set up their own party organisation in Spain. The unusual detail was that while remaining CPA members, we were also members of the Communist Party of Spain. We had party groups in each army unit. During brief lulls in the fighting, 'political hours' were conducted in the trenches, with reports on the military situation and discussions of Spain's domestic and international affairs and of world events.

Away from the front, we maintained close contacts with the population and helped peasants in the fields. This, too, was a sphere of activity of the party and the military leadership. But most of the attention was focused on the front.

I took part in the famous Battle of the Ebro³ in the summer of 1938 and in the so-called second draft after the fall of Barcelona in January 1939, when the International Brigade members still remaining in Spain (the Republican government recalled the Brigade from the front in September 1938) again volunteered to join fighting units. For various reasons, however, the course of developments did not favour the Republic. Outnumbered, we retreated, fighting, to the French border which we crossed on February 9, 1939. For me and most of my Austrian comrades this was the beginning of long and oppressive imprisonment—first internment in French camps for International Brigade members and then detention in the Nazi concentration camps of Dachau and Foissenbürg up to May 1, 1945, the day of liberation.

Effects of the Appeasement Policy

After the tragic defeat of the Spanish Republic the International Brigade members who ended up in France were interned by the government of Edouard Daladier (an accomplice in the infamous Munich deal) which bore much of the blame for the so-called policy of non-intervention in the Spanish affairs—in actual fact, a policy of encouraging Franco and his German and Italian sponsors.

Internment in French camps (St. Cyprien, Gurs and Le Vernet) did not involve forced labour, and this enabled us to engage in a variety of political and cultural activities. This work was directed by the party. In the first weeks we evaluated the performance of Communists in Spain. Comrades-in-arms gave an objective assessment of the way each of them behaved on the battlefield. This proved very useful: most reasserted their right to be called Communists; for some this review was an incentive to reappraise and correct mistakes, for others—they were few—it meant a temporary or final break with the party. Then we set up party organisations in the barracks. Each national association (the camps held people of many nationalities who could not return home) had its own party structure, but all operated under a single international leadership.

In Gurs, we Austrians opened a 'people's higher school' in which a variety of subjects was taught: mathematics, physics, history, geography, Spanish, French and Russian, political economy, dialectical and historical materialism and the history of the Soviet Communist Party. The internees organised a choir and a mandolin orchestra. We also had skilled craftsmen who used aluminium to make various objects, including models of the Soviet fighter planes which saw action in Spain. I made linocuts and etchings; my comrades dobbled together a small printing press,

and we ran off prints and sent them to friends and solidarity organisations in France, England, the United States and other countries.

With the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, the camp regime grew noticeably harsher. The French authorities tried to press internees into the Foreign Legion or work gangs. We resisted, and this led to reprisals and attempts to influence us by force. After France's surrender the position of the prisoners deteriorated still more. Finally, in April 1941 the collaborationist Vichy government handed German and Austrian members of the International Brigade over to the Nazis.

Prior to that, we received instructions from the party. Essentially, what they said was, 'from now on you may find yourselves in a situation when organised party work may become impossible. When CPA members may be on their own. Should this come to pass, each Communist, no matter where he happens to be, is to represent the party and act according to the dictates of his conscience and convictions.'

This moral and political legacy we brought to Dachau, the notorious concentration camp where we arrived on May 1, 1941. For four weeks the International Brigade members remained in 'quarantine', separated from other prisoners by barbed wire. Then the camp commandant lined us up and announced that the Führer, in his mercy, commuted our death sentences to hard labour for life. The prospect was grim, but each of us found courage in hope. Little did we know that at the time that we would spend four long agonising years in concentration camps—an ordeal not all of the comrades were to survive.

You Aren't Born a Hero

Sometimes people ask me how I survived the Nazi concentration camps. These are mostly friendly questions, put by those who simply want to know how I managed to escape death. But sometimes the questions are loaded: the hint is that since I am alive, 'things were not all that bad'. To this day neofascist propaganda claims that prisoners in concentration camps were 'taken good care of', and that the crematoriums and gas chambers of Auschwitz were 'built by the Russians and the Americans' after the war with the express purpose of 'slandering the National Socialists'.

When I think how I survived, the first and simplest explanation that comes to mind is, 'It was simply incredible luck.' Indeed, I do not belong to the breed of heroes who emerge unscathed from any ordeal thanks to some supernatural courage. Of course, a person's physical and mental state do play an important part here. Luckily, I was a trained athlete, and so I could both withstand the physical overstrain and subsist on the meager camp rations. A sound moral and political makeup is also an important factor. Still, neither health nor fortitude would have helped had the situation turned desperate—say, had the SS learned about my involvement in clandestine activities or had I contracted typhus.

There was, of course, the invaluable role played by the amazing spirit of comradely solidarity and mutual support among the communist prisoners. Those of us who were detailed to perform auxiliary jobs in the camp's administration and in the hospital (Communists were striving to secure such jobs) did all they could to help others. For example, the leaders of the party organisation which operated in the Flossenbürg camp decided that clandestine typhus vaccination was to be performed in the winter of 1944 and 1945. This timely move saved many people, myself included, from the disease which took a daily toll of 100 to 120 lives.

Here I would like to dwell in greater detail on the moral and political aspect of the struggle as the major resistance factor—because many people perished in the camp for the sole reason that they either failed to marshal enough inner courage to withstand the barbarous conditions or succumbed to the influence which dulled their human qualities and encouraged brutality; they thought that a heartless and violent

treatment of their fellow prisoners would help them survive.

One sometimes hears that we Communists are made of 'special stuff'. That must be so, but it is sometimes very difficult to live up to this image in extreme situations.

Most of the people I knew proved courageous soldiers, officers and political leaders in the difficult conditions of the Spanish Civil War; they instilled strength and convictions in others. However, some of them were broken by Gestapo torture, and there were even those who turned traitor and stoolpigeon. But they, too, were usually doomed.

On the other hand, I recall some comrades who did not distinguish themselves as daredevil fighters in Spain and could not be entrusted with responsible tasks because they possessed no 'soldierly skills' at all. But, captured by the enemy, they displayed staunch courage—which paid off because the SS and Gestapo sadists sometimes applied a selective approach of sorts to their prisoners: cowards they tortured to death from sheer contempt, while courage and defiance sometimes prompted the jailers either to altogether dispense with torture as pointless or to switch to a 'shorter version' of the third degree. Such prisoners could be shot 'while attempting escape', die of a 'sudden heart attack', or they were 'left alone' and sent from the Gestapo to a concentration camp.

Two groups of prisoners displayed particularly great moral fortitude, spirit and firmness: Communists (very few of them lost their courage, humanity or hope) and Christians, supported by their faith. Honour compels me to recognise and pay tribute to this fact. In the camp, mutual respect dominated relations between most Communists and Christians. As for Communists, I can say that they were so firm and unshakeable in their political convictions that even in the darkest months of deep Nazi thrusts into the Soviet Union, they never doubted the final victory of justice. This also helped us to survive.

I also have painful recollections of good, refined people 'far from politics' who could not stand the brutalities they had to face and no longer believed that Nazism could be defeated. Nothing—neither earnest efforts to encourage them nor moral support—could save them from psychological depression and apathy or give them hope, and the end was not long in coming.

What conclusions can be drawn from it all? There is no set pattern here. Of course, the most important thing is to remember that you must be rock-hard, but sometimes the tiniest lapse, slip or plain bad luck is enough to turn well-tempered steel into pliable wax.

By no means wishing to justify betrayal, I say it with full responsibility that you can't be born a hero. He who claims that he will meet any test is either a braggart or a naive person who does not know what the enemy is capable of. One should also remember that since Hitler's days, imperialist butchers have devised now, more sophisticated and brutal methods of torture and interrogation, having even made use of scientific advances in medicine, psychology, electronics and so on. And so I think the only advice for a revolutionary, a Communist is to prepare both physically and morally for an encounter with the enemy, for fighting alone.

The 'Red Spaniards'

The activities of a large group of some 300 Austrian veterans of the Spanish Civil War left their imprint on many aspects of life in Dachau. This is no idle boast or vain selfpraise but a fact born of the rock-hard spirit of comradeship forged on the battlefield. Many bourgeois authors who wrote about Dachau confirmed this too. They said that the arrival in the camp of the 'Red Spaniards', as we were then called, changed the atmosphere there. The prisoners' spirit of resistance grew stonger, positively influenced by the model discipline, great political consciousness and optimism of the International Brigade members.

The Communists had their own political centre in which different nations were represented. At the same time, the Communists of each nation had their own leaders. My mission was to maintain contact with our Yugoslavian, Italian and Spanish comrades. At first I ascertained which of them were Communists. That was relatively easy among the Yugoslavs and the Spanish because some of them fought in Spain too. Things were different with the Italians who poured into the camp in the autumn of 1943. It proved quite difficult but ultimately possible to spot ICP members so as to help them organise a group of their own. Subsequently, I was constantly in contact with these comrades, explaining the opportunities of political work in the camp and telling them about what happened at the frontlines and in the world at large.

Paradoxically, we knew more about military operations and the world situation than some people outside the camp. We managed to set up an effective system of information: got hold of radios on which we listened to broadcasts from Moscow, London and Beromünster⁴ and transcribed the more important political statements by the Allies. These reports spread through the camp like lightning; this contributed greatly to moral courage and to the vitally important atmosphere of optimism.

I should emphasise specially that we Communists took care not only of comrades in our own movement but also of Socialists, and members of other parties.

I well remember several prominent public figures from Trieste—Dr. Tanasco of the Christian Democratic Party, engineer Gandusio, a Liberal, Professor Pisoni, a Communist, and others—who were brought to the camp in 1943. We 'spotted' them soon after their arrival and immediately took them under protection. Two of them, both 70 years old, we had admitted to the hospital, and for the others managed to arrange comparatively easy jobs. Our comrades smuggled drugs out of the pharmacy and food out of the SS storehouse. This assistance made it possible to save the life of Dr. Puecher of the Social Democratic Party who was hospitalised with a severe case of pneumonia.

Lenin's Works in Dachau!

Sometimes things that appeared unthinkable happened in the camp. We had small political education study groups which dealt not only with topical international or military issues but also with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. And in the spring of 1944 we even secured several works by Lenin—*The State and Revolution*, *'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder* and others. How did these books find their way into a concentration camp?

A group of German maintenance worker prisoners under Karl Frei, an inmate since 1933, was making repairs in the Munich Gestapo headquarters. In the attic, the workers found crates of books Hitler had banned after assuming power. The books included Marxist literature too. The comrades took the covers off Lenin's works, hid the books under their jackets and brought them into the camp. The risk was great: the SS made spot checks among those returning to the camp from outside jobs.

Despite the electrified barbed wire that circles the camp, despite the machineguns mounted on watchtowers, despite the rows of guards and other barriers and obstacles, similar clandestine operations were still brought off. The one that caused the greatest stir was this.

In the spring of 1944 a paper containing a detailed description of the murders and tortures of Catholic clergymen in the camp was smuggled abroad. To the acute discomfort of Hitler's regime, this information was broadcast in a series of radio programmes from London and Beromünster, evoking widespread international response. This finally culminated in a thorough investigation by the SS security service and even led to a change of the camp administration.

Escape

Escape from the main camp grounds was almost impossible. Naturally, from time to time it was attempted, but I cannot recall a single successful case. The results were always terrible. Should someone be missing at the time of the morning or evening roll call, all prisoners—10,000 to 15,000 people—remained in the Appellplatz (central square) until the missing inmate was brought back.

For many days, the recaptured prisoner stood at attention at the camp gate, a placard saying 'I'm back again' pinned to his chest as a warning to all. Then he was thrown into the 'bunker' (the camp prison), and then further punishment was administered—a public flogging on the Appellplatz or 'an hour on the rack', when the prisoner's hands were tied behind his back and he was suspended from a beam.

Nevertheless, in 1944 the party set us the task of staging, no matter what, the escape of several Communists so they could join the active struggle against the Nazi regime. As a result, a series of successful escapes occurred—not from the camp itself but from the numerous work teams employed outside Dachau. For example, Sepp Plieseis, our comrade and fellow participant in the Spanish Civil War, escaped in August 1943; later, he led a famous guerrilla unit in the Dachstein Mountains. Despite the numerous search-and-destroy operations mounted by the military police, the Gestapo and the SS, this unit dealt blows to the enemy up to the liberation of Austria. In late 1944 Leo Jansa, another Spanish veteran, escaped and in early 1945, Joseph Lauscher, a prominent member of the CPA. In the Vienna underground, they rallied Communists to the liberation struggle.

A brief memoir-like article is too short to describe all the selfless clandestine activities of Austrian Communists in the Resistance Movement—their exploits at industrial enterprises, in guerrilla fighting units, in the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia. For example, the guerrillas in Styria fought valiantly. A unit led by International Brigade members Walter Wachs, Fritz Tränkler and Leo Engelmann (he was later killed in action) who were airdropped from Soviet Air Force planes, engaged large enemy units and played an important role in the liberation of that area.

The names of many Austrian Communists, including many women, went down in the heroic annals of the courageous international struggle against the Nazi plague. Over 35,000 anti-fascists were killed and tortured to death in concentration camps, penal colonies and Gestapo torture chambers. Those who survived welcomed the Victory in 1945. They entered a new life with hope for a future without fascism and without war.

¹ For more on this anti-fascist uprising, see 'They Barred the Road to Fascism', *WMR*, No. 2, 1984.—*Ed.*

² On the night of March 11, 1938 German troops crossed into Austria, ending its independence and annexing it to Germany. The *anschluss* turned the country into a German province.—*Ed.*

³ In the Battle of the Ebro (July 1938)—a landmark of the Spanish Civil War—the Republican Army crossed the river and breached the enemy front.—*Ed.*

⁴ A Swiss radio station.

Our Interviews A 'Youth Appeal' Launching a Campaign

Wolfgang Gehrcke — member of the
German Communist Party Board, Chairman
of the Hamburg Regional DKP Organisation

—The 7th Congress of your party held in 1984 has stated that it is time to recruit more new members. What are the strategic considerations behind this decision?

The Programme of our party states that the evolution of the DKP into a mass party is indispensable for a turn to democratic and social progress, for securing an anti-monopoly democracy (i.e., for attaining the Communists' strategic objectives). Therefore we regard the recruitment of new members as a task of vast importance. Today, it is the activity on which every party organisation must focus all its efforts. Growth in the DKP membership would also make a great impact on the country's internal political situation and on the position of all left forces.

Of course, even if the current—and very complex—tasks of increasing the party's ranks are fulfilled, this will not mean that it will automatically become a mass party. After all, the salient features of a mass communist party are not only a great membership but also strong positions on the shop floor, mass support on the part of the electorate, influence on the consciousness of broad working class strata, big circulation of its newspapers and periodicals, the capacity to influence the spiritual and political climate in the country, as well as broad contacts ensuring joint action by and an alliance of democratic forces. But if one looks at the current level of the revolutionary movement in the FRG, it becomes clear that all these factors are now either at the embryonic stage or lacking.

Nevertheless, the emergence of a mass party depends not only on the availability of these factors but also on the Communist commitment to fight for the goal that has been set. The Programme, the Rules and the entire history of the DKP confirm that this commitment is there.

At the same time we maintain that a large membership of a communist party does not by itself prove its political influence on the masses, let alone a revolutionary nature of its strategy and tactics. In his day, Karl Marx noted in his 'Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association' that numbers were of decisive importance only 'if united by combination and led by knowledge'. For this reason the DKP strives not only to recruit more new members but also to raise dedicated revolutionaries and with their help to build in the eyes of the popular masses the image of a party waging the class struggle.

—What has prompted the DKP to raise the question of increasing the party's ranks?

Our current outlook takes into account the changes rooted in the development of the class confrontation in our country. The drive for peace and employment has become a truly mass movement. Industrial conflicts are taking an increasingly open form. The question concerning the future of the struggle amid the sway of capital has taken on a more acute aspect; a more vigorous debate is going on concerning ways to end the system which constantly produces crises, unemployment and war preparations. Some of our citizens are changing their way of thinking. The faith in the absolute legality of the decisions taken by the parliamentary majority has been undermined. There is increased alienation from US imperialism. Joint action by the Communists and the

Social Democrats has assumed more variegated forms. Broad extraparliamentary alliances have sprung up, and this is where the DKP has been particularly successful in breaking through the wall of isolation.

I have already noted that the strengthening of our party serves not only the interests of Communists but also, on a broader scale, of the entire working class movement, of all those who are ready to act as champions of working people's rights.

One more thing: when the drive to attract new members is restricted under the pretext that it complicates the establishment of alliances, hampers the development of the extra-parliamentary movement or is in the way of joint action, this always implies renunciation of the party's distinctive revolutionary nature. Besides, its allies could then suspect it of an intention to infiltrate their own ranks. Those who share the objectives of our programme should be in the party, and the Communists should try and persuade them to join it.

—The congress decided that the recruitment campaign was to be conducted in several stages. The first was to comprise a 'youth appeal', that is, recruit new members among the younger generation. What has the DKP accomplished in this field.

The 'youth campaign' has already made it possible to recruit many young men and women. Here, the DKP objective is to turn to youth, presenting itself as a party of change, of socialism and of action.

In this context the Communists can rely on the considerably increased mass influence of the Socialist German Young Workers and of the Spartacus Marxist Union of Students. These days young people display heightened political activity and sympathise with the Left. Simultaneously, they are increasingly interested in the Communist world view, in the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Besides, young people in the FRG are the first to be hit by the severe crisis of the capitalist system—whether in the field of employment, living conditions, education, social rights or with regard to the more far-reaching questions of the future of mankind, the meaning of life in a world threatened by nuclear catastrophe.

The Communist Party is not only able to direct youth action but can also offer to young people a comprehensive alternative—the struggle for a different social system, for socialism. This makes it incumbent on the DKP to open its ranks to young people, to forge new young members into dedicated Communists within the party. At the same time, it is important to demonstrate to young people that we do not arrogate to ourselves their role in the struggle, that they must fight for their future themselves.

In the course of the campaign, the Communists have learned to work more boldly among young people. We now approach directly the more politically conscious young people with an offer of DKP membership; we are better oriented in issues of concern to the young generation. This means that even the first stage of the struggle to increase our ranks has taught the party many useful lessons. We intend to effectively use the 'youth appeal' experience in the immediate future—first and foremost in the campaign to increase the circulation of our *Unsere Zeit* newspaper so that we could mark in April 1986 the Ernst Thälmann Centenary properly.

'Aththa' Fights Daily

H. G. S. Ratnaweera — member, CC
Political Bureau, Communist Party of Sri Lanka
(CPSL); editor-in-chief of the party newspaper

—*Aththa* (Truth), the Communist Party of Sri Lanka daily, is 20 years old. Could you tell us about the path it has traversed and the role it plays in the nation's politics?

The CPSL Central Committee decision to launch *Aththa* was taken in November 1964 and its first issue appeared in December. At that time, supported by the masses, the coalition government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Freedom Party (SLFP) and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) tried to make a breach in the imperialist and capitalist monopoly of Sri Lanka's daily newspapers by taking over the most reactionary and major newspaper company. But the company, supported by the right-wing United National Party (UNP), had, through bribery and undue influences, succeeded in suborning several members of parliament from the SLFP and defeated both the proposed law and the government itself.

Our newborn newspaper had to wage a far from equal struggle against capitalist monopolies which had at their disposal the latest technologies, a well-developed system of circulation and powerful support from advertisers and experienced professional journalists. Nevertheless, we prevailed. The newspaper's militancy and incisiveness made up for the shortage of funds. It exposed the corruption of the reactionary rulers, consistently upheld the interests of working people and expressed their aspirations. A former Prime Minister of the main reactionary party, the UNP, once admitted that *Aththa* was the first newspaper he read every morning to learn what the people thought and intended to do.

Sri Lanka's reactionary forces fear and hate our newspaper. By invoking emergency regulations, several capitalist governments banned it and closed it down. It has been attacked by right-wing pro-imperialist organisations. The paper and its editors have been taken to court many times. But none of this has ever succeeded in silencing us or deflecting us from our path.

—How do you assess *Aththa's* contribution to the struggle of the left and democratic movement in Sri Lanka, its current role and mission?

First, having ended the bourgeois monopoly of daily newspapers and having proved that the working class and its party are capable of launching and maintaining its own daily publication, *Aththa* offers an inspiring example to other sections of the left and democratic movement.

Second, it acted as the standard-bearer of all the main mass struggles of the recent period, including general strikes, anti-imperialist and anti-war demonstrations and innumerable campaigns in the mass and electoral fields.

Third, it has emerged as the principal source of information for working people and all progressive forces about the struggle of the world's popular masses for peace, national liberation and social progress, about the activities of the international communist and working class movement, and about the accomplishments of the socialist community.

Fourth, *Aththa* consistently exposes the lies and slander spewed by the newspapers, radio and television controlled by imperialism and local reactionaries.

Fifth, our newspaper is tirelessly contributing its share to the support of the struggle for the unity of the working class and all democratic forces, for the unity and equality of the different ethnic groups of our multinational country. *Aththa* opposes racist prejudice and obscurantism to which the reactionaries resort in their efforts to

confuse the masses and divert them from joint action in defence of their legitimate rights.

Finally, the Communist press organ has set a fresh trend in Sri Lanka journalism. Unlike many bourgeois publications with their pseudoscholarly and grandiloquent style, *Aththa* speaks in the simple, direct and pithy language of workers. In many schools, teachers use it as the model of modern Sinhala newspaper style.

—What hampers you in your work?

First of all, the obstacles raised by the reactionary forces. They not only use the state apparatus for this purpose but also operate Mafia style. They intimidate news dealers into not carrying *Aththa*, threaten companies which would like to place advertisements with us, impede our paper's distribution on public transport, etc.

But nothing can deter *Aththa* and its staff from discharging the tasks set by the party. The support we receive from our readers and from the CPSL gives us strength and helps us to overcome many difficulties.

Documents

POLAND

DEVELOPING POPULAR RULE

The guidelines of the Central Committee Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party approved by the 17th Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee (October 1984)¹ deal with important issues concerning the development of socialist democracy, the place and role of the party in the Polish society, and the relations between the state and the church.

Polish People's Republic, the paper says, is a socialist state expressing the interests of the working class, peasants and intellectuals. The class nature of this state and of the socialist democracy inherent in it is expressed in the efforts aimed at discharging the socialist mission of the working class and at ensuring the primacy of its long-term interests in politics, the social fabric, economic affairs, education and culture. This is the essence of the programme to build socialism. Not all tasks of the period in which the basis of the new system is to be laid in Poland have been solved fully. There still exist many imbalances. The class struggle continues, and the contradictions connected with it persist. This means that the state of the people is to continue discharging some of the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The record of the past few years reaffirms the need to maintain the defensive functions of the state representing a dictatorship of the proletariat primed for action. They are necessary for protecting revolutionary gains and democratic rights from anti-popular—above all, anti-worker—action, from counter-revolutionary attempts to undermine the socialist nature of the state. The guidelines stress that the PUWP shall always suppress counter-revolutionary forays.

The paper goes on to note that Poland is advancing along the road of consolidating popular rule and adapting political structures to the socio-economic basis of socialism, to the needs and aspirations of working people. In the discharge of the

party's guiding and leading role, priority is accorded to consolidating its direct ties with the working class and other working people, to the openness of political and social affairs to the public, and to the development of democracy within the party.

Honouring the organisational independence and autonomy of trade unions, the party should not lose sight of the need to shape and strengthen the socialist orientation of the trade union movement. Polish working people are becoming increasingly convinced that a political split of the trade unions can only weaken their socialist motherland.

A special section of the guidelines is devoted to the relations between the state and the church. People's Poland is a secular state. The secular nature of the state and its institutions, including those with educational and cultural functions, is an inviolable principle. The relations between the state and the church are developing constantly, but the dialogue with the latter is not without its difficulties. Far from all clergymen share the view that constructive coexistence of the socialist state and the church is necessary; with the knowledge and consent and sometimes on the initiative of the clergy places of worship and religious symbols are often used for non-religious purposes.

However, the problem is not confined to extremist cases. In actual fact, they reflect a broader current of political clericalism, a desire to expand the role of the church beyond the boundaries of its spiritual mission, an expansionist trend which violates the fundamental principles of separation of the church and state. The state cannot and shall not be indifferent to such phenomena.

In the foreign policy section, the guidelines stress the importance for the Polish People's Republic of its ties with the USSR and the other socialist countries, of the combination of patriotism and internationalism, the striving for peace and the unswerving readiness to defend the historic gains of socialism.

¹ *Trybuna Ludu*, October 24, 1984.

MOROCCO

AN IMPORTANT GAIN

The Central Committee of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco (PPS) has adopted a resolution analysing the results of the September 1984 parliamentary elections.¹

The resolution notes that the PPS was right in its decision to take part in the elections. The party succeeded in consolidating its ties with the people and gaining still better knowledge of working people's problems and aspirations. Its candidates exposed the pernicious reactionary course which had pushed the nation into the current crisis; they also explained the alternative suggested by the PPS and helped to mobilise the masses on its basis.

Compared with the previous elections, the 1984 campaign displayed several positive features, such as advance information about the date of the elections and a more orderly system of registration for candidates. All of them were able to conduct political propaganda within the framework of the campaign, and most national parties (including the PPS) were given an opportunity to address the electorate on radio and television. The resolution states that these are important gains of the democratic forces, particularly the PPS, which has invariably advocated proper conditions for an honest and democratic election campaign.

At the same time, numerous violations were evident in the way the elections were organised, the vote counted and the results announced. Falsification and tampering distorted the true picture of the will of the people. Most affected was the PPS: the number of votes cast for it was manipulated to appear smaller than it was, and this

deprived it of several seats.² The officially announced election results are at variance with Morocco's political realities and fail to reflect the profound mass discontent and distrust of those responsible for the existing situation.

However, the resolution says, the reactionaries will never succeed in turning the PPS into a passive onlooker or pushing it into apathy. The party will not abandon the path it has been following for years. As before, its members of parliament will uphold the interests of working people and the nation's rights, fight against moves which prejudice these interests, and advance specific and constructive proposals in the spirit of the democratic alternative programme.

In the course of the election campaign, the PPS asserted its status of a national force indelibly linked with the people, a champion of their interests. Today, new tasks are facing the party: to better adopt its organisational and propaganda activities to the everyday problems of working people and to raise the level of their political awareness.

The resolution calls on all party organisations to lose no time in studying problems of organisation given the need to strengthen party ranks and broaden its representation on the national level. It also urges them to focus their efforts on activities among workers, poorer peasants, progressive intellectuals, women, young people, small-scale businessmen and all those who share the party programme.

¹ *Al Bayane*, October 6, 1984.

² Despite the falsification of the election results, the PPS succeeded in winning two seats in the parliament.—*Ed.*

ITALY

FOR A STRONGER POSITION IN THE GIUNTAS

The Italian Communist Party has published a paper on Communist preparations for the administrative elections¹ to be held in mid-May 1985.

The paper stresses that the country is going through a deep political, economic and moral crisis. The situation makes it imperative to put an end to the system of government dominated by the Christian Democrats and demands radical changes in social development capable of protecting the environment, the quality of life, and jobs, especially for the younger generation.

The ICP notes the positive results achieved by the left democratic giuntas which function in some of the country's communes, provinces and regions and in which the Communist Party has been represented since 1975. These giuntas, the paper says, have ensured social equality in tackling issues related to the environment, medical care, housing, transport and the struggle against drug abuse. The Communists call on the progressive forces to consolidate the old positions and gain new ground in the left giuntas in the 1985 elections. In this connection the ICP rejects the Christian Democratic attempts to transfer the principles of the five-party ruling coalition onto the local government level and recalls the cooperation achieved at the local level between Communists and Socialists. It is much more important to take into account the programmes of action advanced by parties and not the already existing political alliances. The more progressive of these programmes should form the rallying ground for all forces working for democracy and social progress.

¹ *L'Unità*, November 3, 1984.

A Subject Reviewed Hard Work Bearing Fruit

In January 1985 the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan marked its 20th anniversary. In a paper published to commemorate the occasion and review the PDPA's work its Central Committee pays great attention to the party's efforts to ensure democratisation of the country's public life. The paper notes that for the first time in Afghan history working people are acquiring a tangible opportunity to take part in the national decision-making process, above all through the network of mass civic organisations united in the National Fatherland Front (NFF) whose formation has been reported in *WMR*.¹ We asked **Bareq Shaffi**, member of the PDPA Central Committee and Deputy Chairman of the NFF, about the Front's accomplishments and immediate tasks. Here is what he told us.

OVER the three years since its establishment, the NFF has developed into a major element of the Afghan political system. Its membership has expanded and its structure has become firmer. While in early 1983 it comprised 408 local committees, and not in every province either, now the number of the chapters exceeds 600, and they operate virtually throughout the country.

Trade unions, the leading component of the Front, now play a more important role: by the end of 1984 their total membership approached 200,000. Other constituent organisations—peasant cooperatives, democratic youth organisations and associations of Afghan women, writers, poets, journalists, scholars, clergymen and other groups—have become more active.

The Front is effectively rallying together and unifying all patriotic forces irrespective of their social, class and ethnic affiliation, in the name of building a just society. Priority attention is paid to consolidating the alliance of workers and peasants, the mainstay of the new government.

We are also working with other strata of the population—for example, with the clergy. The number of clergymen in the Front is growing each year. One must stress that they perform a very useful function, winning over the Moslem masses to the side of the revolution. In its turn, the DRA government takes unflagging care to maintain mosques and to protect the sites Moslems hold sacred; it guarantees complete freedom of activity to the clergy and of celebration of religious festivals; naturally, believers respond to that. Their present feelings can be deduced from the nationwide *jirgha* (assembly) of mullahs and ulemas,² held in Kabul in 1984 and attended by over 600 clergymen from all the 29 of the country's provinces. All honest Moslems supported their call to rally around the popular government and redouble the efforts to defeat the counter-revolutionaries.

Nor do we forget about those who were deceived by the counter-revolutionaries and their foreign masters, who fought against the people's government but who have now laid down their arms and given their allegiance to the revolution. Members of the Front work patiently to educate these people. Those who have repented sincerely and are ready to contribute to the country's good are admitted to the NFF: the only condition of membership is not to be hostile to new Afghanistan.

Today, a new and very important mission has been added to the Front's tasks: to help in the implementation of the party's efforts to directly involve working people in the tackling of local economic and social problems. The first steps in this direction are already being made. In a number of kishlaks and villages the people themselves hold

jirghas and elect *karyadors* (chiefs). The party supports this practice firmly. It is promoted under the legislation on local government and management bodies adopted by the DRA Revolutionary Council.

This places a great responsibility on the local committees of the NFF which are to be instrumental in the establishment of self-government. They organise local meetings, nominate participants in them for posts in popular government bodies and conduct their election campaigns. Established on the basis of NFF branches are special commissions monitoring the elections and overseeing compliance with suffrage legislation. The role of the Front in the development of democracy will continue to increase.

In conclusion, let me say a few words about NFF participation in the struggle for peace which has a distinctly unique meaning in Afghanistan. After all, the undeclared war of imperialism against our country is still on, and so is imperialist support for the counter-revolutionary forces. Therefore the Front considers it its prime duty to work to weaken these forces. A broad publicity campaign has already enabled us to persuade many Afghans who supported counter-revolution to lay down their arms.

Simultaneously, in our contacts with the people we often discuss the importance which the peace policy of the USSR and the entire socialist community hold for Afghanistan; we also expose the aggressive course of the United States and its NATO allies. With this end in view, the Front conducts 'action months for peace', when meetings and rallies are held throughout the country to reach hundreds of thousands of people. We have also sponsored several mass demonstrations against imperialist policies. One, held in front of the US embassy in Kabul, gathered over 200,000 participants.

Activists of the Front are working against great odds, constantly encountering ignorance, age-old prejudice, mistrust and even outright hostility. Nevertheless, each day of our work is a small but tangible contribution to make the ties between the party and the country's working people stronger, their world view broader and their social activity more vigorous.

¹ See Saleh Mohammad Zeray, Noor Ahmad Noor, 'Strengthening the People's Unity', *WMR*, No. 7, 1983, p. 84.

² Ulemas—Moslem theologians and experts on Islamic law.—*Ed.*

In the Mirror of the Press

Pravda

TO IMPROVE WORK WITH THE PARTY CADRE

In an editorial under this title the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) writes that at the session of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee convened to discuss Comrade Konstantin Chernenko's proposals on some aspects of today's policy towards the cadre the following point has been made: the novelty and complexity of the tasks tackled in the course of perfecting developed socialism and the higher educational

and cultural levels make more exacting demands on the party cadre, on the efficiency and moral standards of the people who comprise it.

Identification and selection of capable organisers is the starting point here. The CPSU enjoys considerable opportunities for adding to the party cadre the best representatives of the working class, collective farmers, intellectuals, women and young people. That is the way many party committees view the issue; they take great care to train their cadre workers and prepare people in advance for work at a definite level and in a definite specialisation.

The newspaper goes on to say that the efforts of party committees to pay greater attention to the opinion the party organisation, co-workers and the public in general hold of this or that individual deserve to be commended. It is imperative to continue comprehensively promoting democratic principles in the work with the cadre, to ensure a situation whereby the strictest possible control over the observance of the Leninist norms of party life and principles of party leadership be maintained in every party organisation, in all elements of government and economic management.

There are still many party workers, the newspaper continues, who have not been summoned to report on their activities to higher bodies for years; this has placed them virtually outside the field of control or criticism. Another considerably harmful practice, long condemned by the party but still occurring, is to switch around leaders who have proved unequal to their tasks. This must be ended once and for all; the rule must be that a party worker who has failed cannot be allowed to fill a leading post again until, in working at a lower level, he proves that he has learned his lesson.

The record shows that success is greater where the cadre is more experienced and stable. Unwarranted switchovers cannot bring any positive results. On the other hand, stability also has its limits. With some comrades who remain in this or that post for many years, the vision loses its sharpness, and they become less sensitive to shortcomings. Here, 'sideways' shifts to equally responsible posts and a more intensive exchange of cadres between high-level and local bodies help to inject new life into their work and enrich it with new experience.

Pravda concludes that the cadre policy, a powerful means by which the party influences the course of social development, is to become an effective factor in the implementation of the country's socio-economic tasks.

Japan Press Weekly

VICTORY OF PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATES

The information bulletin of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) reports the success of the country's left candidates who were elected mayors of Naha and Zushi at the local elections.

The bulletin reports that Kosei Oyadomari, candidate of the JCP, the Okinawa Socialist Mass Party and the Japan Socialist Party, was elected mayor of the city of Naha, Okinawa's capital with a population of 300,000. His was an impressive victory over the candidate of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and other conservative forces. Prior to his election, Kosei Oyadomari served as deputy mayor and was active in the city administration.¹ In the simultaneous bi-election to fill four vacancies in the Naha city assembly Yasukichi Kohagura, a JCP candidate, won the greatest number of votes.

Under the Japan-US Security Treaty, Okinawa hosts over 50 per cent of all US military bases on Japanese soil. Calling on the electorate to support Naha's progressive administration, the island's democratic forces advanced the slogan of fighting to have these bases removed and the treaty itself abrogated. This was also the leitmotif at the elections in Zushi, a city adjacent to the US naval base in Yokosuka.

Here, the post of mayor went to Kiichiro Tomino, leader of the Citizens' Association to Defend the Green and Children. He was supported by the Communists and other quarters opposing the plans to set aside a large part of the city for housing and other accommodations for the US troops and to turn Zushi into an appendage of the base.

The bulletin stresses that the election results in the two cities are of nation-wide importance. They have dealt a painful blow to the Nakasone Cabinet and the ruling LDP which are increasingly involving the nation in the US nuclear strategy.

¹ Progressive forces have led the city assembly for the past 16 years in which Naha has become one of Japan's best-managed cities.—*Ed.*

In Brief

GREECE

A symposium to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascist invaders has been held in Athens, sponsored by the Centre of Marxist Studies. Its theme was 'The National Resistance Movement as the Source of Inspiration in today's Struggle for Real Change, Democracy and Socialism'. Taking part in its deliberations were prominent political and public figures, veterans of the guerrilla movement and historians from Bulgaria, Denmark, France and the GDR.

HUNGARY

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has decided to convene the 13th regular congress of the HSWP on March 25, 1985. An outline of topics for the congress produced by the Central Committee has been published. Among other things, the paper notes the growth in the HSWP membership, now comprising 862,000 people. Over half the members represent the working class and peasants united in cooperatives.

ITALY

The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party have decided to merge the ICP with the Party of Proletarian Unity. L. Magri, formerly Political Secretary of the latter, has been coopted to the ICP Leadership.

URUGUAY

The Broad Front, a left coalition which includes the Communist Party of Uruguay, scored a great success in the November 1984 general elections: it won 21 per cent of the votes. Taking an active part in the election campaign of the Broad Front was

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CPU Central Committee, who returned home after many years as a political emigré.

FINLAND

A communist press festival has been held in Helsinki, attended by CPF veterans, activists from the party's regional and primary organisations, workers of the party press and foreign guests.

DENMARK

The traditional fund-raising campaign to benefit *Land og folk*, the Danish Communist newspaper, has concluded successfully. Its results offer new evidence of the popularity the Communist Party press organ enjoys with various sections of working people. The drive has raised over 51 million kroner (about 500,000 dollars), a sum considerably in excess of the original target figure.

FRG

An 'Appeal to Commemorate the 40th Anniversary of Liberation and Peace' has been published here, signed by DKP leaders, SPD and Green members of the Bundestag and Landtags, trade union activists, members of the academic and cultural community, representatives of churches and veterans of the Resistance. The appeal states that although different quarters commemorate the surrender of the Nazi state and of the Wehrmacht differently, to all genuine democrats and anti-fascists May 8 is a historic occasion—the day of liberation from fascism and war. The appeal urges demonstrations and rallies to be held in the country's major cities on May 4, 1985.

exchange of views, discussion

Euromissiles—A Nuclear Fist Held Over the Human Race

The Pershing-2 and cruise missiles now being deployed in Western Europe in accordance with the NATO "additional armament" programme are often called Euromissiles. However, it is enough to glance at a map to see that not only European but many other nations are within their range.

In this connection *WMR* requested some prominent political and civic leaders of countries of the Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Middle East to state their considerations about how the new militant preparations of the USA and its allies are affecting the situation in their respective countries and in individual regions, and what ways and means should be used to further invigorate the anti-war struggle of the peoples. In this exchange of views by correspondence the participants were: **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti**, CC Political Bureau member of the Jordanian Communist Party, **Donis Christofinis**, CC Political Bureau member of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), **Abdulla Ahmad al-Khamiri**, CC Political Bureau alternate member of the Yemeni Socialist Party, **Ahmad al-Assaad**, General Secretary of the Democratic Social Unionist Party of Syria, **Amin Howaidi**, former National Orientation and War Minister of Egypt, and **Abdel Atl Obeldi**, former Secretary (Minister) of the National Bureau for External Relations of the Supreme People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The editors have grouped their statements on the basic issues that were raised.

Wherever the Flame Is Kindled, the Fire Will Be World-Wide

In their pronouncements the participants in the exchange took as their point of departure the fact that for all people of goodwill there is now no more important and urgent task than to uphold peace in the world. Imperialism, said **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti**, still has the capability—such is the grim reality—to plunge humankind into an all-incinerating thermonuclear war. The arms race started by it has created the material resources for this capability. The greater the amount of combustible matter in the world, the easier it becomes for a global conflagration to break out. And it is not very important where the flame is lit. Nobody will find refuge from it anywhere.

This was enlarged upon by **Donis Christofinis**. It should be clear to people, he said, that there can be no winnable limited or local nuclear war. Once the djinn is released from the bottle he will not be driven back. With the colossal power of modern means of mass attack another world war would inevitably also be the last. Experts have estimated that the effects of a nuclear conflict—geophysical, climatic, and

ecological—will be so disastrous that death will overcome not only the belligerents but also the population of neutral countries, even those farthest from the theatre of hostilities.

This brings out in bold relief the danger of world peace from any kind of local crisis and conflict situation, especially when matters reach the point of armed collisions. Thus, noted **Abdulla Ahmad al-Khamiri**, the seats of tension deliberately created by imperialism in different parts of the world can under no circumstances be regarded as isolated phenomena. They are elements of its strategic plans for achieving world supremacy, for creating the conditions enabling it to pillage the wealth of other nations without hindrance.

The situation in the Persian Gulf is illustrative of how imperialism uses local conflicts to further its own interests. The escalation of hostilities in this zone has given the USA and some of its NATO allies the excuse to increase their military presence there and threaten to interfere in developments with the use of armed force to 'protect freedom of navigation' and their 'strategic interests'. It is now obvious to everybody how hurtful the effects of the war between Iraq and Iran are for the peoples not only of these two countries but of the entire region. We, said **Abdulla Ahmad al-Khamiri**, have been urging an immediate cessation to the hostilities and the settlement of all outstanding issues between these countries by peaceful means.

US aggressive policy, said **Ahmad al-Assaad**, has brought bitter grief to the peoples of the Middle East. But imperialist propaganda is trying to justify that policy with the wild assertion that the situation in the region is affecting the 'security of the USA'. The same is said about other, even the most remote parts of the world, which are declared a sphere of 'vital interests', as though the whole planet were becoming the domain of the USA.

Recourse is often had to the 'Soviet threat' myth in order to camouflage interference in the affairs of other countries. Actually, the threat to the security of the Middle Eastern countries and peoples comes from a totally different direction, from the USA and its clients, the Israeli expansionists. The relations between Washington and Tel Aviv have lately been elevated to the level of a 'strategic alliance'. Israel is acting in the Middle East as US imperialism's agent. Cooperation between them is based on a concurrence of interests and a mutual striving to impose upon the Arab world their political, economic, and military domination.

Amin Howeidi pointed out that US Strategy and policy currently envisage the creation of 'regional superpowers' in key regions of the world, for instance, South Africa in the southern part of the African continent and Israel in the Middle East. A particularly disturbing circumstance is that these 'regional superpowers', acting as US agents, have nuclear weapon in their arsenals.¹ They have been allowed to come into possession of these weapons, and have even been helped in this matter so as to ensure a more dependable imperialist control over the regions 'assigned' to them.

A distinction must be made, said **Amin Howeidi**, between nuclear armaments on a global and on regional levels. In the former case there are some deterring elements, for the threat of annihilating all life is all too evident. In the latter case the temptation to use nuclear weapons is much greater, and Third World countries may find themselves turned into a sort of proving ground, as was Republican Spain in the 1930s for the then most advanced doctrines of using aircraft and tanks in battle.

Clearly, the use of nuclear weapons in regional conflicts harbours a terrible threat, for it can serve as an impetus for the outbreak of a world war. No guarantees exist for localising such conflicts. For that reason the Soviet Union quite rightly rejects the idea that as 'limited' nuclear war is possible.

Amin Howeidi declared that in his book, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict—Between Nuclear and Conventional Deterrence*, written after the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, he examines whether possession of nuclear weapons is a means of

stabilising the situation in the region. He draws a negative conclusion, in which he shows that stability will be fragile if it is based on strength or, to be more exact, on an imbalance of strength. From this angle all government-to-government agreements may be divided into two categories. The first are equitable and express a balance between the interests of the sides, when each of them is interested in complying with the achieved understandings. The second are onerous or vicious agreements based on an imbalance of strength prevailing at the time they were signed. Examples of latter are the Camp David agreements between Egypt and Israel and the agreement of May 17, 1983 between Lebanon and Israel. These are shortlived agreements, for a preponderance of strength is an unstable development: it follows the pattern of strong today and weak tomorrow. For that reason such agreements are violated or jettisoned.

Ahmad al-Assaad likewise spoke of US imperialism's global policy of creating and fanning hotbeds of tension in different parts of the world. The provocations of the US military in the Persian Gulf and the intervention in Lebanon under the signboard of 'multinational forces', he declared, are of the same branch as the USA's aggressive intrigues in Central America and the Caribbean or the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe. These are all elements of the militarist guideline of steadily shaking loose the foundations of international peace so that Washington could with impunity proceed with its policy of blackmail and hegemonism.

That, said **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti**, is why in all parts of the world people are so worried about the stationing of US Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe. These are first-strike weapons, a nuclear fist held over the whole of the human race. Destabilising the international situation by their very presence, they are the cause of the direct threat to Third World countries including those in the Middle East.

The continuing stationing of nuclear missiles by the USA in some West European countries, **Abdel Ati Obeidi** noted, is naturally disturbing the people and leadership of the Libyan Jamahiriya. In Libya this is a special cause of anxiety because one of the launching pads for the US missiles, the Comiso base in Italy, is situated in direct proximity of Libya's frontier. A representation has been made over this matter to the Italian government.

Washington, **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti** said, needs the Euromissiles not only as an additional threat to the socialist community, to the Soviet Union, although this is their main designation, but also as a means of nuclear blackmail relative to those developing nations that do not wish to accept dictation from the imperialists. It is known that the US military and political leadership has on several occasions considered the possibility of using nuclear weapons in various regional conflicts. And this time around, too, it is not accidental that the Pentagon has ordered a much larger number of Pershing and cruise missiles than is planned for deployment in Europe. Israel has already offered to station them on its territory and has, according to the press, even begun building launching pads.

It is quite possible that a situation will arise in which Arab lands will become targets for US missiles, **Ahmad al-Assaad** opined. The allied relations linking Israel to the USA are turning the former into an element of the NATO military machine. Tel Aviv's acts of aggression and the militarist preparations in Western Europe are mutually reinforcing and complementing. The stationing of Euromissiles and the conclusion of the 'strategic alliance' between the US imperialists and the Israeli racists are related acts. Both spell out a mortal threat to peace on the planet, in the Middle East as elsewhere.

The Specious Theory of 'Equal Responsibility'

A keynote of this exchange of views is that it is not enough merely to note the threat of war hanging over the world. In order to develop ways of removing that threat it is vital

to have a clear understanding of where it comes from, of what and who give rise to it.

Abd Al Aziz Al Otti declared that people are emphatically denouncing the attempts to make them believe that the responsibility for the aggravation of the international situation, for the threat of a nuclear war devolves in equal measure on the USA and USSR. Assertions to this effect seriously complicate the struggle against the war threat, for they slur over the fundamental distinctions between the Soviet Union's consistent policy of peace and the adventurist militarist policy pursued by the USA. Suffice it to recall that the most far-reaching proposal, that of general and complete disarmament under universal and full control, came from the Soviet Union. The many constructive initiatives taken by the Soviet Union likewise pursue the objective of bridling the arms race in its diverse directions and defusing tension world-wide and in individual regions.

This Soviet activity on the international scene with the purpose of averting the threat of war, **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti** said, is strikingly exemplified by its proposals of the close of July 1983 for a Middle East settlement. These map out clear-cut realistic principles on the basis of which the drawn-out conflict, which is seriously menacing world peace, can be settled, and indicate the concrete way to a settlement, namely, collective efforts with the participation of all the affected sides, including, naturally, the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.

There was a wide response to the new Soviet initiative, **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti** went on, and it was received with satisfaction by world public opinion. The only opposition to it came from the governments of the USA and Israel. The latter have thereby given further evidence that they are not interested in lasting peace in the Middle East and that they are clinging to their traditional anti-Arab policies, which are sustaining an explosive situation fraught with grave consequences.

A similar state of affairs exists relative to other Soviet peace proposals. The administration in Washington has publicly proclaimed a 'crusade' against existing socialism and is increasing the scale of its war preparations, pinning its hopes on a first-strike strategy. Willy-nilly, to say in these circumstances that the USA and USSR are 'equally responsible' for the dangerous aggravation of the international situation, **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti** stressed, is to undermine the peace movement, to try to deprive it of its clear orientation and turn it, even if only partially, against the true bastion of the peace forces, the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community.

Amin Howeidi was emphatic on the point that the forced counter-measures taken by the Soviet leaders cannot be identified with the provocations of the government in Washington. The deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe, he said, is a highly dangerous act in terms of military strategy. Its purpose has been to change the entire strategic² situation and the Soviet union was perfectly justified in taking counter-measures to ensure its own security and restore the broken equilibrium.

This has to be mentioned, said **Donis Christofinis**, because some, even if well intentioned, people are of the naive view that the Soviet Union over-reacted to the US—NATO missile 'additional armament' venture. Actually, the Soviet measures are fully in keeping with the interests of preserving world peace. The USSR has solemnly committed itself to the non-first-use of nuclear weapons, but it is justified in ensuring its own security and that of its allies, in safeguarding peace for humankind. For the peoples it is a boon in the real sense of the word that the Soviet Union, which consistently champions peace, freedom, and justice on account of the nature of its socialist system, is strong enough to close the road to the US imperialists' aspiration for world supremacy. The steps that the Soviet Union had to take in response to the deployment of US first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe are a sobering argument indeed. They are a cold shower for those who run about with the idea of fighting a war exclusively in the European theatre, plan cynically to sacrifice the

population of the Old World, including their own allies, and then to begin collecting trophies.

There are quarters, **Donis Christofinis** noted, who are sometimes led astray by the 'peace' rhetoric coming from the White House. If one takes a closer look at the US 'initiatives', one will see that either they are merely empty talk or they give the USA unilateral advantages. One only has to recall the sham response to the Soviet proposals for talks to prevent the militarisation of outer space or the USA's reluctance to take the nuclear systems of its European allies—Britain and France—targeted on Soviet installations into consideration in its count of the nuclear missile balance in Europe.

In the wide spectrum of Soviet proposals, said **Donis Christofinis**, Cypriot public opinion gave much of its attention to the idea of turning the Mediterranean basin from an arena of sharp confrontation into a nuclear-free region of productive peaceful cooperation. The Cypriot people urge support for this proposal by all Mediterranean, chiefly non-aligned, nations. While AKEL consistently advocates turning the Mediterranean into a nuclear-free or even fully demilitarised zone, it holds that a mistake is being made by those who want only the two 'superpowers', the USA and the USSR, to withdraw from that arena. First, the Soviet navy has never been an instrument of aggression, while US invasions from the sea have been experienced time and again by countries of the region, including Lebanon, which is a neighbour of Cyprus. Second, if only US and Soviet naval units were to pull out of the Mediterranean, there would still be large naval forces of NATO powers that have nuclear weapons. The imperialists would thereby have the possibility of blackmailing with impunity nations that in the present situation regard the Soviet naval presence as the guarantee of their right to peace, freedom, and dignity.

Strengthen the Peace Front

The participants in the discussion spoke with commitment about what had to be done to firm up and make more effective the resistance to imperialism's militarist designs and restore the atmosphere of detente and constructive cooperation.

Abd Al Aziz Al Otti spoke of the work of the peace forces in Jordan, drawing attention to the circumstance that his country is itself an object of attacks by imperialism and zionism. Jordanian patriots have every reason to believe that had the US-Israeli-NATO intervention in Lebanon succeeded their country would have been the next victim.

At the same time, close links to imperialist circles, which control large sectors of national life, are inducing the Amman regime to take its cue from these circles and turn the country into a base for action undermining the Arab national liberation movement. Evidence of this is provided by steps such as the establishment of a joint US-Jordanian military committee and the drawing up of projects for the formation of a Jordanian 'rapid deployment force'. This force of nearly 9,000 effectives, armed and trained by the Americans, is designated for punitive operations ordered by the USA to suppress popular actions (chiefly in countries of the Arab Peninsula and the Persian Gulf) if these actions are seen as a threat to the interests of US imperialism. With US brass in command, joint military exercises are held by the two countries; it has been announced that there is now a 'security company' consisting of retired Jordanian and also British officers familiar with local conditions. Its task is to assist imperialist special agencies in collecting the information they want, chiefly, about the mood of the people, the revolutionary ferment among them, and strike and other actions by working people.

The old strategy of military blocs, the very mention of which is abhorrent to the Arab peoples, is being resurrected in new shape. The new names, terms and organisational methods are no more than subterfuge designed to camouflage the

immutable aims of the imperialist militarists.

For that reason, **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti** declared, the Jordanian patriots and all other decent people who cherish peace and freedom should not for a moment relax their vigilance or blunt the sharpness of the struggle. The man-hating policies of imperialism's most aggressive circles are themselves creating a situation in which the broadest sections of society are uniting to offer resistance. Pursuing the sole aim of helping to preserve and consolidate international security and prevent Jordan from being involved in the war preparations that are increasing the threat of war globally and on the scale of the Middle East, the Jordanian Peace Committee is steadfastly mobilising workers, peasants, intellectuals, religious personalities, women, and young people, regardless of their political views and persuasions, for action against imperialism's plans. In spite of the obviously unfavourable attitude of the government, the committee is using every opportunity to promote its activities, periodically bringing out a bulletin which offers information showing the substance of the aggressive policies pursued by the imperialist powers and the danger that these hold out for the people of Jordan, other Middle East countries, and the whole of humankind; organising diverse mass anti-war actions; closely cooperating with the World Peace Council.

Imperialist interference, said **Donis Christofinis**, is the principal cause of all the suffering that has fallen to the lot of Cypriot people. Imperialism, chiefly that of the USA, regards Cyprus as a potential 'unsinkable aircraft-carrier' in the neuralgic Eastern Mediterranean, abutting the Middle East and located near the southern frontiers of the USSR. Progressive opinion of Cyprus is particularly worried about the British and US military bases on the island. The fact that these have nuclear armaments (as is sometimes mentioned in the press) makes the nation a hostage of the imperialists. Moreover, the bases are used for subverting its independence and sovereignty. In spite of protests from the Cypriots these bases have served time and again to support Israel against the Arab neighbours. This is totally at variance with the policy of the Republic of Cyprus, which has, ever since it was founded, pursued a policy on non-alignment.

On the initiative of the Cypriot Peace Committee, in which the Communists play the leading role, there have been many mass protest demonstrations on the island, including demonstrations near the military base at Limassol. These were demonstrations demanding an end to the foreign military presence on Cyprus and the restoration in full of the country's national independence and its sovereignty over its entire territory. The Cypriot people want their country to be free of foreign occupation or any other troops, totally demilitarised, and non-aligned. They are eager to see that it should not be used as a springboard for fanning military tension.

Abdel Ati Obeidi spoke of the hysterical anti-Libyan campaign orchestrated by Washington. The actions of the US 6th Fleet in the Gulf of Sidra, which is the Libyan territorial waters, are of a blatantly aggressive nature. US naval aircraft regularly make spy overflights across Libyan coastal waters. The US is trying to form a ring around Libya, building bases in neighbouring countries, notably Egypt and Sudan, and holding military exercises there. The imperialist intervention in Chad pursues the same purpose. In keeping with its 'policy of strength', the government in Washington is trying to get West European countries to boycott Libya economically, to place an embargo on its oil, and virtually blockade it. Lastly, the US imperialists are having recourse to the tested method of using counter-revolutionaries for subversive activities against Libya. These belong mainly to the Muslim Brotherhood clique. Members of that organisation who have been caught have admitted that they received funds from US sources and that they had been trained by American instructors either in the USA itself or in Sudan.

But none of this can erode the forces of the revolution of September 1. The Libyan

people, **Abdel Ati Obeidi** said, rely on their friends throughout the world, chiefly the socialist countries, and are able to rebuff the intrigues of US imperialism. They count also on the support of the non-aligned movement, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, and the Organisation of African Unity.

All the participants in this exchange spoke of the need for joint militant action by the peace forces and of the inner unity of the anti-imperialist struggle that the peoples of different countries and regions are waging against the growing threat of war.

Ahmad al-Assaad put this in the following words. The problem of war and peace now concerns everybody without exception. The security of the inhabitants of any part of the planet cannot be isolated from the security of humankind as a whole. The world has, so to speak, been divided into two: on the one side are the peoples striving for independence, freedom, and progress and on the other are imperialism, racism, and reaction using undisguised force in order to impose their will upon the former. In this situation the courageous resistance offered to enemy intrigues in the Middle East, where under the leadership of President Hafez Al-Asad Syria plays a vanguard role, is fusing into a single torrent with the general struggle of the peoples of all continents for peace, freedom, and progress, against those who are usurping or trying to usurp their inalienable rights.

It was noted, however, that the anti-war movement in the region represented by the participants in the discussion was still inconsistent with the acuteness of the international situation, that the scale and militancy of the struggle in the Middle East were on a lower level than in other parts of the planet.

Amin Howeidi noted that while the Europeans are strongly protesting against the deployment of US missiles, nothing has as yet been done in that direction in the Middle East. People are not opening their eyes wide enough to see that the Middle East is also being turned into a launching pad for nuclear missiles.

Abd Al Aziz Al Otti agreed with this assessment. It has to be admitted with regret, he said, that in the Arab and Afro-Asian regions the actions against the course steered by Washington and some of its allies towards breaking the existing military-strategic equilibrium in the world and against the escalation of the arms race have not yet acquired the same magnitude as in Western Europe or North America. Taking this into account, the communist and workers' parties of Arab countries appealed at their conference in June 1984 to all progressive-patriotic forces, parties, personalities, trade unions, and other mass organisations of the Arab world to join militantly in the world-wide anti-war movement, whose aim is to save humankind from the imperialist-created threat of nuclear incineration. It was stressed that today the basic thing was 'to secure the withdrawal of the missiles deployed in Europe and prevent the stationing of new US missiles in Europe or the Middle East'. The statement adopted at the conference declared that here the points of departure are to acknowledge and show that there is a close relationship 'between the struggle of our peoples against the US policy of dictation and imposing military bases, against Israeli aggression, for national liberation, and social progress and the global struggle for the preservation of peace, which was demonstrated vividly when the nuclear threat hung directly over our region'.

Present-day history, said **Abdulla Ahmad Al-Khamiri**, bears out this relationship in many ways. In order to develop and consolidate this relationship vigorous action is needed to unmask the aggressive essence of imperialism and its militarist plans. An end to the arms race and nuclear disarmament are vital to humankind, to people of all nationalities and races. To achieve disarmament would signify pulling the fangs of the imperialist predator, who had taken a grip on the throat of the peoples of the Middle East. The colossal sums allocated for the manufacture of armaments could be directed into the building of civilisation characterised by a fair distribution of resources and material goods among nations.

In the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen it is believed that actions by peace fighters of all countries in support of the struggle in the Middle East for national independence and social progress would be of immense significance as a factor strengthening the relationship between the liberation and the anti-war movements. A large role would be played here by a direct dialogue between the participants in both movements, by mutual exchanges of information and experience, and by the organisation of joint actions.

By way of summing up the exchange, **Abd Al Aziz Al Otti** declared that he believed purposeful joint actions could and would rebuff the adventurist aspirations of the imperialists and erect a barrier to encroachments upon the sovereignty and security of peoples, upon the destiny of humankind.

* * *

This exchange of views, sponsored by *WMR*, has shown that large sections of the people in Asian and African countries are becoming increasingly aware that the present disturbing rise of military and political tension is not confined to the relations between the USA and the USSR or between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, that it is threatening the whole of humankind with mortal danger. People are acquiring a clearer understanding of the causes and sources of the war threat, and there is a growing gravitation towards cohesion, towards unity of action in the efforts to remove that threat. However, the participants in the exchange feel that the development of these processes still lags behind the rate at which the imperialists are escalating international tension and the arms race, that it does not meet the need for effective resistance to the anti-people designs of the militarists. Imperialist and reactionary circles are going to all lengths to confuse the peace forces, to split their ranks, and tear the peace fighters away from their natural allies—the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. As the exchange has shown, explanatory and organisational work is becoming increasingly important in this situation, and this work has to be conducted perseveringly by the most consistent champions of peace, freedom, and progress, by the Communists in the first place.

¹ According to the world press, South Africa and Israel are already in possession or in a position to come into possession of a nuclear capability of their own. It is indicative that both these countries have refused to subscribe to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.—*Ed.*

² In this context **Amin Howeidi** touched on the question of what to consider a strategic weapon. he said that as an expert he unequivocally accepted the Soviet point of view that a strategic weapon is one that can, regardless of its range, hit an enemy's vital installations. For instance, the Israeli missiles can hit the Aswan High Dam, and consequently for Egypt they are strategic weapons targeted on an installation vital to the nation.

viewpoints

Equitable Cooperation or Pressure Policy? Two Opposite Lines in International Economic Ties

Professor Yuri Konstantinov
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Secretariat

THE communist and workers' parties of the socialist community have pursued a steady line of strengthening peace and reducing international tensions, a line of constructive cooperation of all the sovereign states, including cooperation in the economic sphere. Their assumption is that relations of partnership in this sphere between states with different political and social systems are not only an important means for solving national economic problems, but are also a reliable factor for strengthening the security of the nations and materialising the detente.

Let us recall that the fraternal parties' stand on this issue was exhaustively set forth in the documents of the Economic Summit of the countries which are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in June 1984. It demonstrated their common views and their collective will to go on strengthening their unity and making their cooperation in the struggle for peace and social progress even closer and more effective.

However, the positive development of international economic ties is being impeded by the sharp worsening of the international situation provoked by the imperialist circles of the United States, which have tried to bolster their military and political acts with economic props. In violation of the generally accepted norms of international relations, the Reagan Administration has gone back on a number of agreed understandings, mounting a trade, credit and technological blockade and resorting to diverse methods of pressure, embargo and 'sanctions' against countries rejecting its dictates and obstinate bids, and has even sought to impose this line on its allies.

That policy is a component part of the strategy of present-day imperialism designed to settle the historical contest with socialism in its favour by means of military and economic pressure. These hopes are being fuelled by the self-deception that the socialist community countries lag in science and technology, are economically weak, and are in the throes of some 'disintegration' of their cooperation with each other. Hence the US line of stepping up the arms race, conducting a tough economic policy with respect to the CMEA countries and the intention of weakening them. But here the forces of reaction have clearly made a miscalculation. The historical record shows that such a line has no prospects before it. The fraternal socialist countries have all they need to resist any pressure and discrimination, or any kind of attempts to hamper

their development by restricting their participation in international economic cooperation.

Indeed, what kind of 'lag' can there be if the CMEA countries now account for nearly one-third of the world's scientific and technical potential and a fifth of all the patents taken out for new hardware and technology? They turn out roughly one-third of the world's engineering products, whose volume has been rapidly growing: from 1951 to 1983, it has multiplied more than 36-fold. Last year, the European socialist countries' engineering and metal-working product came to 23-33 per cent of total industrial output, which is an indicator close to those of the industrialised capitalist countries.

The CMEA countries now produce more than 22 per cent of the world's electric power, 24 per cent of the oil, 29 per cent of the coal and 37 per cent of the natural gas. The CMEA meets 90-95 per cent of its requirements in energy resources and vital types of raw materials from its own sources. From 1951 to 1983, their gross farm output went up by 160 per cent, and food output over the past 20 years—by more than 150 per cent. With 16 per cent of the world's crop area, they produce 20 per cent of the agricultural produce, including 30 per cent of the wheat, and 44 per cent of the potatoes and sugar beet. In consumption per head of the staple foodstuffs, the CMEA's European countries are virtually on the same level as the industrialised capitalist countries on the continent.

The socialist planned economy is characteristically on a constant and steady upgrade. There is hard evidence of socialism's basic advantages in actually ensuring social and national equality, developing the national economy in a balanced manner, uniting the society ideologically, giving its citizens confidence in the future, and displaying constant concern for the working man and for the individual's harmonious development.

That is borne out by statistical data. The socialist countries economic growth rate is much faster than that of the capitalist countries. From 1950 to 1983, the CMEA countries' national income multiplied 8.5-fold, and that of the capitalist countries—only 3.4-fold; industrial output increased, respectively, 14-fold and 3.8-fold. From 1951 to 1983, national income in the CMEA countries grew at an average of 6.7 per cent a year, as compared with the 3.8 per cent in the industrialised capitalist countries; industrial output was, respectively, 8.3 and 4.2 per cent. The CMEA countries' industrial output per head is already more than three times higher than the average world level, and in some areas is well above that of the industrialised capitalist countries. Here are a few more figures which give a picture of the people's wellbeing. In our countries, real income per head—a synthetic indicator of living standards—was nearly five times higher than it was in the early 1950s. Over the past 20 years, they have built 75 million new flats; school houses for 69 million and pre-school institutions for 14 million children; tens of thousands of hospitals, polyclinics, cultural and other everyday facilities have been built. Such is the evidence of the objective facts.

Nor is there any truth in the assertion that the socialist community is 'falling apart'. On the contrary, there is a consistent deepening of cooperation in the area, and its economic integration is picking up, as will be seen from the CMEA countries' trade with each other, which from 1970 to 1983 went up from 33.5 billion to 167 billion transferrable roubles, i.e., a 5-fold increase, and a 36-fold increase over 1950. Last year this trade accounted for nearly 59 per cent of the fraternal countries' foreign trade as a whole. The value of their deliveries of goods and services to each other comes to over 18 per cent of their aggregate national income. For some of these countries, integration ties largely determine the potentialities for further economic growth. Thus, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary sell from 30 to 40 per cent of their machinery and equipment on CMEA markets.

That the process of socialist economic integration is accelerating will be seen from these countries' joint construction of trunk pipelines, electric-power transmission lines, nuclear-power plants, and ore-concentration combines. Everyone has heard about the projects realised for the common benefit, such as the *Soyuz* gas pipeline, the large-scale enterprises like the Kiembai asbestos works, the Ust-Ilim timber complex, and so on.

The line of economic integration which was decided upon 15 years ago, has fully justified itself. Ties between the fraternal countries have been solidified and their cooperation has risen to a new and much higher level. The CMEA's international authority has grown, and it is now exerting a greater positive influence on economic life in all the member countries. Socialist economic integration has become a powerful and stable factor of their all-round progress.

The 'disintegration' myth was invented in an effort to prove that any integration, including socialist integration, is hardly feasible in principle, and that is bourgeois propaganda's way of pretending that the highly acute problems and antagonistic contradictions besetting the Common Market are only to be expected. But no such contradictions have ever existed or can exist between socialist states. The CMEA is an economic union in which no country dominates others, because it is based on comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. It is an integration grouping whose activity is entirely determined not by the egoistic interests of the various partners but by their joint acts based on truly just relations. Each country's national interests can be organically harmonised with the common goals of the whole community because of socialism's inherently democratic methods of integration.

There are, of course, not only achievements but also problems in socialist economic integration. Thirty-six years ago, when the CMEA was set up, its members did not and could not have any ready-made recipes for mutually advantageous cooperation, and so they had to advance along untrodden paths in arranging the integration of their national economies, as they have had to do in building their new and progressive society. 'Along this great historical way, there have quite naturally been shortcomings and reverses which sprang both from objective and subjective causes,' Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU CC and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said after the Economic Summit in Moscow. 'But the main thing is that the vital necessity and effectiveness of our all-round economic ties have been convincingly confirmed.'

The problems facing the CMEA countries today are connected above all with their economic development and the use of still untapped reserves and potentialities of their economic cooperation. These tasks are so large and diverse that they can only be fulfilled through consistent intensification of social production.

One has to bear in mind that the extensive factors of economic growth have been worked out in most of the fraternal socialist countries, and since the conditions for economic management have radically changed, there is a need to make it very much more efficient. That is why accelerated transition to all-round intensive reproduction is pivotal to the economic strategy of the ruling communist and workers' parties in the 1980s. This will require considerable changes in the structure of the national economy, a remodelling and technical restructuring of its sectors, and the creation of an efficient and sophisticated transit network to meet the much higher requirements. There are still considerable reserves for deepening international specialisation and cooperation of production and expanding mutual trade for the fuller use of the fraternal countries' economic, scientific and technical potential, and raising their peoples' wellbeing.

If these tasks are to be fulfilled, socialist economic integration has to be further developed, and the guidelines for the CMEA countries' long-term cooperation were set forth by the Moscow Economic Summit. A major stride forward is to be taken in

deepening the CMEA countries' coordination of economic policies in areas involving their cooperation with each other, and also in other areas of socio-economic development, to the extent to which this will be considered necessary by the countries concerned. Such coordination implies a collective working out of solutions for vital national-economic problems which are of mutual interest. The CMEA's role is to be enhanced. All of this should raise socialist economic integration to a new level and enable each participant to make fuller use of the factors of intensive development.

The record testifies to the CMEA's growing economic strength, and there is, of course, no doubt that it will not allow its economic ties with the capitalist world to develop into relations of inequality and dependence on the latter. That is what the imperialist politicians have been trying to achieve, but their view of the balance of forces in the modern world is a distorted one. Their adventurist line of pressures and blackmail does indeed spring from weakness, but it is the weakness of the old world, and not of the new one. The deepening general crisis of capitalism and its economic and political instability, on the one hand, and the steady development of the world revolutionary process, on the other, are the key factors which make the foreign policy line of present-day imperialism, notably US imperialism, ever more reactionary. Again and again, with increasing frequency, it keeps plunging both into military and economic gambles in an effort to hurl back the economy of the CMEA countries into the past, by going back on concluded agreements and treaties, so as to weaken the influence of existing socialism and to get it to abandon its active positions in world politics. However, the CMEA states' economic successes show that such attempts are futile.

It was noted at the Moscow summit that economic pressure and imperialist blackmail are being directed not only against the socialist countries. On the pretext of fighting communism, US ruling circles have been trying to solve their internal problems at the expense of the others, to weaken their rivals, to oust them from the world markets, to establish control over whole regions of the globe, and to undermine the positions of states and individual companies maintaining business ties with the CMEA countries.

International cooperation as a whole is being harmed and the situation for developing East-West economic ties worsened by the imperialist forces' escalation of the arms race and their efforts to bend economic relations to aggressive policies, so curtailing the possibility of solving such key global problems as the provision of food for the world's growing population, rational use of fuel and raw materials, development of new sources of energy, exploration of space and the World Ocean, and protection of the environment.

Economic blackmail is a shortsighted approach even from the standpoint of the capitalist countries' own interests, for it makes it more difficult for them to pull out of the economic crisis, which has been additionally complicated by the energy, raw materials, food and monetary crisis. There is a growing disruption of foreign trade, increasing instability of the world commodity markets, and a rising tide of protectionism. International monetary and financial relations are being upset (especially because the United States has imposed artificially high interest rates on the other countries).

That tends to make the economic difficulties more acute and further worsen the condition of the working masses in the capitalist countries: prices have been soaring, unemployment has reached tremendous proportions, and there is less and less confidence in the morrow. The imperialist offensive against the detente has ultimately developed into an attack on the vital rights and interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the broadest strata of the society.

Considering the effects of the economic blockade mounted against the young Soviet Russia, Lenin once remarked that it was still hard to tell who would suffer from

the blockade most 'the blockaded or the blockaders'.² The expansion of economic ties with the socialist states could offer the capitalist countries new and stable markets for their goods and prospects of major contracts. Such cooperation has large potentialities, but these can be realised most fully only in a world of relaxed political and military tensions.

The future of trade and economic ties is one of the vital issues of our day over which there is a historical dispute between the forces of progress and reaction. The Communists are convinced that life will settle it in favour of progress. The idea of 'economic war' has met with mounting resistance even in the capitalist countries. The non-aligned movement, progressive opinion throughout the world, realistically minded politicians and members of the business community are opposed to the blocking of the mutually advantageous cooperation and the attempts to hamper the restructuring of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis.

In defiance of the pressure many capitalist countries have continued to develop their economic contacts with the socialist states. Thus, ties between the USSR and France have continued to develop even in the 1980s, despite the more complicated situation in the world and the considerable difficulties this has caused. Over the past three years, their trade with each other reached nearly 15.7 billion roubles, which is 70 per cent more than it was in the preceding five-year period. The CMEA countries have broad relations with Finland. In 1973, they signed an Agreement on Cooperation, and now have a total of more than 60 multilateral economic, scientific and technical agreements, with the result that over the past decade these countries' share in Finland's foreign trade has nearly doubled (from 15.2 per cent to 28.4 per cent).

The socialist community attaches much importance to trade, economic, scientific and technical ties with developing countries, for they help the latter to build an independent economy and to participate in the international division of labour on an equal footing. In 1975, cooperation agreements were signed by the CMEA with Iraq and Mexico, and in 1983, with Nicaragua. The representatives of Angola, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Laos, Mozambique, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen attend sessions of CMEA agencies as observers.

The imperialist line of frustrating or slowing down the economic and social progress of other peoples by means of economic dictates is flawed in every respect. The 'sanctions', embargoes and credit blockades tend to undermine trust between states. Such a policy with respect to countries rejecting the obstinate demands of US ruling circles is a direct continuation of Washington's line of torpedoing the detente, stepping up tensions, spiralling the arms race and increasing hostility for the socialist countries. In this way, US imperialism is trying to bolster the positions of the military-industrial complex and to assert its policy of militarisation and the drive against human rights.

In these conditions, the socialist community has to strengthen its economic security so as to make itself immune to the imperialist policy of power pressure and blackmail. The hope that the CMEA countries will be incapable of solving their social and economic problems without aid from the capitalist world will continue to be a flimsy one, as the USSR's historical experience in the face of imperialism's repeated economic boycotts shows very well. At the height of the 'cold war', for instance, when the bans on the export of so-called strategic goods were especially stringent, the Soviet Union developed the then highly sophisticated TU-104 and TU-114 aircraft; it built the world's most powerful proton synchrotron, launched the nuclear-powered icebreaker *Lenin*, and sent the first man into space. Since then, the economic, scientific and technical potential of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries has markedly grown, which means that there is not the slightest

reason to expect the foreign trade 'sanctions' of the 1980s to end up differently from the earlier attempts to mount an economic blockade.

This also applies to the attempts to use credit and monetary relations against our community. More than twenty years ago, the CMEA countries set up their own international monetary system, which enables them to effect all types of mutual payments without resorting to the dollar or any other capitalist currency. This makes it possible to pursue an independent monetary, credit and price policy in their mutual economic relations and to protect the fraternal countries against imperialism's monetary and other economic acts of subversion, so weakening the impact of the credit blockade. Such methods cannot substantially disrupt the rhythm of reproduction in the socialist countries because they give priority to each other in international economic cooperation. The credit blockade will ultimately boomerang against its organisers. The Soviet Union alone now has business relations with 1,700 banks in 124 countries of the world. Breaking the traditional credit ties with the socialist world would mean debilitating the capitalist banks, and this would intensify the chain reaction of bankruptcies within the imperialist financial system.

While taking resolute measures to strengthen their economic security and immunity, the CMEA countries do not seek to isolate themselves from the rest of the world. The Moscow Economic Summit documents emphasise that the CMEA countries have always been opposed to autarky and have always advocated and continue to advocate wide mutually advantageous cooperation with other states, normalisation of international economic ties and the lifting of all kinds of barriers. The CMEA countries are now strong enough to produce most of the goods they need by cooperating with each other, but they are convinced that the international division of labour is advantageous, which is why they have consistently pursued a policy of extending economic, scientific and cultural relations with all the countries of the world, above all on the basis of long-term programmes and agreements. In so doing, they have used various mutually advantageous forms of cooperation, including technical assistance, construction of facilities, industrial cooperation, and joint research and development.

The CMEA countries want the potentialities of business cooperation with the capitalist states to be more actively tapped, and so welcome the policies of those of them which maintain equitable relations with the socialist community. They attach especial importance to expanding economic scientific and technical ties between the European countries in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid understandings. That could help to revive trade, improve supplies of energy and raw materials, accelerate technical progress, develop international transit, protect the environment and create jobs wherever unemployment is high.

The CMEA countries have put forward a realistic programme for improving international economic relations, and are making a major contribution to this important endeavour by basing their own cooperation with each other on the principles of equality, friendship and mutual assistance. The Declaration issued by the economic summit says that they 'are consistent advocates of effective solutions and actions aimed to rule out any exploitation in international economic relations, to ensure unimpeded international scientific and technical cooperation, elimination of discrimination, artificial barriers and inequitable exchange in trade relations, the establishment of a fair and economically justified balance of prices for raw materials, foodstuffs and manufactured goods, and greater controls for that purpose over the activity of the transnational monopolies. They want to see the ordering of monetary and financial relations, oppose the policy of high interest rates, and favour normalisation of the terms on which credits are made available and repaid, so as to prevent these terms from being used, especially with respect to the developing

countries' debt, as a means of political pressure and interference in their internal affairs.¹

It is highly symbolic that two concepts—the preservation of peace and international economic cooperation—are used on a par with each other in the Declaration of the CMEA Economic Summit. The expression of their resolve to resist the imperialist aggression reaffirms their urge to return international relations to the path of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation. The socialist community countries believe that the prime condition for improving the world economic situation is an end to the arms race, above all the nuclear missile race, and a start on their reduction.

This firm line for detente is due not only to the fact that the 'cold war' has a negative effect on the fulfilment of economic plans and the normal development of economic, scientific and technical ties. Socialism being by nature humanistic, it takes a responsible stand for the peoples' peaceful future, since its supreme goal is human wellbeing.

¹ *Pravda*, June 15, 1984.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 152.

³ *Pravda*, June 16, 1984.

The Elections are Over; the Struggle Continues

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IN January Ronald Reagan began his second four-year term in the White House. This was the immediate result of the November 1984 Presidential elections. Naturally though, the significance of the elections is not confined to a mere renewal of the Presidential mandate. US Communists regard them as perhaps the most important in our history. In the basic document of our 23rd Convention in November 1983 we said: 'Every four years the Presidential elections become a mass, critical testing ground for all currents and political forces.' The elections largely determine which course the authorities will prefer and place on the agenda the questions of war and peace, the fight for the economic rights of the people, the struggle against racism, the anti-communism and anti-Sovietism of the ultra-right forces.

We pointed to the problems of developing this struggle and moving masses to express themselves positively on these critical issues even within the context of the problem that the masses would be saddled with an 'opposition' party, the Democratic Party leadership, which 'would like to steer the campaign into one of empty words, without really challenging the underpinnings of Reagonomics, or the foreign policy of nuclear confrontation'.

The Main Results

What was the outcome of the elections? What do the results mean?

It must be said in the first place that there was no landslide for the ultra right and no

mandate for ultra right policies. In fact, there was no shift to the right.

Ronald Reagan was re-elected. But because of the struggle by the people's forces, he could not carry with him the necessary gains in the Congress to continue his old policies.

In this, Reagan's latest 'victory' differed radically from what had happened four years ago. When Reagan won in 1980 he carried with him a substantial numerical and ideological majority in the Senate. He also carried an ideological majority in the House. Thus, he was able to push through his corporate tax relief programme and to gut the social welfare programmes for the people. He was able to win congressional approval for a multitrillion dollar arms programme while violating every arms agreement and avoiding any new talks—much less agreements.

In the 1984 election four major Republican leaders are no longer in the Senate including Charles Percy, the Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who lost because he shifted over to the ultra right. All together the Republicans lost two seats and hold now a 53 to 47 majority.

In the House of Representatives the Reaganites were not able to recover the 26 seats they lost in 1982 and needed to push through their programmes and to offset the expected losses in the mid-term 1986 elections.

This setback of the far right is all the more important because the threat of a right-wing onslaught was perfectly real. This was clear from the election platform adopted at the Republican National Convention in Dallas. A delegate described those events as having 'a whiff of fascism'. Ultra right statements made in and around the convention indicated sinister aims. Ultra right strategist Paul Weyrich said: "We are different than other organisations. We are no longer interested in preserving the status quo. We want to overturn the present power structure in this country." Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus said: "We organise dissent and prove our ability to get revenge on people who go against us."

US Communists warned, and the people took heed, that 'more important than the Republican convention itself are the political forces and ideological concepts that emerged there. A new alignment of forces and a new set of dominant ideas surfaced at the convention. The ultra right took over. . .'. We said further that the Dallas convention was the vehicle that brought together and coordinated the well-heeled power of the extreme right-wing forces.

But the American people refused to follow the extreme conservatives. Generally, the political composition of the US Congress is now more liberal. The AFL-CIO commented that now the more moderate Republicans can have a fuller voice. Already this is reflected in the new structuring of the leadership and chairmanships in the Senate which took place November 28. Reagan has lost the political majority, especially as the struggle sharpens and the mass movement compels new attitudes to meet the crisis questions of peace and jobs.

After a futile effort to sell the idea that Reagan had won a mandate for his policies the bourgeois media had to begin dealing with the reality of the election results. Thus, one week later the *New York Times*/CBS NEWS poll, *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines carried headlines that read: 'Reagan Failed to Win a Policy Mandate', 'The House, Short Coattails', 'Presidential Express Carries Few Passengers', and 'Gridlock on the Hill'.

It is with these developments in mind that we should assess the prospects of the ultra right. In 1986, 33 senators come up for re-election, 22 are Republicans. Among them are many ultra fighters. They are not hopeful of retaining their present majority. They will not have Reagan to front for them—he is now a lame duck. His party effectiveness will diminish as his term grows older. Thus, there will be much jockeying for 1988 and the imposed unity of the Dallas convention will splinter.

Reagan's re-election resulted from a shift in his rhetoric, another major

development in the elections. He demagogically moved from the right to the centre, while his opponent, Walter Mondale, moved from the centre to the right, especially on the critical question of foreign policy.

The Reagan campaign managers saw the need to make this shift after the first debate with the Democratic candidate, when the President plied, not quite successfully, the programme of the ultra rightists and the platform developed at the Republican Party convention in Dallas, Texas. A massive media campaign on TV, radio, in newspapers, magazines, rallies and speeches, set out to portray Reagan as a man of peace and disarmament and for better relations with the Soviet Union. He professed concern for a stable economic upturn with a job 'for every citizen' who wants one and he pledged to never raise taxes.

Significantly, this propaganda shift from warhawk to dove also contributed to the defeat of some of his congressional candidates. Ultra rightist Richard Viguerie, a key leader of that grouping, lashed out in anger at Reagan shortly after the election. He said: "The 1984 elections will rank amongst the all-time greatest blunders in American politics because Reagan doublecrossed lower level candidates." This was a clear admission that the ultra right had been rejected by the voters.

Demagogy and Money

There is always demagogy and fakery in bourgeois elections. But because of the unprecedented role of the mass media in this election, especially TV, there was a qualitative shift in the effect of demagogy and fakery on people's thinking. As Comrade Gus Hall said, "The unprecedented \$50 million TV image-building campaign literally created a teflon-coated character—a candidate who had nothing to do with the true Reagan, with the four years of Reaganism and Reaganomics."¹

Opinion polls indicate that only six per cent of those who voted for Reagan did so because they agreed with Reagan's reactionary politics, policies and ideology. People voted for Reagan; not Reaganism.

What were the factors that made for Reagan's personal victory? These factors, Gus Hall said in an interview published in the *Daily World* on November 15, 1984, 'like voters' perceptions of the presidency, the economy, taxes and traditional values like patriotism, leadership, family and visions of the future—not positions on specific issues—determined many voting decisions'.

Of all these factors, none was perhaps more important than Reagan's demagogy about prosperity, according to some analysts. For example, 62 per cent of the voters surveyed in an opinion poll said they voted for Reagan based on the 'upturn' in the economic crisis. Here, the certain rise in economic activity which, as current data show, is waning rapidly, was a contributing factor.

William Schneider, a noted pollster, had this to say on the matter: "Why did Reagan win? Peace and prosperity had a great deal to do with it, as well as his image as a strong and decisive leader."

The weak points of Walter Mondale, Reagan's direct rival, also played into the President's hands. The Democratic candidate received 36.9 million votes—almost 16.5 million less than the winner. The basis of this vote is significant, and its importance will increase as Reagan seeks to impose his policies on the country in the next four years.

According to the exit polls, Mondale received 90 per cent of the Black vote; 68 per cent of the unemployed; 61 per cent of the AFL-CIO unionists who went to the polls (66 per cent among the steel workers); and about 65 per cent of the Hispanic vote. He carried most of the big cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, etc.—largely with the support of the Afro-American and Hispanic vote, but lost heavily in the middle class suburbs, small towns, the rural areas, and apparently did not fare well among the unorganised workers.

Mondale took a courageous step in proposing a woman, Representative Geraldine Ferraro, as his running mate. Ferraro's nomination on a major party ticket was unprecedented and gave the Democrats a temporary shot in the arm. But, for all the immediate enthusiasm it evoked, this was hardly enough. The Mondale camp made enormous blunders. Instead of developing a class tax programme that would shift taxation away from the workers and middle class and hit the big monopolies, Mondale simply pledged to boost taxes.

This failure to approach this issue on a class basis was hardly accidental. Throughout the campaign, Mondale failed to attack the major monopolies, the key supporters of Reagan. Mondale's Democratic Party and especially its high command was—and is—closely connected with sections of Big Business, albeit not the majority section that backed Reagan.

In short, Mondale did not present the people with a fighting alternative platform and was defeated despite the not inconsiderable support he received from the organised working class movement, national minorities and various independent groups.

However, the man who defeated Mondale remains a 'minority President' himself. Reagan received only 30.6 per cent of those eligible to vote, while 83 million, or 46.7 per cent, did not vote at all on November 6.

Reagan lived up to his reputation of the 'President of the rich'. Suffice it to say at this point that a conservative estimate is that half a billion dollars was spent in the 1984 Presidential and congressional campaigns. Each major Presidential campaign—that is, the campaign committees, of Reagan and Mondale—received \$40.9 million in Federal funds, and the Republican Party took in \$225.4 million from its 'sponsors'. Besides that, there were numerous corporate Political Action Committees that shelled out great sums. Some idea of the orgy of spending can be gotten from the fact that the Reagan committee paid \$400,000 for TV time for Reagan simply to announce his candidacy for re-election, while ultra rightist Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, a racist warhawk, raised \$7,000,000 for his successful campaign to keep his seat in the Senate. Something of the class character of the government was expressed recently by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan in a remarkable burst of candour. Said Moynihan: "At least half of the members of the Senate are millionaires. . . . We've become a plutocracy. . . . The Senate was meant to represent the interests of the states; instead, it represents the interests of a class."²

In a word, the lavishly-financed Reagan machine—overwhelmingly supported by the major sections of monopoly capital, the major media, fundamentalist Protestant religionists and important hierarchs of the Catholic Church utilising national chauvinism, racism, false images of patriotism, and demagoguery about peace and helped substantially by a temporary economic upturn—was able to create a winning image. It won large sections of the middle class, the rural population, sections of unorganised workers and, of course, almost unanimous support in the upper bracket sections of professional and managerial strata.

The Voice of America's Working People

Our party played a special role in this election. We set out to influence millions—and we did. This is especially so in the struggle to expose and head off the attempts by the ultra right to use the elections to turn the country to the right and in the exposure of the Big Lie of anti-Sovietism around which Reagan and the ultra right had built their campaign. It was our candidates who exposed Reagan's slippery-tongued lies about the alleged Soviet menace, his slanderous 'evil-empire' charges and his fake peace proposals. Our candidates spoke on the many peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and showed that it is US imperialism which is the source of the war danger. Our party was the only one which dealt with the economic crisis and the growth of

unemployment, poverty and hunger. We took on the anti-labour, union-busting profiteering of the monopoly corporations. We were instrumental in helping to rally masses to the defence of the Nicaraguan people and government against the threats of US imperialist aggression.

Our party was on the ballot in 23 states and Washington D.C. We were on the ballot in all the key industrial states except Indiana. Just to get on the ballot constitutes a political and propaganda victory—especially in the face of the legal restrictions designed to keep us off the ballot. In order to get on the ballot we must secure the signatures of thousands of registered voters in each of the states. We collected over 500,000 signatures. To get that many, we spoke directly to more than five million people. During that process we gave them one million pieces of our campaign literature. We put 25 million pieces of literature into the hands of the people. This was done directly through leaflets and brochures, *Daily Worlds*, advertisements in the bourgeois newspapers in the major cities in the country.

Comrades Gus Hall and Angela Davis spoke to millions of people on national radio and television programmes over the whole period of the campaign. Many of these were 'Talk Shows', that is, the listeners were able to call the station and talk directly to our candidates and to ask questions or debate ideas.

Our party has received thousands of letters from people who had read or heard about our campaign. These will be published in a pamphlet in the near future. They show the growing interest in new ideas and real solutions by ever growing numbers of people. They see clearly the futility of the two-party system of US politics.

Our party issued a special pamphlet on the ultra right danger during the election campaign. It was sent to 500,000 opinion makers and specially selected communities and placed as an Ad in the largest newspapers in the main industrial cities.

The national campaign of Gus Hall and Angela Davis, the local campaigns around the country where we received up to 12 per cent of the vote demonstrated the viability of the Communist Party candidates. In Boston, our candidate polled 8 per cent of the vote against the senior congressman and Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas Tip O'Neil. Our party vote demonstrates our potential for building a Communist voter constituency and for building our party. It projects our party and its ideas in the new struggles ahead.

Fighting against Reagan, Reaganism and Reaganites US Communists advanced the concept of an all people's front.

Our campaign was aimed at the 35 million afflicted by poverty, at the trade unions and their members, at those who sought peace, at those specially oppressed Afro-Americans and Latino people, on the superexploited women and the disenfranchised youth. These are the forces which make up the main sectors of the all people's front. Our candidates upheld their interests in the election campaign at the national and local levels.

Our country does not have a mass people's political party independent of the two bourgeois parties. In the 1984 election the main section of the trade union movement decided to endorse its own candidate for president and to campaign for his nomination and election.³ It was the most significant act of political independence in modern US labour history. Labour organised, mobilised and turned out its members. Sixty per cent of union families voted for their choice. Labour has vowed to continue and expand that process. It is through these experiences and struggles that labour will be able to develop an independent party in coalition with other sectors of the all people's front.

Another major development was the Rainbow Coalition and the candidacy of Reverend Jesse Jackson in the Democratic Party primaries. The charismatic Black leader, who ran in the Democratic presidential primary and received more than 3,000,000 votes, was a powerful force in mobilising the Black and Hispanic people

and many poor whites. His policy proposals were the most advanced in the campaign of the old party candidates. Specifically, he constantly pressed Mondale to call for a vast jobs programme, the prime need of the Afro-American people.

The potential accumulated by Jackson in the campaign made itself on November 6. Ninety-one per cent of the Afro-American voters voted against Reagan and his blatantly racist policies and administration. Hundreds of thousands of Black voters were registered to vote for the first time. Every member of the Congressional Black Caucus was re-elected, some by record margins in districts with large majority white voters.

It was precisely these factors—that is, the Communist Party campaign, the growth of the all people's front, the exposure of the threat from the right, the outspoken peace sentiment—which forced Reagan to change tactics in mid stream, curtailed the Republican victory and explained the poor Republican results in the congressional elections. Through continued struggle, progressive forces can stop Reagan's domestic plunder and force him to arms talks and agreements.

Already splits are showing up in the new Reagan Administration, especially around the peace question. It is too early to tell who will stand where, but the peace movement will demand serious political changes in the period ahead, a turn to disarmament and international cooperation.

This pressure is natural and necessary in the responsible period in world developments we are going through. It is the conviction of our party—and indeed, of the overwhelming majority of the people in the United States—that peace is the central question, the overriding question facing the world today. The movement for an end to the nuclear arms race is already supported by almost 90 per cent of the US people. Reagan is meeting resistance in carrying through plans for aggression in Central America. There is a vast reluctance and even open opposition on the part of US mothers and fathers to send their sons to another Vietnam in the hills of Nicaragua. A new mass movement against Washington's 'constructive engagement' policy (which means support) towards apartheid South Africa is developing.

Reagan and his closest advisors are twisting and turning. Re-election was one thing; governing is quite another. Extremely acute domestic problems—a looming economic recession and a national debt of more than a trillion dollars requiring interest payments of \$2.5 billions a week, and a deficit of 210 billion dollars—face the re-elected president. In the period ahead the deepening economic crisis will bring new awakenings and a wave of resistance by working people.

The elections are over; the struggle continues. The Communist Party USA will continue to play its fighting role in helping to unify this resistance and building a vast coalition, with labour playing a leading role, in setting the nation on the path to peace, jobs and equality.

¹ *The Daily World*, November 15, 1984.

² *The New York Times*, November 25, 1984.

³ Even prior to the Democratic National Convention, an AFL-CIO forum came out in support of Mondale for President. For more details, see *WMR*, No. 7, 1984, pp. 80-86.—Ed.

Revanchism on a Missile Launching-Pad

Ján Pudlák – Director of the Institute of International Relations (Czechoslovakia)

THE revanchist trends in some FRG circles have been intensified by the sharpening of the international situation caused by the US and NATO policy of confrontation with the socialist world. Following the temporary lull in the period of detente, a cold Western wind has once again filled the sails of the ship at whose helm stand those who yearn to 'annul' the results of the Second World War. The deployment of first-strike nuclear missiles in the FRG and the lifting by the West European Union of all restrictions on the FRG's manufacture of conventional armaments have given those who live hopelessly in the past fresh hope for another *Drank nach Osten*¹ so as to change the postwar political order on our continent and break up the existing borders.

It would be both irresponsible and dangerous to close one's eyes to the activation of these revanchist attitudes. Everyone who cherishes the cause of European and world peace, everyone who wants to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of a world war—of new and truly apocalyptic proportions—should swiftly respond to the threat and see it for what it is: a component part of the general strategy of imperialism aimed against the forces of progress and existing socialism, their mainstay.

On the 40th anniversary of the end of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Czechoslovakia and our country's liberation by the Soviet Army, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz), the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovakia, and the Government of Czechoslovakia issued a Declaration, which says in part: 'The generations which survived the Second World War remember the horrors, the torments and misfortunes which it inflicted on our peoples. That is why when that terrible conflagration was over, they swore to do their utmost to rid future generations of the tragedies of war, to make them aware of the value of peace, and to regard that as the main purpose of their life and the supreme behest of humanism.' The Declaration adds: 'Following the high price paid for the lesson of Munich, following the sacrifices which had to be made to gain our freedom, we cannot look on with indifference as imperialism, responsible for two world wars, threatens mankind with a nuclear disaster.'²

History teaches that military preparations always run along two lines. There is, first, the buildup of material and technical basis of aggression, i.e., powerful armed forces, and second, the manipulation of mass consciousness. One instrument of the latter is chauvinism, which revanchism has always done much to inflame. It is exemplified by Hitler's preparation of the world-wide slaughter, and in our day, by the ideological back-up of the militaristic foreign policy line of the imperialist powers.

The deep roots of such a policy were most clearly shown by Lenin, when he said that 'modern militarism is the result of capitalism. In both its forms it is the "vital expression" of capitalism—as a military force used by the capitalist states in their external conflicts (*'Militarismus nach aussen'*, as the Germans say) and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes for suppressing every kind of movement, economic and political, of the proletariat (*'Militarismus nach innen'*)'.³

The edge of the aggressive imperialist line is now directed above all against the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community. A threat also impends over the peoples which have escaped from colonial slavery, especially those seeking progressive ways.

The military-industrial complex is the chief vehicle of militaristic trends in the

world. The monopolies directly or indirectly involved in developing and manufacturing weapons reap fabulous superprofits from the astronomical and wildly proliferating appropriations for the arms race. In this way, militarisation of the economy serves to redistribute the national income in favour of the rich. In the United States, for instance, the huge budget deficit which has developed from the ceaseless acceleration of war preparations not only falls as a heavy burden on the backs of the present generation of working people, but is in a sense a mortgage which their children and grandchildren will have to repay at high interest.

Some bourgeois scholars hold forth on some 'inner dynamism' which is allegedly inherent in the technology of modern armaments and some 'momentum' in the feverish arms race, but they should be talking about the *internal dynamic of militarism*. The arms business catering for it has been demanding of government financial agencies ever larger programmes for the manufacture of ever more costly weapons, and doing its utmost to encourage the militarists' urge to attain strategic superiority, thereby triggering off the process in which the death-dealing arsenals are built up.

With its vast profits, the military-industrial complex is capable of creating the illusion in some strata of the working people that they, too, have a stake in stepping up militaristic preparations. It has used handouts to feed a growing host of small subcontractors and is fairly generous in paying for the work of the scientists, engineers and high-skilled workers serving it.

For all that, the social basis of militarism continues to be very narrow, and this makes it try to exert a subtle influence on public opinion for its own benefit. As a result, the main contradiction of present-day militarism—the contradiction between its growing military might and its inability to use it to the hilt because of the growing defence capability of existing socialism—is supplemented with yet another one, which stems from the fact that, while relying in the buildup of the material and technical basis of its policy on the most progressive lines of the scientific and technical revolution, it is oriented towards the most reactionary ideology in the superstructure. Revanchist ideas are increasingly important for imperialism's psychological warfare.

On the crest of an artificially generated wave of 'respectable' neoconservatism in the capitalist world, there is a dirty froth of national intolerance, religious fundamentalism and mysticism. The revanchist trends are making themselves known in the countries which were defeated in the Second World War. (Though, let us note, these ideas are not shunned in the US Administration, whose leading members last year repeatedly called for a 'restructuring of postwar Europe', which they regard as a way to social revenge, even if only on a regional scale.) For quite understandable reasons, we, citizens of Socialist Czechoslovakia, are primarily concerned with revanchism, as the ideological basis of militarism in the FRG.⁴

Official Bonn has reacted with much irritation to any mention of West German revanchism. Addressing the Bundestag in September 1984, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared in no uncertain terms: "There is no revanchism in the FRG. Not in a single group!"⁵

If only his assertion squared with the facts! If only there were none of the painful rash of revanchist outfits on the body of the FRG, with their 2.5 million members, who still live in the 'great German' past! If only they did not publish the 360 poison-pen newspapers with their printing of 1.5 million copies! And then, if only the FRG government had not made a handout of 900 million marks, last year alone, in aid of those who, according to Kohl, do not exist at all!

The main vehicles of the revanchist trends are the various *Landmannschaften* (fellow countrymen's associations) which are banded in the 'Union of Expellees'. They include Germans who fled from Czechoslovakia, Poland and other Nazi-occupied countries at the end of the Second World War, because they feared

retribution for their crimes, and also those who were resettled after the rout of Hitlerism from the territories which Germany had to cede under the decisions of the 1945 Potsdam Conference.

One would think that, four decades on, most of these people were no longer alive, while the younger ones have had enough time to settle down and integrate in the new localities. However, according to laws effective in the FRG, the status of 'expellee' also applies to the children and even the grandchildren of the fugitives and resettlers born on the territory of what is now the Federal Republic after the cessation of hostilities. That is why the number of persons in these categories even tends to rise. One should also bear in mind that some of these 'associations' are also being expanded with the influx of those who share their revanchist views,, while being neither displaced persons nor their kith and kin.

Some say that these 'associations' confine themselves to cultural activity, keeping alive the traditional folklore and things of that sort. However, we find the statutes and declarations of the leaders of these outfits saying something quite different. Barbara Löffke, chairperson of the 'Lower Silesian Association', makes no secret at all of what she means: "Cultural work for us is only a means to attain our goal. And our goal is to return to our homeland (i.e., areas now belonging to Poland—J.P.)."⁶ The 'German Sudeten Association' has declared its main task to be realisation of the 'right to the homeland', which means the areas of Czechoslovakia once annexed by the Nazis. By historical analogy with Bismarck's policy, the statute of the 'Pomeranian Association' calls for a 'new unification of Germany', which implies the incorporation of some 'eastern territories'. Herbert Hupka, a CDU deputy in the Bundestag and deputy chairman of the 'Union of Expellees' says: "Germany's cause is the business of every German, and we do not dare either to give up Central and Eastern Germany⁷, nor to write them off."⁸

The Hitler riffraff are, of course, aware that the mighty community of socialist states has risen as a powerful bulwark in the way of their dreams of reviving the 'Great German Reich', and so the revanchist leaders look for allies in the most aggressive circles in the United States and the NATO bloc, which have visions of recarving the postwar geographical and political realities in Europe. That is why they have endorsed with enthusiasm Washington's line of confrontation with the socialist community, and that is why they have also supported the deployment of US first-strike missiles in the FRG.

This militaristic-revanchist conception was set forth with cynical frankness by Colonel Gerhard Hubatschek in a West German military journal, when he wrote: 'The strengthening of the political and military might of the Federal Republic and the West is and will continue to be the crucial prerequisite for successfully settling the German question. . . . The restoration of the capability for deterrence and defence (sic!) which will leave no doubts in anyone's mind serve two purposes: to ensure security and to create *an elementary prerequisite for changes in the political order in Europe* (emphasis supplied—J.P.).'⁹ What such 'changes' imply was explained by one revanchist paper: 'Destabilisation of the communist regimes must be the goal of a new German and Eastern policy.'¹⁰ What could be clearer, or rather, more brazen than that?

There is nothing new about such ideas. Many spokesmen for revanchism have long tried to revive the discredited idea of 'Pan-Germanism' behind the slogan of 'Pan-Europeanism'. Back in 1976, Otto von Hapsburg, chief of the 'German Sudeten Association', formulated the ideology of 'Pan-Europeanism' on 'Radio Free Europe' as follows: "We are Greater Europeans. We do not recognise as a legitimate border the line with which non-Europeans cleaved our continent at Yalta in February 1945." Another 'Greater European'—Philip von Bismarck—expressed himself in the same

spirit in 1984: "How can Pomerania regain its freedom unless Europe is extended to the Black Sea!"¹¹

The idea of reviving the German Reich also has its adherents in Bonn's governmental circles. Hence, their allegations, which have no basis in law, that the 'German question' 'remains open'.

They believe that good old 'Pan-Europeanism' is one way to realise their visions. Thus, Heinrich Windelen, Minister for 'Inner-German Relations'¹², declared in Washington last February: "From the present standpoint, the reunification of the Germans can be effected only in the same way as that of overcoming the division of the whole of Europe. For us, German policy is in practice and in substance a policy of European unification."¹³ A statement in the same spirit was issued in June of last year at a 'German Sudeten Day' in Munich by Franz Josef Strauss, leader of the Christian Social Union and Bavarian Prime Minister: "For us, Europe does not end at the Elbe and Böhmerwald (meaning the river Laba and Shumava—*Ed.*). We want a strong Europe united in freedom."

Some West German politicians conceive of the revanchist associations as a sort of counterweight to the anti-missile movement which has emerged with the deployment of US Pershing-2 and Tomahawk missiles on the territory of the FRG. Fear of 'pacifism', which could develop into 'neutralism', impels these circles to make efforts to channel action in defence of peace along suitable lines, and that explains their desire to present the associations of displaced persons as 'true' fighters against the threat of nuclear war. Reflecting that desire, Federal Minister of the Interior Friedrich Zimmermann did not blush to declare: "You, my German Sudeten friends, really belong to the first true movement for peace in our country!"

The participation of senior officials in revanchist rallies has become the rule. Apart from Friedrich Zimmermann and Franz Josef Strauss, the rally in Munich was attended by the then Federal President Karl Carstens. Minister of Finance Gerhard Stoltenberg visited Dortmund in June 1984 during the assembly of the 'Pomeranian Association'. In May of the same year, fugitives from Western Prussia were gratified by the presence of Heinrich Windelen, while the main rally of those who live eternally in the past—the so-called 'Homeland Day' in Braunschweig, was honoured by the presence of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. In his speech he played on the 'European string' and declared: "It is not only a matter of divided Germany. The division of Germany means the division of Europe. We want to put an end to that division".¹⁴

From the standpoint of international law, such demands and claims are absolutely groundless. What is more, they are altogether unlawful. They clash directly with the spirit and letter not only of the bilateral treaties concluded by the FRG with the USSR, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, but also of the Helsinki Final Act.

Let us bear in mind that at the time the ratification of these treaties was fiercely resisted by these self-same parties, the CDU and the CSU, then in opposition and now the ruling parties, but the revanchists pin their hopes on forgetfulness. It was no accident that the electoral platform of the CDU/CSU published in early 1983 said: 'All agreements on an inner-German settlement, including the Eastern treaties, do not constitute any final settlement, but are merely a statement of an interim situation which must in due time be brought—without the use of force—into conformity with the Preamble of our Constitution.'¹⁵ The document goes on to say: 'We represent the interests of all Germans (i.e. citizens of the FRG and the GDR—*J.P.*). . . . The implication for us is that not only must the German question be kept open theoretically, but also that active efforts must be made for the Germans' right to unity. For us this means preserving the German Reich.'

There is hardly any need to comment on such a blatant attempt not just to encroach on the GDR's sovereignty but to absorb it. Is it surprising then that the revanchist

organisations welcomed the formation of the Kohl coalition government, in which the CDU and the CSU play first fiddle? Fritz Wittman, a leader of the 'German Sudeten association' declared: "We feel that we are born again."

Meanwhile, the Kohl Government cannot allow itself to scrap the 'Eastern treaties', however much it would like to do so, and so it has tried to interpret them as some kind of interim 'modus vivendi', merely envisaging a repudiation of the use of force for realising its essentially revanchist claims.

We in Czechoslovakia have had sad experience with the change of borders 'without the use of force', for that is precisely how Hitler called the seizure of Czechoslovak territories in September 1938, and then the total liquidation of independent Czechoslovakia in March 1939. The Nazis also claimed their Anschluss of Austria in 1938 to be 'non-violent'.

The West German revanchists declare that from the juridical standpoint the German Reich continues to exist within the 1937 borders to this day, on the plea that no peace treaty has yet been signed with Germany as a single state entity. Official Bonn has taken a similar and essentially provocative attitude. Its senior representatives, burying their heads in the sand of legal niceties, keep demanding a 'unification of Germany' and claiming to be the sole representatives of the interests of 'all the Germans'. Such tricky constructs are not just totally unrealistic; they are downright dangerous.

As for the question of who is to blame for the split of Germany, which was effected several decades ago, the revanchist gentlemen could do worse than recall, say, that the Potsdam Agreements provided for the existence of a united, peaceful and democratic German state, without any room either for militarism or for Nazism. But the realisation of that decision was blocked by those who relied on the support of the Western powers in settling up the separatist Federal Republic of Germany, and then got it into the NATO bloc. Isn't it a profanation that the very same forces which deliberately acted as the grave-diggers of Germany's unity, now hypocritically claim to be its guardian angels? But their day has gone, never to return!

In his speech on the 35th anniversary of the emergence of the first socialist state on German soil, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED CC and Chairman of the GDR State Council, declared: "The German Reich ceased to exist once and for all in the flames of the Second World War. As a result of it, as a result of postwar development, two German states—the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG—emerged and have been developing. They belong to different alliances. The only kind of relations that can exist between the GDR and the FRG are those which are accepted in the world between sovereign and equal states which are independent of each other."¹⁷

The idle inventions concerning some 'unification' of Germany were also subjected to sharp criticism in the light of consistent and firm adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism by Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, when he wrote: 'The existence of the two German states in Central Europe should be seen as an irreversible reality. These two states belong to different social systems which have nothing in common with each other. No kind of unification of them can ever take place.'¹⁸

How do the Western powers regard the revanchist trends in the Federal republic? There is no straightforward answer to that question.

In the period between the two world wars, US capital largely promoted the resurgence of German militarism, thereby predetermining the takeover of power by the Nazis. However, in view of the record of Hitler's aggression and in an effort to eliminate Germany as a potential rival in the postwar world, Washington insisted in the course of the Second World War on the fragmentation of Germany into several independent states. After the war, the United States once again pinned its hopes on

German imperialist circles in an effort to stem the progressive processes generated by the rout of fascism. Having failed to re-establish the positions of the latter on the country's whole territory, the Western powers led by the United States split the country and set up a state akin to them in spirit and objectives.

The Washington-Bonn alliance has become the axis of NATO, and the revived Bundeswehr—the strike force of the NATO bloc. With the installation in office in the FRG of the Helmut Kohl Government, this axis, forged under his predecessors, was further strengthened, and this was expressed in the zeal with which it accepted the deployment of the new US missiles.

The leaders of the revanchist outfits quite naturally joined the most active proponents of the orientation on the United States, since the urge of US imperialism to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as a whole, and its calls for a 'crusade against communism' are sweet music in the ears of those who seek to change the postwar order in Europe.

The stand of some of the other capitalist countries of Europe which were themselves victims of Hitlerism is a more complicated and contradictory one. Out of a sense of Atlantic solidarity, they now and again give Bonn verbal support in its efforts to revive 'German unity', but they do so only to the extent that they believe the line of the FRG ruling circles to be unrealistic, and do not see it as actually posing a threat to peace. The real stand of the West European states was expressed, in particular, in their approval of Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, which put an end to the 'Hallstein Doctrine',¹⁹ and enabled them to establish normal diplomatic and other contacts with the GDR.

With the advent to office in the FRG of the CDU/CSU—FDP government, and the rising tide of revanchism which had blessings from on high, efforts were made to reanimate the 'German question'. This caused alarm in Western Europe, and it is exemplified by the warning issued by Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti about the dangers of a 'new pan-Germanism' and of the attempts to cast doubt on the postwar order in Europe, including the existence of the two German states.

The Bonn government's reaction was furious. As for the other West European countries, their press went on record that Andreotti had merely voiced aloud what the others were thinking in their own minds. In a commentary on that diplomatic incident, a French weekly wrote: 'By their statements, the Bonn leaders themselves promoted the spread of anxiety over German intentions.'²⁰

It is only fair to add that realistic voices were also heard in the FRG itself, and they testify that those who speculate on the 'German question' and make revanchist claims do not express the views of the majority of the FRG population, a fact which is eloquently illustrated by an article in the weekly *Stern* entitled 'Hypocrisy'. The author says: "The last time the German question was raised in a monstrous manner in September 1939, when Germany started the war. The answer came from 55 million killed, devastated countries, and enslaved peoples. Following . . . the unconditional surrender (of Hitler Germany—J.P.) the question was closed."²¹ Rudolf Augstein, editor-in-chief of another influential West German journal, *Der Spiegel*, has accused the Bonn government of frequently coming out with 'nazi pronouncements' on this issue. It is true that Augstein was 'upset' above all by the fact that such 'German twaddle makes the Eastern bloc more cohesive'.²²

The unity of the socialist community countries has sufficiently deep and durable roots for them to be influenced in any way by the Bonn politicians' 'nazi pronouncements' or by Mr. Augstein's most ingenious tactics. But the Communists are not blinded by hatred and are not so naive as to regard all Bonn politicians, let alone all the citizens of the FRG, as revanchists. They are aware that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the FRG want to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours, and oppose revanchism and neo-fascism.

But while those who adopt revanchist views constitute a minority of FRG citizens, there is nevertheless good ground for anxiety, and it springs from the political and material support revanchism is being given by official circles in view of the role assigned to it in the global aggressive strategy of imperialism. The anxiety is also caused by the fact that West German revanchism relies on the FRG's growing military strength and would like to use the US missile plans as a springboard for realising its wild ambitions.

The balance of forces in the world arena is now quite different from that which existed at the time of the Munich diktat and on the eve of the Second World War. The existence and cohesion of the socialist community, and the military parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO go to create an insuperable barrier which will inevitably break any attempt 'to roll back' socialism. The revanchist visions of a 'Greater German Reich' are also doomed to fail. But in our day, with vast nuclear arsenals in the world capable of wiping out life on the Earth, it is imperative to warn again and again about the revanchist detonator of a global cataclysm which threatens mankind.

¹ The German for 'Drive to the East', an expression characterising the policy of aggrandisement first conducted by the German feudal lords, and then by bourgeois-landowner and imperialist Germany with respect to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

² *Rudé právo*, April 21, 1984.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 192.

⁴ This article deals only with the West German version of revanchism. Let us note, however, that revanchist aspirations in Japan's ruling circles present an equal danger to the cause of peace and international security.

⁵ *Bulletin. Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung*, No. 104, 1984, p. 920.

⁶ *Der Schlesier*, June 29, 1984.

⁷ By Central Germany the revanchists mean the German Democratic Republic, and by Eastern Germany, the territories east of the Oder-Neisse line which belong to Poland and the Soviet Union.

⁸ *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, No. 38, 1984.

⁹ *Europäische Wehrkunde*, No. 4, 1984.

¹⁰ *Der Schlesier*, July 6, 1984.

¹¹ *Pommersche Zeitung*, April 24, 1984.

¹² Meaning the relations between the FRG and the GDR. The Bonn authorities call them 'Inner-German' in pursuit of the revanchist attitudes and so display their refusal to recognise the GDR as a sovereign subject of international law.

¹³ *Deutschland Union Dienst*, February 2, 1984.

¹⁴ *Bulletin. Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung*, No. 99, 1984, p. 873.

¹⁵ The Preamble of the FRG Constitution contains a call for 'effecting the final unification and freedom of Germany', in other words, efforts to absorb the GDR, a sovereign state recognised by the international community.

¹⁶ *Sudeten Deutsche Zeitung*, No. 38, 1984.

¹⁷ *Neues Deutschland*, October 8, 1984.

¹⁸ *Unsere Zeit*, October 4, 1984.

¹⁹ The doctrine was proclaimed in late 1955 and was named after Walter Hallstein, the then State Secretary of the FRG Foreign Ministry. It was aimed to encroach on the GDR's sovereign rights by means of a foreign policy blockade, whose substance was that the FRG refused to establish or maintain diplomatic relations with any state recognising the GDR. Following the consolidation of the GDR, the support given to it by the fraternal countries, and the general change in the balance of forces in the world arena, the 'Hallstein Doctrine' collapsed, and in early 1970 Bonn officially announced that it was dropping it.

²⁰ *Le Nouvel Observateur*, September 21, 1984.

²¹ *Stern*, No. 40, 1984.

²² *Der Spiegel*, No. 39, 1984.

Trade Unions in the Face of Monopoly Attack

Ken Gill – General Council member,
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THE position of our working class mirrors the specific conditions of a decaying British capitalism with a colonial past. Imperial domination has led to the creation of a substantial body of financial-monopoly institutions located around the City of London, at the heart of imperialism, that has woven a web of world-wide financial operations. There is now the paradoxical situation in which, despite its declining manufacturing economy, Britain is the nation-state base of the second largest group of transnational corporations. The strategic view of the ruling class has begun to be determined by the guidelines of these corporations, in the first instance, of course, by the British but ultimately and inevitably by the influence of the powerful United States monopolies.

Why Jobs Are Disappearing

The position of the giant monopolies is strengthened by the free movement of capital. This is why the British ruling class continues to support the European Economic Community, despite the mock battles fought around budget contributions. The Treaty of Rome¹ is a barrier to any left government implementing its alternative policies, e.g. import controls and controls on capital movement are specifically prohibited by the EEC rules.

The operations of British-based transnationals are severely damaging the British economy, aggravating the structural crisis and furthering the decline of the manufacturing industries. The degree to which the British economy is dominated by international monopolies is shown by the scandalous fact that with almost four million jobless Britain remains a massive net exporter of capital. Towards the close of 1982, for example, the overseas investments of the British monopolies were 54,900 million pounds sterling more than the foreign investments in the economy of the United Kingdom. Most of the 50 major British-based transnationals are choosing to meet the overseas demand for their goods from foreign-based rather than UK subsidiaries. They have become better at exporting jobs than goods. This is due to the aspiration of the transnationals to exploit differences in wages, labour standards, social legislation, tax regimes, and state aid in order to maximise profits.

As a result, 3,100,000 jobs disappeared in the period from 1966 to mid-1983 in manufacturing, which is the key to the health of the British economy. The following are only a few of the many recent examples of this: the decision of Peugeot to close the Talbot Motor Company plant at Linwood, Scotland; the Ford Motor Company investment in the mainland of Europe at the expense of job security in the United Kingdom; the reorganisation and restructuring of General Motors resulting in closures and cutbacks in capacity within the United Kingdom; the Timex decision to transfer the production of the Nimslo 3D camera from the Dundee Scottish operation to France and Japan with the consequential closure of plants and the loss of 1,900 jobs. The workers are in fact denied the opportunity to influence monopoly decisions on plant closures in Britain and the transfer of production facilities overseas.

Job losses are due not only to the relocation of individual industries from Britain to other countries. Considerable anxiety is caused by the social consequences of the capitalist use of new technology, of scientific and technological breakthroughs.

Seeking to increase their profits and pushed by the stiffening international competition, the monopolies are making ever wider use of new production methods.

Of course, even within the limitations imposed by capitalism the benefits of new technology can be translated into better working conditions, increased production, higher real wages, and a shorter working life. But unless there is determined trade union pressure new technology will destroy millions of jobs. Much, if not everything, depends on strong trade union organisation and a determination by workers to force employers to link the introduction of new technology to the preservation of existing jobs and better conditions. The fight for the shorter working week remains one of the central issues.

The introduction of new technology will be patchy and probably most advanced in the immediate future in technical and clerical areas rather than in manufacturing. But it would be absurd to sit and wait for new technology to spread to all industries. The labour movement needs a collective bargaining strategy. Unity and solidarity are the key to success.

Here it is of the utmost importance to link trade union action for the shorter working week to the demand for the preservation of existing and the creation of new jobs. The fight for this positive programme will make an important contribution to the fight for better working conditions and more jobs.

The policies of the Tories, who have been in power since 1979, are the barrier to saving jobs, plants, and whole industries in Britain. The Thatcher government has demonstrated that it is the most consistent champion of the interests of the principal representatives of British capital—the industrial and financial transnationals. It has mounted massive attacks on the rights of the trade unions.

Workers' Organisation—Reply to Capital

The strength of the resistance to the policies of the monopolies and to the anti-people course steered by the Tories depends directly on the magnitude and organisation of the working class movement, on its ideological orientation, and on how consistent and realistic the alternatives are that it offers to the actions of the Tories.

The most important point to be made about the present position of the British working class is that its organisation expressed by the level of trade union membership has not collapsed. This is in contrast to the development during the Great Depression of 1929-1933, when trade union membership almost halved. Amongst the employed labour force trade union membership remains at around 50 per cent, and in recent years there has even been some growth of the number of organised workers despite the certain decline of the membership of the older established unions organising shop-floor workers in the manufacturing industry.

Unlike the situation in most advanced capitalist countries in Western Europe, we have one united trade union centre, the British TUC, and one form of trade union political affiliation, which is to the Labour Party. The Trades Union Congress, held in Brighton in the autumn of 1984, decisively repudiated all those who forecast ever deeper divisions and the possible break-up of trade unions—divisions and a break-up that would paralyse the trade union movement in the face of increasing Tory government and big business attack.

There was an almost total consensus in favour of the alternative economic and political strategy, which is diametrically opposed to that of the Tories. It calls for a minimum wage, the definition of social insurance principles, and the assertion of our understanding of the problems of democracy, world peace, and foreign policy. The unanimity of the congress delegates expressed the political mind of the trade union masses.

The British Communists highly value the unitary character of the trade union movement in our country, attach great importance to work within the trade unions, and strive always to develop the movement's power, influence, and fighting capacities. As a result, the Communists exercise considerable influence within the

movement, an influence far greater than the size of the party would indicate. Communists have been elected to leading positions at every level of the movement—from the workplace to the General Council of the TUC. And the *Morning Star*, which expresses editorially the policy and revolutionary strategy of the Communist Party while opening its columns to a wide range of progressive labour movement opinion, is the labour movement's only daily newspaper. It receives considerable backing from the trade union movement in the form of finance and advertising.

Of course, the rising unemployment creates new problems for the trade unions and gives an additional discipline into the hands of the employers. In this situation it cannot be permitted that those who are unemployed should lose their link and identity with those who are in employment and exercise economic power. In contrast to the 1920s-1930s the trade union movement has made serious efforts to retain a link with the unemployed and hundreds of unemployment centres have been set up with trade union support. The operation of these centres, however, is uneven and the movement has not yet been able to establish consistent links with the millions of unemployed workers, particularly youth. This remains an area of some concern, given that it is a potential pool of disaffection, which could be drawn on by the political far right.

During the past three decades there has been substantial progress in organising new groups of workers. Large numbers of technical, administrative, and clerical workers in both the public and private sectors of the economy have joined trade unions. Sectors such as teachers, bank staffs, social workers, health service workers, and civil servants have not only increased their level of class organisation but have become involved in industrial struggle with their employers. This is a qualitative development of class organisation since the early 1960s.

However, the fact remains that at best we organise 50 per cent of the employed labour force, or possibly two-thirds of those who are potentially organisable. As new sections of working people joined the trade union movement they brought with them different traditions and perspectives, although they did not have the accumulated experience of class struggle that the older, established sections of the class, such as miners and engineering workers, have. Some people of these new groups demonstrate their immaturity by lack of discipline and by adventurism, quite often of an ultra-left sort. This creates confusion in their own organisations and in the rest of the movement.

Of course, the development of basic class organisation amongst these sections of workers is of profound importance. It is the first step in the process of developing class consciousness. Unless the majority of the working class, which objectively constitutes 90 per cent of the British population, can be organised as a class there is no possibility of significant social and political change in Britain.

Joining basic class organisations does not mean that workers will become socialist, progressive or even more liberal in their general social views. But what it does mean is that these workers have rejected the crucial part of bourgeois ideology, which tries to convince them that social relationships, including the relationship between employer and employee, are a relationship between individuals. This delusion has particularly deep roots in Britain and is currently being encouraged by the Thatcher government, who are fighting the class war with unprecedented vigour in favour of individualism against collectivism. It is therefore important that the workers should in accordance with actual practice realise that work is not the aggregation of individual activities but a collective social experience, and that the individual's relationship to his employer is defined by the collective nature of that experience.

The difficulties, contradictions, and weaknesses of the trade unions were seen in, for instance, the results of the forum in Brighton. Important home and foreign policy questions failed to appear on the agenda. Absent were resolutions on how to advance

the struggle for full equality for women, and nothing was said on the crucial issues of Ireland and the Middle East. There was no productive discussion of the trade union movement's own democracy. The recently innovated procedure of electing the General Council in fact prejudices rather than helps, as was argued, small trade unions (with less than 100,000 members) while giving automatic representation in the highest organ to the bigger unions, thus leading to the loss of some left-wing leaders from the General Council.

The Trade Unions and Politics

In Britain there is an association in the public mind of the trade union movement and the Labour Party. There are historical reasons for this. At the turn of the century the trade unions, then organising a minority of manual workers, created the Labour Party to establish a voice for organised labour within the electoral and parliamentary system. In 1918 the Labour Party adopted the principle of social ownership of the means of production. But it has never been a socialist party. There are those who accept Marxism in the Labour Party but they are, and always have been, a small minority. The Labour Party is a party of the organised working class, of the trade unions, with some socialist aspects. Its concern has been limited to winning parliamentary power, to managing capitalism.

This has been demonstrated, in particular, by the Wilson and Callaghan governments. Let us recall that in 1964, 1966, and 1974, when the Labour Party came to power, its right-wing leaders instinctively supported the interests of capital and even tried to enact anti-trade union laws. The working class, ably led by the miners, the engineers, and the dock workers, effectively blocked these inroads, but the fact that the workers fought 'their' government created massive confusion, and the Tories were inevitably quick to benefit by it.

Only recently has the role of extra-parliamentary struggle ever been acknowledged as a legitimate form of struggle by a significant section of the Labour Party, but only a small minority give this a high priority. And only in recent years has the Left been strong enough to seriously challenge right-wing ideas, policies, and leadership. These left developments owe much to the work and policies of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

But despite a number of important advances for the Left, the right wing remains predominant in the Labour Party. Communists, working closely with all others on the left, are constantly battling to break the hold of class collaborationist ideas and practices that still influence wide sections of the labour movement.

The appearance on the political scene of new organisations of working people who have joined the ranks of the working class has highlighted the inadequacy of the traditional association of trade union organisations with the Labour Party. Of the 105 trade unions affiliated to the TUC only about half are affiliated to the Labour Party. In the 1983 general election millions of trade unionists voted for the Conservatives, Liberals, and Social Democrats, and only 40 per cent voted Labour. One of the principal reasons is the organisation of new sections of the working class who have yet to accept the history, traditions, and politics of the class as their own. Also, there is the effect of the reaction of all sections of the class, historically established and newly identified, to the actions of Labour governments since 1945, but particularly in the late 1970s.

An issue crucial for the future of the labour movement is the right wing's attempt to keep the trade unions out of the selection process for Labour MPs. These attempts must be fought with determination. The trade unions are the backbone of the Labour Party. Not just in providing cash, but probably more important, they are the vehicle through which the working class expresses its influence. Any attempt to weaken this vehicle can only undermine the role of the Labour Party as a federal organisation

based on the working class. It would be a step towards the continental type of social democratic party.

Voices are being raised in the TUC leadership that say we need to reassess our whole position. They mean we should retreat from the alternative economic strategy supported by the Labour Party and the TUC, that we should abandon grandiose plans for changing society, and should simply react to what the Tories are putting forward. They are wrong.

Of course, we should fight for a shorter working week and against unemployment, and we have to go to the workplace to win the confidence of the workers and to use collective bargaining to achieve these objectives. But we also need political objectives. We should not lose sight of the long-term, socialist prospect, nor should we limit ourselves to the narrow horizon of having meetings with government ministers to sort things out.

The struggle to preserve jobs, industrial facilities, and industry as a whole must be central to every campaign that is carried out by our labour movement. This approach in no way belittles other aims, for instance, the development of social insurance and public health services. On the contrary, it is only a flourishing national industrial base that can generate the finance for flourishing services for the people.

Bringing Down Artificial Barriers

Out of the disillusionment and setbacks of the recent period the working class can learn at least some lessons. Already the mass movement is developing and big class battles are being fought. And whilst the breadth of the progressive movement has never been more apparent, it is the organised working class which, as in the past, is its core. A vivid illustration is the selfless struggle of the miners in 1984. Faced by the full power of the state, including an unprecedented mobilisation of the police force to prevent picketing, and the use of anti-union law, 80 per cent of the miners went on strike against the threat of pit closures and job losses. Their many months' long strike has affected the political situation. It has clearly shown the entire trade union movement that jobs can only be saved through militant united action.

It is not only the most experienced section of the manual workers who are in action. In May 1984 hundreds of thousands of schoolteachers began a series of one-day strikes and other action against government-imposed cuts in their real salaries.

The peace movement continues to grow with increasing, although not yet sufficient, trade union involvement. The TUC has urged unilateral nuclear disarmament and opposition to the deployment of cruise and Trident missiles. This has strongly affected the foreign policy platform of the Labour Party. Many progressive unions are involved in the work of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (the Dublin Committee), which brings together trade unionists from socialist and capitalist countries, the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, and other peace organisations.

There is growing understanding that massive defence expenditures, particularly on nuclear arms, far from creating jobs actually increase unemployment. The debate on the need for defence industries to switch to production for the civilian market in order to protect jobs is gathering pace. Last year three major unions, including Britain's largest, the Transport and General Workers' Union, have issued well-researched policy documents in support of this process. The TUC is actively considering a conference on arms conversion for trade unions involved in defence industry work.² These trends offer the leadership of the organised working class a historic opportunity.

Our trade union movement should get rid of its 'sectarian approach' to international links. We have to cooperate with trade unions in other countries, across

political barriers, if we are to be serious in fighting the ruinous power of the multinationals.

As was noted by Ben Rubner, Executive Committee member of the International Federation of Building and Wood Workers, the 'only way we can deal with multinationals is by greater understanding and active cooperation between workers in all countries of the world. . . . The international union movement can help in many ways. Primarily it can oppose capital being moved about to divide the international labour force. But there are also problems common to workers throughout the world. For instance, they would benefit greatly from pooling information on hazards posed from new materials or new technology methods.'³

World capitalism is indeed powerful, but the labour movement has resisted imperialism successfully time and again. International working class solidarity can be a dependable counterweight to the multinationals. The enormous potentiality of this class cooperation is demonstrated by, among other actions, the campaign conducted by trade unions in many countries in support of the British miners' strike.

Our trade unions, above all institutions in Britain, are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights at work and in society at large. Since the Second World War they have been the only major organisations to campaign consistently for the defence of the British economy, particularly its manufacturing base, and for a real national interest of the vast majority of the population.

Despite the pessimistic view of some in the progressive movement, the forward march of labour has not been halted. We have an immense potential to advance social progress.

¹ Signed in 1957, this treaty established the European Economic Community.—*Ed.*

² See, *WMR*, No. 9, 1984. p. 94.

³ *Morning Star*, September 5, 1983.

Strength of Class Solidarity

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FOR the working class of Argentina the mid-1980s are a time of change, regroupings of forces, organisational renewal, and quests for new ways for settling the big, difficult problems confronting it.

It cannot be asserted that an entirely new situation has taken shape. There have been other times in our national life when the working masses were faced with the question of choosing the direction for action in keeping with specific historical conditions. But today it is a question of getting to understand many aspects of the working class movement's new social and political experience.

The Buenos Aires Declaration¹ justifiably stresses: 'The past few years have witnessed major advances in the development of the democratic process in South America. In it the working class is fulfilling its vanguard role with steadily growing

This article continues the discussion of the present-day condition of the working class (see Ron Bellamy, 'Changes in the British Working Class Movement', *WMR*, No. 7, 1984; Michael Graber, 'The Working Class Movement: New Perspectives', *WMR*, No. 1, 1985).'

confidence. The further strengthening of political and trade union unity on a national and a Latin American scale will permit the working class to make the decisive contribution to the victory and consolidation of democracy and ensure the implementation of revolutionary changes in our respective countries.²

Economic Situation

During the past ten years the economic condition of the Argentine working class has been deteriorating inexorably. The share of the national income that goes to wage workers has diminished drastically—from 41 per cent in 1974 to roughly 30 per cent at present. In the seven years of rule by the military regime, President Raúl Alfonsín noted, the purchasing power of wage workers fell by half. According to statistics for June 1984, the wage of an unskilled industrial worker can cover only half of the minimum requirements of a family consisting of his wife and two small children. Most of the worker's wage goes to pay for food, while unlike the past period many vital material and spiritual requirements go unsatisfied.³

In the past indications of a social decline could be observed in the poverty-ridden provinces, but now they are to be seen in Buenos Aires itself, in the workers' districts.

The policy of dismantling key industries pursued by the dictatorship has led to a further spread of unemployment, partial employment, and employment not in keeping with the workers' training. In the past many Argentines took pride in their country's relatively high level of education as compared with other Latin American nations, but today, according to official statistics, six million people or roughly 2 per cent of the population of Sarmiento's⁴ motherland are totally or partially illiterate.⁵

Anatole France once ironically said that millionaires and paupers shared the right to sleep under the bridges spanning the Seine. Needless to say, the privileged classes in Argentina or any other capitalist country have never had the need to invoke this 'right'. But for many workingmen's families a roof over their heads is beyond their means. These have to look for a place to live in districts located far from their workplace. This means that in fact they have to add their commuting time (in some cases nearly three hours) to their workday of from eight to ten or more hours.⁶ Such time losses affect recreation, education, trade union and party activities and family life, because in the course of most of the week many workers are no more than casual visitors in their own homes.

According to estimates of the National Institute of Statistics and Prices, based on the 1980 census, 28 per cent of the population, i.e., 7,600,000 persons, could not afford to satisfy their basic requirements. However, although these data are causing legitimate concern they do not give a full picture of the reality faced by poor people.⁷

Trade Union Organisation at a New Stage

Throughout the recent period, especially during the years of the military regime, the Argentine working class movement had to contend with terrible odds in its resistance to the attacks of the ruling classes. The dictatorship, established as a result of a coup, proclaimed that the trade unions were superfluous and took brutal punitive actions chiefly against militants of grassroots organisations and the middle echelon of trade union leaders.

The trial of several members of the military elite of the Videla Government, accused of kidnapping and murdering citizens, brought to light that in contravention of the law the top command of the armed forces issued directives ordering the harassment of trade union militants and the infiltration of elected trade union bodies by members of the army's intelligence agencies.⁸ The aim of these operations was to 'purge' industrial facilities of 'Marxist elements' and set up new trade union structures.

In the history of the Argentine working class movement there is no more

forbidding period than the one we are describing. Yet, surmounting enormous difficulties, the proletariat gradually reshaped most of its factory, branch, and central organisations. Employing new forms of struggle, it was able to articulate its most vital socio-economic grievances and back them up with militant actions. In the battles against the dictatorship the working class became the banner-bearer in the struggle for democracy. Following the overthrow of the dictatorship and the restoration of constitutional norms, it entered a new stage of its political life, a stage that has its advantages and also 'obstacles' created by bourgeois democracy. The existence of civil liberties is enabling the proletariat to put forward its demands. However, bourgeois democracy cannot put an end to the domination of national life by the monopolies, the big capitalists, and the landowning oligarchy, who are the principal sources of the suffering of the people and the destabilisation of state institutions.

The overthrow of the dictatorship did not bring the reactionary circles any losses; under the present bourgeois-democratic regime the monopolies are continuing to increase the prices of prime necessities and thereby bringing down real wages. During the first nine months of 1984 consumer prices rose by 380 per cent. The bourgeoisie is developing ever more subtle methods of shifting the burden of the economic crisis to the shoulders of the working people.

The recently restored bourgeois-democratic regime is evidently unable to prevent class collisions. However, these collisions are now unfolding in a situation that is accentuating a task expressing an objective need of the working class, namely, to combine the demand for the satisfaction of its day-to-day requirements with the organisational strengthening of the trade unions. In turn, this is helping to stabilise the present regime, to promote it with the support of the people.

Thus, although the spectrum of problems now confronting Argentina is very wide indeed (inflation, external debt, ascertaining the fate of missing persons, the Malvinas conflict, and so on) high priority is given to the question of normalising trade union life.

The long predominance of bourgeois ideology in the working class was reinforced by the curtailment of trade union liberties, by disregard of the will of the working people, by 'vertical' methods of settling trade union problems (i.e., by instructions from above). The potential for using methods of this kind has now diminished dramatically, coming into conflict with the people's struggle to restore democracy and with the regime itself, which was established as a result of this struggle.

"The working class movement," said Athos Fava, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, "has entered a new stage whose hallmarks are major advances in the development of the class consciousness and of the struggle for democracy generally and for trade union democracy in particular."⁹

Indications of the new mood among the workers are their growing desire to participate actively in the life of the trade unions and in resolving their fundamental problems, their striving to elect leaders of their own choosing, and their determination to uproot the former anti-democratic practices of the trade union bureaucracy. Today this militancy is unquestionably predetermined by social and economic factors. The growth of the trade union movement and the more effective defence of professional interests are also fostered by the new political factors that appeared with the restoration of republican institutions.

Apart from objective factors, this is due also to a significant subjective factor, namely, the experience gained by the working class during the years of the recent dictatorship. In those years a large segment of militants of grassroots trade union cells and middle echelon leaders were imprisoned, kidnapped, or denied employment. At many large industrial facilities the trade unions were divested of their leaders. Moreover, the section of the bureaucratic trade union elite that was able to adjust to the military regime lost much of its contact with the worker masses. As a result, the

workers realised that they had to restructure their class organisations from below. In the face of an extremely unfavourable balance of strength they had recourse to formerly unused ways of countering undisguised pressure from employers and the government.

In this situation there appeared a new galaxy of working class leaders. These leaders came not from the lap of the old bureaucratic traditions but from the crucible of hard-fought class battles, where collective actions backed by class solidarity had become the indispensable condition for defending every advance won by the proletariat in the course of years of struggle against the capitalists, who sought to reinforce their positions with the support of the dictatorship.

These years and the period following the overthrow of the dictatorship are characterised by a departure of the trade union organisations from the practice of appointing leaders on instructions from above, by the renunciation of coercion on the part of the leadership as the 'main argument' for imposing decisions on the workers. This was a devastating blow to 'verticalism' as a method of providing the trade unions with leadership. Acting quickly, the working people of a number of industrial enterprises democratically elected their most militant work-mates to leading positions. Urging unity, the latter replaced the conciliators who had been inhibiting the struggle and had lost their credibility in the trade unions.

The rise of this new generation of leaders, among whom there are Peronists, Communists, advocates of other political lines, and also militants who do not belong to any traditional association, best of all mirrors the tendency towards renewal in the trade union movement.

The Communists elected to leading positions in the trade unions have done their utmost to translate into practice the leadership concept that they had always championed and in defending the interests of the working class they have remained true to the principles of democracy and unity. For many working people it has become obvious that trade union affairs can be tackled by methods other than those used by the bureaucracy.

But difficult problems remain to be resolved and a long road has to be traversed before the trade union structure can be normalised in the true sense of the word. We do not underrate the powerful efforts being made by the ruling circles to emasculate the class content of the workers' organisations and prevent these organisations from carrying out their functions. In the present political situation the conditions no longer exist that in the years of the military dictatorship permitted repressions against trade union militants who abided by proletarian positions. The ruling classes are depending chiefly on those trade union leaders who continue to pursue a conciliatory policy that is obstructing the successful strengthening of unity among the different currents in the working class.

It may be expected that in the election campaign, whose purpose is to complete the process of normalising the trade unions, the bourgeoisie will try to prevent the most class conscious and militant workers from being elected to the leadership. However, despite all of the bourgeoisie's subterfuges account must be taken of the situation arising in the working class movement, a situation that is springing, in particular, from the fact that there are new leaders elected by grassroots organisations and that changes have taken place in the thinking of many of the old trade union leaders. The determination of the workers is growing in parallel with the burgeoning democratic consciousness and confidence that there can be no return to the days of trade union sectarianism and discrimination.

The question of the role of the working class at the present stage and in the future is now on the agenda. This question is in the focus of a sharp ideological struggle for the right to lead the working masses.

Political Objectives

The professional interests of working people have always been inseparably linked to the country's socio-economic and political development. Today, on account of the grave economic crisis and the extremely tense political situation this link has become more visible even to less militant workers.

The livelihood and job problems are likewise coupled to the uncontrollable inflation, the unbridled growth of prices, the external debt, the attempts to destabilise the constitutional regime, and so forth. These problems are growing sharper on account of the unflagging pressure being brought to bear by imperialism, which is seeking to dictate its policy to the government through the International Monetary Fund and transnational banks.

In this context it is becoming increasingly vital for the working class to formulate its own alternative and fight for it. The economic content of this alternative—an improvement of living and working conditions—can have a sound basis only if it is reinforced by political demands calling for the defence of democracy, the further deepening of its social significance, and broader participation by the people in the life of the republic.

One of the projects for the nation's development offered to the working class by non-proletarian groups has the support of the government and of most of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. Bearing in mind the reformist, bourgeois-democratic character of the new government and the class composition of the political groups supporting this project, it is easy to understand that it does not express the interests of the working class. At the same time—and this must be stressed—it is not supported by groups associated with the oligarchy and with imperialism. This project contains a mixture of bourgeois-nationalistic and reformist ideas, a conglomerate of views typical of proponents of industrial development with the aid of foreign investments. It does not call for any change in the existing relations of production. Further, the ideological postulates of social democracy and the social doctrine of Christianity are clearly visible in it.

In substance, this project boils down to achieving mutual understanding between the different classes, claiming that this will allow averting social convulsions in the post-dictatorship period. Moreover, the architects of this project calculate on burdening the working people with the grim legacy left by the military regime and enabling the bourgeoisie to maintain the inviolability of its privileges and increase its profits. All this is presented in high-flown language urging 'national reconciliation', a 'social pact', and so on, which the bourgeoisie likes to flaunt as it portrays its class interests as cardinal national interests. This rhetoric hides nothing less than the intention to commit the workers to carrying out an alien programme that not only puts off the satisfaction of their vital requirements but cannot even stabilise democracy.

Yet it is none other than the workers who are the most consistent champions of political freedoms, even when the latter do not range beyond the framework of the bourgeois system. During the years of the dictatorship many workers lost their lives fighting for the restoration of democracy. The workers have been the principal militants against plans for destabilising constitutional order.

Nor is there any foundation for the argument sometimes used to blackmail the workers, namely, that putschist feeling is generated by all social upheavals. It is none other than the working class, which demands jobs and democracy, that is the main barrier to the return of authoritarianism and semi-fascist regimes. Conversely, the forces aiding and abetting social injustice and caring nothing about the daily bread of the ordinary man are fostering indifference to democracy and undermining faith in it.

There is a profound distinction between accord among the democratic forces with the aim of supporting the constitutional regime, on the one hand, and the so-called

'mutual understanding' project, on the other. Although the authors of this project claim that they are also in favour of the constitutional regime, they in fact seek to check social progress and, without eliminating the causes of the instability of republican institutions, create the conditions for the realisation of putschist intentions.

Also misguided is the view of some ultra-lefts that under present conditions the defence of democracy ultimately boils down to a defence of the bourgeois government. The defence of democratic stability, implying, naturally, the fulfilment of the constitutional mandate of the government elected by the people, is (provided the working class and the people as a whole are actively mobilised) a factor of the further development of democracy, social renewal, and a more active participation of the working people in society's affairs. Moreover, it creates a favourable climate for striking a blow at the oligarchy and imperialist elements that are mainly responsible for the economic crisis and the erosion of the foundations of democracy.

As regards the sacrifices that the working people are asked to make in order to implement the above-mentioned project, let us note that the workers were the victims of the economic 'model' imposed by the dictatorship;¹⁰ this showed that far from curing the disease such recipes make it worse.

While making ordinary people tighten their belts, the bourgeoisie, the monopoly bourgeoisie in the first place, always and everywhere sings one and the same song, namely, that wage increases which are not based on production growth result in inflation. In other words, a growth of the incomes of wage workers is made contingent on an improvement of the economy and the modernisation of production. But it is an open secret that in recent years Argentina has had the highest inflation rate although real wages, as we have noted, have fallen dramatically.

A reanimation of the economy and a renewal of the means of production must be started with a rise of wages to at least the level that existed in the period before the military dictatorship was installed. This would increase the population's purchasing power and give an impetus to industries that are at present idle because the domestic market is small.

The 'mutual understanding' project has one more negative element, and this one seriously affects national interests. Government circles have considered the question of the boundaries within which 'mutual understanding must develop so that the agreements reached on wages between workers and employers would not cause difficulties for the talks with the IMF on the repayment of the external debt'.¹¹ In other words, as a sum of economic measures in government policy 'mutual understanding' is made dependent on terms laid down by the IMF. That such is the case is seen, for example, from the statement of the manager of the state bank in Buenos Aires province: 'In negotiations debtors discuss with creditors and the IMF nothing less than their economic policy and matters related to the exploitation of their own resources. . . . There has rarely been such a degree of interference in defining national economic policy.'¹² If in addition we recall the threat implicit to Argentina in the words of the US Secretary of the Treasury Donald T. Regan that democracy is incompatible with such inflation and economic isolation,¹³ we shall not find it hard to conclude that imperialism is keeping a close watch on political developments in Argentina.

If we bear in mind the harsh terms being laid down by the IMF and the international banks, all of which are opposed to any rise of the wage level, it is hard to believe that in the shape it is conceived in the project with all its inconsistencies and contradictions 'mutual understanding' can acquire real meaning. In the long run, the implementation of the project may be no more than a variant of 'regulating' the economy in order to increase the output of export goods and pay interest on the external debt.

The attempts of the ruling circles to put 'mutual understanding' into practice are being resisted by the working people chiefly because the latter have no intention of seeing the codification of an agreement that will once again saddle them with the entire burden of the crisis. An indication of this is, in particular, the fact that in the first six months of 1984 the number of strikes in Argentina trebled compared with the same period of the preceding years.

The political organisations of the working class and other sections of the people are, with a decisive contribution from the Communists, elaborating a unitary project. In it the defence of democracy will be the point of departure for eradicating the causes of the crisis, namely, latifundism and the imperialist, notably North American, control of Argentina's basic industries.

The defence of democratic practices, which are the result chiefly of the constructive efforts of the working people, is thus closely coupled with the aspiration to achieve social justice and safeguard national sovereignty. All this substantially distinguishes the unitary project from the proposals of the bourgeois reformists, who likewise call for democracy but have no intention of hurting the roots nourishing anti-democratic currents.

Ideological Postures

A reformist bourgeois-nationalistic trend now enjoys the greatest ideological influence in the Argentine working class. This trend gave particularly strong notice of its existence in the mid-1940s. Industry had then been growing rapidly and the country had a very favourable trade balance as a result of the large sales of farm produce to a Europe left exhausted by the Second World War.

The rapid growth rate of industry was accompanied by a swift numerical growth of the industrial proletariat through the influx of people from the countryside. Rural workers took jobs at factories and settled in the towns. An objective outcome of the process of industrialisation and some political circumstances was the visible improvement of the living standard and working conditions of the workers and the rise of their cultural level. Having little trade union and political experience, the people who now reinforced the working class movement linked these changes to the role of Perón, who headed the government at the time.

In order to give the semblance of championing the working people's interests, the Perón government included in its programme demands to which the people were extremely sensitive. However, the principal demands, those concerning the agrarian question and the problem of dependence on imperialism, were not met. The tangible improvement in the condition of the people was the result of the favourable economic situation and of the pressure from the masses.

In a situation in which the Communists were persecuted, most of the working people came under the influence of Peronism, of a leader who relied on the state apparatus, the sole trade union organisation of those days, and a heterogeneous party that had a mass base. The spokesmen of reformist bourgeois nationalism, that grew out of that soil, are now trying to prove that there is a 'third way' or 'third position' between capitalism and socialism, that social justice can be achieved by 'humanising capitalism', and that the class struggle conceived as a means of surmounting the antagonistic contradictions in society is a product of ideological controversy rather than a necessity of social development. The only way acceptable to the nation, they assert, is to couple the interests of the workers with those of the employers.

These bourgeois and petty-bourgeois illusions inevitably come into conflict with Argentine reality. On the one hand, the deep-going structural crisis is steadily eroding the socio-economic conditions of the working people. On the other hand, the most dynamic section of the Peronist movement (although it is heterogeneous in class terms) consists of workers and other people who are by no means a passive object of

the influence of the ideas advanced by bourgeois reformism. On the contrary, they are fighting to play an active role in achieving social justice, in giving effect to the anti-latifundista and anti-imperialist slogans that the Peronist leaders made for propaganda purposes but did not fulfil.

This is the source of most of the difficulties of the Peronist movement, in particular of the contradiction between its non-proletarian ideology and the way of thinking of its supporters, most of whom are proletarians interested in profound revolutionary reforms.

The reformist alternative, individual aspects of which we recognised as positive for the stage then experienced by the nation, has proved to be historically incapable of removing the basic causes of the Argentine crisis. The economic base nourishing the actions of the reactionary circles has remained unaffected; at various times these circles have forced upon the people dictatorships that brought them suffering and the collapse of their hopes.

In that period the Peronist-affiliated working people, who acted jointly with the Communist Party, gained valuable experience from the triumphs and setbacks, an experience that fostered their shift to the left and their acceptance of elements of proletarian ideology. At present, while opposing the right-wing forces in their own movement, the Peronist masses are resisting the plans of those who would like to turn them into a barrier against progressive ideas and looking for ways to effectively join in working out a unitary project for national and social liberation. The paramount aim of the political line pursued by the Argentine Communists is to organise and channel this process towards a positive result.

On the threshold of the second half of the 1980s there is a perceptible growth of political activity on the part of the working people. Some 80 per cent of the membership of the Communist Party of Argentina are wage workers, most of whom are industrial workers.¹⁵ This is evidence that the party is steadfastly reinforcing and enlarging its social base, of which the working class is the foundation. The Communists are working mainly in the working class movement, chiefly in large industrial towns where the most conscious and militant workers are concentrated.

It would be a simplification to believe that we can carry out our mission by educating and enlightening workers outside their own proletarian movement, by confining ourselves to purely propagandist activity. It is only by drawing upon the experience of the workers' struggles and by relying on their organisations, the trade unions in the first place, that members of the revolutionary party will be able to fulfil their role in the proletarian movement. Therefore, while bearing in mind the specific functions and aims of the trade unions, it is our aim that these organisations should become a school of revolutionary activity, that in advancing their professional demands the workers should link them closely to the struggle for democracy, national liberation, the preservation of world peace, and internationalist solidarity. The Argentine Communists firmly believe that in the process of struggle the working class will accumulate experience, win growing influence in society, and get a better understanding of its own strength and of its historic mission—that of building a socialist society.

¹ The political document adopted by a conference of South American communist parties in Buenos Aires in July 1984.

² *Nueva Era*, No. 17, 1984, p. 21.

³ See *Qué pasa*, July 4, 1984.

⁴ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888)—political leader, author, and eminent Argentine pedagogue.

⁵ See *Clarín*, Edición Internacional, April 23-29, 1984.

⁶ *Ibid.*, July 2-8, 1984.

⁷ *Ibid.*, July 16-22, 1984.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Nueva Era*, No. 16, 1984, p. 17.

¹⁰ In the seven years the military regime was in power, official government policy cost the workers nearly 65 billion dollars in lost wages, or almost the value of the nation's annual industrial output.

¹¹ *La Nación*, Edición Internacional, July 30, 1984.

¹² *Hablan los comunistas*, May 31-July 7, 1984.

¹³ See *Clarín*, Edición Internacional, July 2-8, 1984.

¹⁴ *Qué pasa*, October 24, 1984.

Social Storms in the Persian Gulf Zone

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THE Middle East and the Persian Gulf region have an important place in the imperialist strategy of the United States, which has pursued several objectives in the area: to crush the national liberation movement; to hamper the development of revolutionary processes; to restore the positions lost after October 1973¹ and the Iranian revolution, and to seize new ones; and to undermine cooperation between the Arab countries and the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place.

A Reserve for Imperialism

In its efforts to realise its schemes, Washington has resorted to overt threats to use arms, and to stage direct armed interventions in the internal affairs of countries in our region. Following President Jimmy Carter's announcement that the Persian Gulf was a zone of US 'vital interests', the buildup of a rapid deployment force as the weapon for such intervention got under way in the United States, together with the framing of plans for the dispatch of warships to the Persian Gulf, an increase in the number of military bases in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Oman, and a buildup of forces in the Indian Ocean. When the accent in US strategy under President Ronald Reagan was overtly switched to armed force, and the policy of detente was abandoned, the Pentagon issued its 'Defence Guidance for 1984-1988', while the 'defence' of oil resources of the Persian Gulf was declared to be the main task in any 'conventional' war, alongside the 'defence' of the United States and Western Europe. The United States has used 48 per cent of its military spending abroad in order to bolster its positions in the Middle East. It has given blanket support to Israel's act of aggrandisement—from total annexation of Jerusalem and its declaration as Israel's 'eternal capital' to the spread of its settlements on the occupied lands and direct aggression against Lebanon—and has fanned the Iraq-Iran war, which has diverted both these countries from taking part in resisting imperialist pressures.

The war between Iran and Iraq gave US imperialism and its Atlantic allies an additional pretext for sending more troops into our region, thereby increasing their already conspicuous military presence. Apart from warships, there are the ground forces, and almost 30 bases. The airstrips on the islands of Diego Garcia and Masira and in Bahrain are being equipped to receive strategic B-52 bombers and heavy transport aircraft. A memorandum was sent to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)² demanding military privileges for the imperialists in the northern part of the Gulf. The establishment of new naval bases in the area by the United States and its

allies cannot be ruled out. A central command—Centcom—has been set up by the Pentagon to coordinate operations by the navy, the bases and the rapid deployment force.

Since May 1981, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Bahrain have in effect been ignoring, under US pressure, the goals of the GCC's Declaration, and, in defiance of common sense, have given priority to coordinating efforts in the military sphere. They seek to turn the GCC into an aggressive bloc and an 'undeclared' member of NATO geared to US strategic schemes in the region.

The volume and nature of the military projects and agreements on arms supply being included by Saudi Arabia and some other Persian Gulf countries are well in excess of their defence requirements, but then an infrastructure is being created to back up military operations by US armed forces, with the prospect of the modern military hardware deployed in the area being used directly for US objectives. Here is an eloquent example: the AWACS aircraft, which Saudi Arabia bought at a cost of £8.5 billion, have been supplying the Pentagon with intelligence data on the armies of the Arab countries.

Military spending by states in the region has been steadily growing: in Saudi Arabia, it comes to 31 per cent of the budget and 37 per cent of imports, and in Oman to as much as 45 per cent of budget funding.³ In 1983, the GCC member countries concluded arms delivery deals worth \$35 billion, with Saudi Arabia accounting for 77 per cent. Saudi Arabia has also financed US arms deliveries to Oman and Bahrain. During a visit to Great Britain by the Emir of Bahrain in April 1983, an agreement was signed on the purchase of arms worth \$700 million, the cost to be met by the GCC members.

One will easily see the organic interconnection between the sabre-rattling in the Persian Gulf and the step-up of US-Zionist aggressiveness in the Middle East. The men in Washington had apparently expected the Arab national liberation movement to be so weak as to be unable to resist the US diktat, so that it could be forced to accept a new 'peace' formula for the solution of the Middle East problem through the imposition of the ignominious Israeli-Lebanese agreement of May 17, 1982. But these expectations foundered on Syria's firm stand in rebuffing, with the USSR's support, the onslaught of the imperialists and Zionists, on the victorious struggle by the patriotic Lebanese resistance movement against the occupation and national betrayal and, finally, on the resolve of the Arab people of Palestine to stand up for its unity and rights, which are advocated by the PLO. The alliance of the Arab national liberation movement and the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union has once again demonstrated its effectiveness in the most difficult conditions.

Capitalist Orientation Zigzags

Not very long ago, before the 'oil boom' got under way, the GCC countries used to live in something like medieval backwardness. Over the past several decades, however, their socio-economic face has been changed by the rapid, even if lopsided capitalist development resting exclusively on oil extraction. The traditional sectors of the economy, the handicrafts and agriculture, notably pearl fishing (in Bahrain), the building of fishing vessels, and fisheries were stifled or pushed to the brink of ruin. New industries, the mining of minerals and the services emerged, and trade was also enlivened.

The socio-economic changes were paralleled by a reduction in the numbers and role of the peasants, fisherman and handicraftsmen, who had earlier been an important element of the social structure. Many members of these classes and strata either took jobs in the oil and oil-refining industry, constituting the core of the proletariat, or joined the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, which began to reduce its traditional ties with material production and to invest its money in trade, banking,

insurance, the services, and real-estate and financial speculation. This evolution was facilitated by the growth of the consumer character of the societies in the Persian Gulf countries.

Nationalisation of oil-extracting and oil-refining companies in some Arab countries was a major outcome of the rise of the national liberation movement in the 1950s and 1960s. The growth of oil revenues, as prices quadrupled following the embargo during the October 1973 war, led to a marked strengthening of state capitalism with much greater potentialities. The state-capitalist sector has long since been concluding major deals with foreign and local entrepreneurs for various projects in building, the services, and so on. Over a period of 20 years, foreign contractors have handled 75 per cent of all the projects in the region worth a total of \$600 billion.⁴ Saudi Arabia's minister of trade has frankly admitted that the contractors were 'excessively overstating the cost of work done under government contracts, which is why it is very much more expensive than similar work in other countries'.⁵ Local private business has handled the other 25 per cent of the contracts—likewise a sizable amount. Hence the logical conclusion that the capitalist evolution has been proceeding in interaction between the state sector and national private capital, on the one hand, and foreign and transnational companies, on the other.

The rapid enrichment of the local financial and comprador bourgeoisie and landowners, the growing economic weight and ever wider experience in management, and the working people's exploitation have all forced the ruling royal families to share political power with them, so producing a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and a simultaneous bourgeoisification of the feudal elite. The state apparatus has helped to consolidate the private sector to the utmost, as the latter gained control of many major economic facilities built at the expense of the state.

Vast fortunes have been accumulating in the hands of individuals and private organisations which take no part in economic development. The rich have deposited vast amounts of money in bank accounts in Switzerland, Caribbean islands and other places far away from home where account-holders are offered financial and legal privileges; their aim is to have something to fall back on in the event of social upheavals, and to conceal the real size of their fortunes from the society. According to the IMF, deposits abroad in mid-1983 by individuals and non-banking outfits from the United Arab Emirates totalled \$4,74 billion, and from Kuwait —\$3,75 billion.

The Persian Gulf bourgeoisie has been making sizable investments in the major financial, lending and industrial companies of the United States and other capitalist countries, thereby evolving into an economic and socio-political support of imperialism and helping it to overcome its internal contradictions and crises. For their part, the industrialised capitalist countries have been exporting some of their capital and even transferring some industries to the Persian Gulf area. The coalescing of the interests of the local bourgeoisie with those of the international financial oligarchy is reflected in the foreign and domestic policies of the regimes ruling the region. The latter now seek to 'transform' their total dependence on world capital into a 'dependent partnership' embracing the sphere of the economy, politics and ideology.

Conditions are now being created in the Persian Gulf countries for the manufacture of intermediate products to meet the requirements of the industry of the developed capitalist states, although the region continues to retain the main role assigned to it in the capitalist division of labour, namely, that of oil supplier. Hence two negative consequences: first, a sharpening of competition between similar-type economies in our region; and second, their growing integration with the world capitalist system.

Up until recently, the local bourgeoisie had not rushed to invest in material production and was highly unwilling to be involved in such activity, which is why the Persian Gulf countries had to import the manufactures they needed and that mainly from the capitalist world. At the same time, the expansion of the service sphere,

together with the fact that some groups of the population (including a section of the working people and petty proprietors) are in possession of cash savings, enables them to make small investments fast yielding easy returns. This has enabled official propaganda to hold forth about some 'people's capitalism' under which thousands of people are allegedly able to 'own' enterprises, so creating an illusion of prosperity among local citizens and foreigners resident in the region.

But the facts tell a different story. There has been a series of bankruptcies for financial reasons among banks, institutions and individuals in the United Arab Emirates, for instance. Kuwait was the scene of a stockmarket scandal which led to the ruin of tens of thousands of shareholders. From early 1983 to February 1984, stockmarket quotations in Bahrain plummeted by more than 70 points.⁶

The working people and small property owners, suffering from the effects of the crisis, have to face a mounting of the cost of living which in some areas is as high as 12 per cent, while wages have grown by only 2 per cent a year. While creating the impression of 'affluence', the oil-exporting countries have been hit by grave crises, from which many strata of the population, notably the working masses, have had to suffer. Hence the growing protest against the defective economic policies being pursued by the ruling regimes hand in glove with the banks, the big speculators and the transnational corporations.

These countries' oil revenues are down to roughly one-half of the 1981 figure. Bloated budget deficits over the past three years have eroded their foreign-exchange reserves in the United States and Western Europe (Saudi Arabia's budget deficit alone come to \$13 billion).

The spreading depression has forced the ruling circles to abandon many economic projects, including some already endorsed, while funding for the rest has been sharply cut back, from \$74 billion in 1981 to \$23.7 billion in mid-1983, i.e., by 68 per cent.⁷

That has naturally still worsened the condition of the social strata earning an income from small and medium-scale projects. Small jobbers used to complain of losses due to competition from foreign companies. Now that many of the local entrepreneurs face ruin, their discontent with the policy of the ruling regimes and the activity of the foreign monopolies is even more pronounced.

Defence of Rights

The ugly development of capitalism tends to produce defects which are characteristic of the capitalist society, such as wanton luxury, drug addiction and the spread of crime. One reaction to these negative phenomena in the region has been the revival of Moslem fanaticism, a peculiar form of protest among the devout against the growing bourgeoisification of the society. The formation of religious political organisations after the Iranian revolution, the grouping round them of members of various social strata, and their participation (however temporary) in social movements in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain show that our peoples possess an unspent potential of social and political energy, which has not yet been fully manifested in the 'petro-societies' of the Persian Gulf, so that, for various subjective and objective reasons, the national liberation forces have not yet been able to win over and organise the broad popular masses. But this energy is already seeking an outlet to give vent to itself.

The working class has been most consistent and active in fighting the ruling regimes' social-economic line, acting together with the other masses of working people organised within the ranks of the national liberation movement under the leadership of communist and democratic parties and organisations with the participation of patriotic groups and public and political leaders.

The working class and patriotic movements are at different levels because of the

differing socio-economic development levels of the Persian Gulf countries, but everywhere persevering struggle for democratic rights and freedoms have been under way for years, with the greatest successes scored in the early 1960s by the patriotic movement in Kuwait.

The considerable increase in the prices of oil and its growing extraction have led to the concentration in the regions of huge financial resources, a part of which has gone into accelerated development of some sectors of the economy, including building, and the petrochemical and heavy industry, which for its part required swift recruitment of new labour-power. In view of the small size of the native population, the non-participation of women in labour, and the inflated state apparatus, the Persian Gulf countries have flung open their doors both to foreign companies and foreign workers.

The influx of labour from abroad has had the strongest impact on the demographic situation in the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Bahrain. From 1975 to 1985, the number of native citizens within the population of the six countries was expected to go down from 74 to 56 per cent, and that of local workers from 55 to 41 per cent. Their population was expected sharply to increase—from 10.2 million to 16.8 million—and the number of jobs in production to go up from 2.9 million to 4.8 million.⁸

Although these forecasts were based on high rates of economic development, they turned out to be very wide of the mark: the increase in the workforce projected for Bahrain by 1985 was reached in 1980, and even surpassed in Kuwait, while in the United Arab Emirates it came to 75 per cent of the expected figure that year.⁹

The anarchic character of the 'free' economy of the Persian Gulf countries has also had an effect on the local labour-market, on which employers have capitalised by laying down tough and discriminatory conditions when hiring labour in an effort to force the working people to accept minimum wages with maximum curbs on the civil and trade union rights. While subjecting foreign workers to a two-fold oppression—on the class and national lines—the exploiters simultaneously use their presence to blackmail local working people with the prospects of job losses, a factor holding down the growth of wages, preserving worse working conditions, and further encroaching on trade union and democratic freedoms.

The growing number of foreigners in Bahrain is paralleled by the opposite process: local workers, specialists and white-collar workers have been emigrating to neighbouring countries, so reducing the number of native workers and holding back the development of the working people's movement.

But in contrast to some Arab and many developing countries generally, the local proletariat in our countries is highly active and has strong positions. The working class has been exerting a growing influence on the patriotic movement in Bahrain, Kuwait and some areas of Saudi Arabia. There is growing activity among the trade unions, which operate legally (Kuwait), semi-legally (Bahrain) or clandestinely (Saudi Arabia and Oman). Local and foreign workers have acted together in defence of their common interests on many occasions, and the native proletariat has supported the demands of its immigrant brothers by class.

Over the past twenty years, there has been a marked change in the social basis of the national liberation movement in the countries of the region, which now consists of the working class and the revolutionary intelligentsia. Within the past decade, some of those who are involved in the movement have adopted the stand of scientific socialism, while some organisations maintained and strengthened their ties with the communist and workers parties. Alongside the Marxist-Leninist parties in the countries of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, there are progressive workers', youth, women's and students' organisations. All of that goes to create favourable conditions for mass party work. The democratic press has done much to

spread progressive ideas and mobilise the working people for the fight against exploitation, and its influence has had a noticeable effect on literature and the arts. It has continued perseveringly to face up to the bourgeois ideological and cultural offensive.

The consolidation of the national liberation movement has created the basis for closer bilateral and multilateral cooperation between its individual groups and organisations. The national progressive parties have decided to make a joint analysis of the situation in the zone of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula and to chart the ways to attain their common goals. The most important of these are struggle against the activity of the GCC as a military bloc, for an end to the Iraq-Iran war, and for a regional and international campaign in defence of peace and democracy.

As the democratic forces draw closer together, favourable conditions are being created for their joint activity within the individual Persian Gulf states, making it possible to involve various organisations, of true democrats and patriots, including religious bodies, in active struggle on the basis of the patriotic movement's programme, and to mobilise broader masses of people for the fight.

Our successes have enraged the reactionaries, who also seek to unite in confronting the patriotic movement, which has been gaining in strength at every level. The Moslem Brotherhood has resumed its subversive activity, especially in the Yemeni Arab Republic and Kuwait. The rulers of Saudi Arabia have resorted to every means, including brute force, in their efforts to wipe out what remains of the abbreviated democratic freedoms, the constitution and other gains of the fraternal people of Kuwait. Under their pressure, the National Assembly was dissolved and the Constitution suspended in Bahrain in 1975. Saudi Arabia has been trying hard to slow down democratic processes in the neighbouring countries and to remodel their political system according to its own image and likeness. The monarchs of the Persian Gulf countries, Bahrain in particular, have simultaneously spent vast amounts of money on building up alternative (pro-regime) organisations and unions of workers, young people, women and students, and have stepped up their collaboration with specialists from the CIA and Western and Arab intelligence services. The reactionaries have resorted to the meanest and most inhuman ways of fighting the patriots and democrats, depriving them of their livelihood, expelling them from their homeland, and often simply killing them.

But despite the difficulties faced by the Arab national liberation movement, it has repeatedly demonstrated that it is capable not only of taking a strong stand in face of the offensive by reaction, but also of inflicting defeats on it and of scoring victories.

The small people of Lebanon has succeeded in abrogating the capitulationist agreement with the aggressors and had forced the US marines and the multinational armed forces to go home, thanks to its resolve and sacrifices, and also the support of Syria, the Soviet Union, and the Arab and world national liberation movements.

The steady successful revolutionary development of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, a qualitatively new contingent of the Arab national liberation movement, provides important evidence of the progressive forces' great potentialities. Despite economic blockade and scant internal resources, it has been building and consolidating the first workers' and peasants' state in the Arab world.

The national liberation movement's rich experience testifies that the way to success in the battles against imperialism, Zionism and internal reaction, and for an end to exploitation lies through the patriotic and progressive forces' stronger unity. That is why the establishment of patriotic fronts on the basis of clear-cut programmes, principles of equality and the cooperating parties' mutual respect and independence is now the most acute problem on the agenda.

What needs to be taken into account here is that some patriotic and nationalistic circles of the petty bourgeoisie continue to take an anti-communist stand in their

practical activity and ideological orientation, displaying mistrust of the communist parties and unable to bring themselves to cooperate with them. Such an attitude is a formidable obstacle to the establishment and activity of a united anti-imperialist front.

In February 1985, we shall be marking the 30th anniversary of the formation of the National Liberation Front of Bahrain, which has always striven to consolidate the unity of the patriotic forces and to mobilise them in defence of democratic rights and constitutional freedoms. Our party has taken a resolute stand for the interests of the working class, and has fought for better living and working conditions, against the growth of prices, and cutbacks in wages. We have been trying to enable the working people to set up legalised organisations; we have demanded an end to terrorism and the release of political prisoners. We want the abolition of the enslaving 1971 agreement, under which the United States is entitled to station its troops at the Jufair naval base and to use the airport at Muharraq for its own purposes.

The main task of the patriotic movements is, we believe, to unite on the basis of struggle for democracy, social progress and independent development, in which broad social strata need to be involved. Such is the key prerequisite for successfully resisting the mounting moves by imperialism and its satraps.

Editorial Note. This article reflects the views of the National Liberation Front of Bahrain, and continues the series on the present state of the Arab national liberation movement and the tasks of the revolutionary forces in the light of the situation taking shape in the Middle East (see the articles of Rafic Samhoun in *WMR* No. 1, 1984; Naim Ashhab in *WMR* No. 3, 1984; Khaled Hammami in *WMR* No. 6, 1984, and Izeddin Ali Amer in *WMR* No. 9, 1984).

¹ A reference to the 1973 Arab-Israeli war which helped to dispel the myth of the Israeli army's 'invincibility'.—*Ed.*

² It includes Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain.—*Ed.*

³ See People's Front for the Liberation of Oman, *Sout al-Thawra*, May 1984 (in Arabic).

⁴ See *Al-Ahram al-Iktisadi*, Cairo, March 1984 (in Arabic).

⁵ *Al-Jazirah*, Saudi Arabia, May 6, 1984 (in Arabic).

⁶ See *Ash Shark al Ausat*, London, May 7, 1984 (in Arabic).

⁷ See *Al-Ahram al-Iktisadi*, April 1984 (in Arabic).

⁸ *Ibid.*, March 1984.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Israeli Penetration Into Central America

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ISRAEL, that gendarme and enemy of the liberation of Arab peoples, is the main instrument of US hegemonism in the Middle East. However, its reactionary activity goes beyond this explosive region. Israeli interference in the most diverse forms also affects other continents. The responsibility for this policy falls squarely on the ruling Zionist groupings that seized power in the independent Jewish state as soon as it was founded.

Underlying the foreign policy of Israel is Zionism, that is, a nationalist ideology and now also a ramified system of organisations and an overall policy expressing the interests of the Jewish big bourgeoisie, which has fused with the monopolies of the USA and other imperialist powers. Zionism's fundamental tenet is that the Jews are an 'exterritorial nation' comprising all of them irrespective of place of residence. It leads to the categorical conclusion that 'Israel borders on the whole world and the whole of humanity'. This assertion, seemingly no more than figurative, reveals one of the most typical aspects of Zionism, namely, chauvinism, the basis of the expansionist aspirations of the ruling class of Israel.

Like other areas of the globe, Latin America has tasted the bitter fruits of Israeli interference, particularly active in Central America. Israeli penetration into this region intensified with Reagan's accession to the US Presidency. Nor is this accidental, as the following facts show.

First, the Israeli regime is being harnessed more and more to US global plans. It is becoming a strategic ally of US imperialism, whose policy has been marked, especially over the past four years, by reckless and primitive anti-communism. This policy, as applied to the peoples of Third World countries fighting for national and social liberation, has an exact definition: counter-revolutionary. The 16th CPI Congress said so explicitly in its resolution, 'The Jewish Question and Zionism in Our Time', as far back as 1969. It pointed out that Israel was closely linked with the imperialist powers in their struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, communist and workers' parties, the Arab anti-imperialist national liberation movement and other forces championing peace and social progress.¹ The same document stressed that there was hardly any imperialist power on which Zionism did not pin its hopes or any imperialist power that had no intention of using Zionism for its own ends.

Second, Israel derives substantial economic benefits from the sale of military hardware. Growing transactions of this nature worth many millions enable it to ease the effects of an economic crisis which has become chronic.

Third, the Israeli state seeks support at international forums from regimes that wink at its crimes and misdeeds in other countries, such as Lebanon, where the bombing of Beirut and the Sabra and Shatila massacres set examples of barbarous brutality. The transfer of foreign embassies from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem should be seen in the same context—as aimed at making political capital.

Israeli penetration into Central America has a record of its own. It goes back to the period before the founding of the Jewish state, brought into being in 1948 according to a UN decision. It was in that remote period that the Zionist leadership began to cooperate closely with the Nicaraguan dictator, Anastasio Somoza, Sr. With the latter's aid it supplied forged papers to emigrés being sent to Palestine, purchased arms through surrogates for Al Haganah, the clandestine terroristic organisation that was operating in Palestine and became later on the core of the regular army of Israel. These and certain other services earned Somoza lavish rewards—large sums were deposited to his account in Swiss banks.² Incidentally, the rulers of Israel subsequently used arms acquired in this way to annex Arab lands.

In 1978, or more than thirty years later, Israel supplied Somoza, Jr. with a large batch of diverse modern weapons, allegedly in token of gratitude. Actually this was a cynical business deal made by the tyrannical Somoza regime in view of the nominal suspension of military aid from the USA, which continued through Tel Aviv. From 1975 to 1979, when the Sandinist revolution triumphed, Israel supplied 98 per cent of the military equipment needed by Somoza's repressive forces. Many of the contracts signed by the last member of the dictator's clan with arms manufacturers, including Israel Aircraft Industries, were paid with US credits. Tens of thousands of men, women and children were killed with weapons delivered by Israel to one of the most

tenacious and hated dictatorships on the American continent.

Arms production, Israel's major source of revenue today, developed on the basis of small handicraftsmen's workshops at a time when the territory taken up by the country was under a British mandate. From 1950 onwards, it went on in plants whose machinery had been purchased secretly abroad, shipped to Israel and assembled there. David Ben Gurion was in charge of the purchases.

Israel's war industry today comprises two companies subsidised and controlled by the state and having about forty large factories. They use both US licences and their own technology but do not mind resorting to industrial piracy. Here are some examples.

In 1967 President Charles de Gaulle of France decided to suspend deliveries of French Mirage fighters to Israel. By 1973 the Israelis had a similar fighter, the Kfir, as a result of stealing a complete set of blueprints of the Mirage. In 1969, de Gaulle blocked the dispatch of five missile-carrying boats purchased by Israel. At the end of that year 100 Israeli sailors posing as Norwegians seized the boats at Cherbourg and sailed them to their country. Afterwards Israel began to build similar missile carriers.

In the early seventies, the Israelis tried to purchase British Chieftain tanks. The British refused but it was not long before the Israelis began to make an identical tank, the Merkava.

After the so-called Six Days' War between Israel and Egypt, whose troops were armed with the Soviet-made AK assault rifle, the Israelis copied it and launched its manufacture in three versions under the name of Galil. Subsequently, Tel Aviv ceased equipping its army with US AR-15 rifles.³

Arms production in Israel is a major industry today employing 14 per cent of the country's industrial workforce. Israel is the only country making a Tommygun per year for every two inhabitants. It has gradually emerged as one of the ten biggest arms exporters in the capitalist world and now holds fifth place, having moved up from seventh place since 1980, when it exported 1,450 million dollars' worth of arms, which is 40 per cent of all its exports, even though it lost two major clients, Iran and Nicaragua.⁴

Participation in deals of this nature profits both Israel and the USA as well as the receiving countries. The Israelis generally keep the nationality of their clients secret. They supply regimes which are accused of violating human rights, and which other arms manufacturers refuse to deal with, not for ethical but purely political reasons. Israel's clients include Taiwan, Zaire, South Africa and Latin America's brutal dictatorships. It follows that Israel's hawks are direct accomplices of US imperialism. They do the 'dirty work' which the US Administration cannot do openly in some cases because of the bans imposed by Congress on the regimes in question. As a result, Israel has become the biggest arms supplier to Central American states, with sales earning it up to 250 million dollars a year.⁵

Tel Aviv emphasises certain aspects of its dealings with Latin American governments while carefully disguising others. One way of doing it is to carry out a 'special aid' programme under which Israel builds schools and highways, draws up and offers advice on agricultural projects, sets up medical institutions, and so on. The immediate propagandistic purpose of the programme is to give an attractive facade to anti-popular regimes seeking this kind of aid. As for the indirect, camouflaged aim, it is assistance in counter-insurgency. This is the responsibility of a special agency, the Department for International Relations and Cooperation, directly controlled by the Israeli Defence Ministry. The agency began its activities in the sixties along the same counter-revolutionary lines as were typical of the socio-political plans which the USA was then carrying out in various countries of South America.

Edy Kaufmann, one of the advisers on the programme, has frankly defined its purpose as follows: 'Those who shaped Israeli policy, realising the strategic

importance of the Latin American military, regarded this as a most effective and perfectly respectable way of backing the military in conflicts with domestic political forces.⁶

Guatemala is a recipient of 'special aid'. Under the guise of organising peasant 'cooperatives', Israel has set up so-called collective farms, drawing on the experience of the 'strategic villages' that the Americans set up in Vietnam in the past. The basic concept of this practice is known as 'modifying the life and labour of the population'. The aim is to forcibly change the peasants' traditional way of life, uproot and resettle them and impose new forms of social organisation. Above all else, the system is intended to justify the presence of the army in certain areas, disguise repression and intelligence activities, facilitate the recruitment of agents for the dictatorship and breed false hopes among the people in order to deprive the insurrectional movement of popular support.

In line with this concept, all the governments successively brought to power in Guatemala since the sixties as a result of coups have been set on 'Palestinianising' the Indians. It should be noted that the Indians are becoming more and more active in the revolutionary movement, joining the guerrillas in growing numbers. 'Palestinianisation' implies, among other things, the physical destruction of ethnic groups.

In short, the programme drawn up in Israel is evidence of collusion between Washington and Tel Aviv, of their intention to cooperate in applying the 'national security' doctrine, which abets unlawful Latin American regimes in their counter-revolutionary activity.

Let us take a close look at other facts showing that Israel has assumed, alongside the United States, the infamous role of a gendarme trying to strangle the revolution in Central America.

During the Carter Administration's tenure of office (1977-1981), US military aid to Guatemala was suspended. The official reason for the move was given as systematic violation of human rights in Guatemala. Tel Aviv promptly filled the vacuum to become the dictatorship's main arms supplier. In the past four years the Guatemalan regime has purchased 11 Arava planes, 10 RBY-MK armoured personnel carriers, 15,000 Galil rifles, 81-mm mortars, grenade launchers, including bazookas, and 120 tons of ammunition. It has also purchased a tactical radio transmitter system, radar stations operated by Israelis and three Dabier-class coast guard ships. The flow of military supplies from Israel is still greater today.

This lucrative business induced Taidiran Israel Electronic Industries, a company manufacturing electronic equipment and ammunition, to build a munitions factory in Alta Verapaz Department, Guatemala, that is running at full capacity now. This is a first step towards setting up a war industry in the country. The company's plans for the immediate future provide for the manufacture of Galil and Uzi guns and Kfir planes.

It is an open secret that Guatemala re-exports 30 per cent of the arms it gets from Israel to other Central American governments directly dependent on US imperialism. This was certainly taken into account in building the arms factory in Guatemala. Furthermore, the Guatemalan regime asked the armies of the region (except the Nicaraguan army) to use as far as possible weapons of types and calibres which could use ammunition made in Alta Verapaz.

A Voice of America report about plans for aircraft production in Guatemala said that the 280 million dollars needed for the purpose was being put up jointly by Israel and the USA. Thus the Jewish big bourgeoisie is pursuing a twofold aim: shoring up its economy, dependent almost entirely on the war industry, and performing the counter-revolutionary role which US imperialism has assigned to it in Central America. Among other things the US is searching for optimum supply routes for the

puppet armies of the region and for ways of making their collaboration more effective.

Interference in the affairs of El Salvador by the pro-imperialist and expansionist rulers of Israel is nothing new, either. True, the evidence on arms deliveries to El Salvador is less exact than that relating to Guatemala, for the Salvadoran dictatorship and the Israeli government have been very careful not to betray their secrets. Nevertheless, there is some highly revealing information from reliable sources. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), for one, estimates that 80 per cent of the arms purchased by the Salvadoran army between 1972 and 1980 came from Israel. El Salvador received 17 Arava planes,⁷ 18 Dassault Ouragan and six Super-Mystere planes. El Salvador was the first country to sign a large international contract with Israel Aircraft Industries in the seventies and has been one of Israel's most dependable clients ever since, according to the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee.⁸

When, in 1981, the USA resumed (if on a limited scale as demanded by Congress) direct economic and military aid to the Salvadoran regime suspended during Carter's term in office, Israel complied with the Reagan Administration's request to give El Salvador 21 million dollars annually. Later, in 1983, Itzhak Shamir, then Foreign Minister of Israel, told *The Washington Post* that Tel Aviv could increase its military aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship to 81 million dollars a year, for he considered it a matter 'of paramount importance in counter-insurgency'. Shamir mentioned the possibility of rendering—within the framework of what he described as 'resumed bilateral relations with El Salvador'—assistance in security matters, since Israel had 'ample experience of counter-insurgency'.⁹

All these statements and offers of loans culminated when, in September 1983, the Salvadoran government moved its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This made El Salvador the second country after Costa Rica to take such a step. This was one of the political and diplomatic gains secured by Israel in exchange for its counter-revolutionary role in Central America. It is most indicative that these gains include granting Israel an observer status in the Organisation of American States (OAS). The only country outside the Western Hemisphere to enjoy a similar status previously was Spain, for historical reasons.

Speaking of the exchange of visits by diplomats of Israel and certain Central American countries, mention should be made of Shamir's trip to Costa Rica and the visit paid to Honduras by Ariel Sharon, then Minister of Defence, and David Ivry, Commander of the Israeli Air Force. The latter trip took place when the United States had just begun to convert Honduras fast into its main counter-revolutionary base in Central America and the Caribbean.

It is also worth noting that Tel Aviv was carrying on its diplomatic offensive at the height of a world-wide campaign condemning Israel's aggression in Beirut and the genocide perpetrated in the Sabra and Shatila camps. That was when Shamir offered to send 'security' advisers to Costa Rica. The Costa Rican President, Luis Alberto Monge, said that he preferred the 'good offices' of Israel to any other advice on the matter. Earlier Monge had a friendly meeting in Washington with Begin, who expressed deep satisfaction over the fact that Costa Rica's security forces had been aided in anti-Sandinist operations. The Israeli rulers decry the Sandinists as 'terrorists' merely for recognising the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), represented in Managua at embassy rank. However, they had established friendly relations with the Somoza clan long before the PLO was founded, as we have noted earlier, and as for new Nicaragua, it infuriates them by identifying itself with the Palestinian people fighting for their right to self-determination.

Early in 1983, it was reported that Costa Rica and Israel had concluded a treaty on combating 'terrorism' and on cooperation between their intelligence services. The

treaty was signed in Jerusalem by the Costa Rican Minister of Public Security, Edmundo Solano Calderon, and the Israeli Defence Minister, Ariel Sharon. Solano said in a radio interview that his government could not afford to send its citizens to be trained overseas but would welcome experts in San José.¹⁰ Shortly afterwards *The Washington Post* reported that Israel and the USA had worked out a joint defence and development plan for the northern part of Costa Rica bordering on Nicaragua and that the plan involved 30 Israeli advisers. According to Z. Schiff, military commentator of the Tel Aviv daily *Haaretz*, units of the Costa Rican Rural Guards stationed along the frontier with Nicaragua received 500 Galil guns donated by Sharon to the Monge regime. Besides, Israel has granted the Costa Rican regime seven million dollars for these purposes, depositing it in that country's National Bank.

In connection with visits to Central American countries by high ranking Israelis the circumstances of Sharon's trip to Honduras are worth noting. It took place on December 6, 1982, and virtually coincided with a brief stop at Tegucigalpa by Reagan (December 4). The Nicaraguan leadership immediately called attention to this. Sharon arrived there as a sort of US representative, according to US press reports. The butcher of Sabra and Shatila voiced his admiration for the Honduran regime. As for his counterpart, Gustavo Alvarez, he was pleased with the contracts under which 12 supersonic Kfir fighters, radar and other military equipment were to be added to the already numerous arms deliveries. The talks also concerned sending a mission of 50 advisers to Honduras, including experts in the techniques of repression in urban and rural communities.

These treaties, the Christian Commission for Human Rights in Honduras declared, indicate that Reagan is using Israel for its criminal war plans. The Italian ANSA news agency reported that Israel had offered Honduras the same as to Costa Rica, namely, military supplies captured from the PLO after the battle of Beirut. The only condition made was that the recipient should pay transport costs. *The New York Times* confirmed this (July 20, 1983), adding on the strength of an official US Army report that part of the ammunition would be delivered to the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries via Honduras.

The fact that the Zionist top leadership supplies arms to remnants of Somoza's Guards is not really concealed any longer. Some sources estimate that Israel has armed about one-fourth of the Somozist cutthroats. There is also incontrovertible evidence that it is cooperating directly with the CIA in attempts to overthrow the Sandinist government. An exposure to this effect was made on July 1, 1983 by ABC, the US television network. It nearly coincided in time with a statement by Henry Jaubert, Coordinator of the Committee of Solidarity with the Political Prisoners of Costa Rica, who said that Washington and Tel Aviv were backing and financing Eden Pastora's counter-revolutionaries. Indeed, that traitor to the Nicaraguan people makes no secret of this. "It is only the CIA or the Israelis that can afford donations of this kind," he said cynically in an interview, after admitting that he had received 500 automatic rifles.

Aid in repression and counter-insurgency hold a prominent place in Israel's activity in Central America. The Israelis send to the region many of their advisers who have gained experience on the occupied Jordanian territories, in the Gaza Strip or elsewhere, chiefly in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Guatemala is a case in point, for it makes extensive use of Israeli instructors in punitive practices. Nor do other countries of the region (barring Nicaragua) reject them. Leslie Gelb, military commentator of *The New York Times*, wrote that Israel has teams of intelligence agents, communications and security experts and military instructors in Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica.¹¹

The US weekly *Central American Report* specified (December 1983) that there are

300 advisers and experts in Guatemala alone who help the regime on the most diverse problems ranging from the use of electronics for military purposes to the training of troops in counter-insurgency. These advisers include instructors in guerrilla psychology, political terror and communications as well as torturers skilled in interrogation techniques. The number of advisers of this kind in Honduras is set at 100. There are as many in El Salvador. Besides, according to the most conservative estimate, by late 1983 nearly 3,000 Latin Americans had taken a training course in Israel.

Now for some examples of Israel's contribution to the counter-revolutionary 'special operations'. There is a Regional Telecommunications Centre (RTC) in Guatemala set up and operated by Israelis. Using up-to-date computer and electronic systems, the RTC watches over citizens whose lists are regularly used by death squads. (Incidentally, the RTC coordinates its work with the US Southern Command at Quarry Heights, in the Panama Canal zone.¹²)

In November 1981, the Guatemalan regime inaugurated in a place kept secret a military electronics and radio school, the first of its kind in Latin America (according to M. Dayan,¹³ the Israeli Ambassador to Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras). Israeli instructors train cadets in coding, decoding and interpreting radio messages, jamming radio transmissions and locating transmission sources. The equipment of Israeli make installed in the school can detect changes in electricity consumption in private homes. The very fact that a home is using too much electricity makes the tenants potential subversives who may be put on special lists.

Computers supplied by Israel to Latin America make it possible to register fluctuations in water consumption in urban homes. This, in turn, may indicate that there are more people in the house concerned than normally. El Salvador is among the countries using such systems.

The foregoing invites definite conclusions. US imperialism in collusion with the Israeli rulers is trying to establish in Central America some kind of alliance of military dictatorships and pro-Zionist groups. In other words, it is out to form a bloc of the most rabid reactionary forces in order to check the growth of the liberation struggle in a region where two revolutions have triumphed—in Cuba and Nicaragua—and a third is going on in El Salvador.

We are convinced, however, that Israeli penetration into Central America will be stopped by the people, who are determined to resist it by using their own potentialities and drawing on support from all progressive forces. It is an important fact that in Israel itself there is increasing realisation of the role which its rulers are playing in the interests of US imperialism. Israel's Communists and their allies of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality are doing much explanatory work, exposing the ominous schemes of the enemies of peace and rallying public opinion in favour of solidarity with the patriots of Central America engaged in a just struggle.

¹ See *World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1971, p. 45.

² See *Al Hamishmar*, April 25, 1985 (in Hebrew).

³ See *El Nuevo Diario* (Managua), May 31, 1984.

⁴ Nicaragua severed all relations with Israel on August 5, 1982.

⁵ See *Granma*, June 11, 1984.

⁶ *Tricontinental*, No. 92, 1984, p. 4.

⁷ Other sources set the number of Arava planes obtained towards 1981 at 25. See *National Catholic Reporter*, December 25, 1981.

⁸ See *ADC Background Paper*, No. 8, p. 11.

⁹ *Centroamérica en la mira*, No. 3, 1983, p. 14.

¹⁰ See *Proceso*, No. 328, 1983, p. 51.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹² See *Covert Action*, No. 20, 1984, p. 36.

¹³ A namesake of the late Defence Minister of Israel.

Notes and Comments

How to Buy 'Independent' Deputies

ARTICLE 38 of the Basic Law of the FRG states that 'deputies . . . shall be representatives of all the people, shall not be bound by instructions or commissions and shall be guided only by their conscience'. How many years Springer's press has waxed poetic about this 'guarantee' of integrity and independence of the Bonn parliament members! How many thick volumes have been written to extol the 'free mandate' and other 'virtues' of bourgeois parliamentary government!

But then, in the autumn of 1984, another scandal broke out in Bonn. The 'conscience' both liberal and conservative propaganda so dearly loves to cite was again shown to be up for sale. Flick the billionaire bought Bundestag President Ranier Barzel, the country's second most important figure, for 1.7 million marks. Simultaneously, exposed was a whole constellation of grafters from the CDU/CSU and the FDP.

Viewed against this background, the claims of Bonn's right-wing coalition members to the role of guardians of moral values appear fraudulent through and through. The words of Helmut Kohl, the current Chancellor, to the effect that his 'credo is the spiritual and moral rebirth' of the country are still fresh in the minds of West Germans. But now it turns out that this credo was announced precisely at the time when Barzel surrendered his post of party chairman to Kohl in exchange for Flick's money. Strauss, another 'pillar of morality', also received his due. Specifically, the supercapitalist liked the ideas set forth in Strauss' book *Freedom* so well that he paid the author a handsome 'bonus'.

Today, when employers complain so often about shortages of funds to be invested or used to create new enterprises or new jobs, the monopolies always find the money for such 'capital investments' in politics. In 1983 alone the parties comprising the ruling coalition received over 70 million deutsche marks from them. But a businessman never spends money without a reason. Sometimes this 'investment' yields tax benefits, or lucrative contracts, or support in the Bundestag for the principles of 'free enterprise'.

'Money problems? Flick will solve 'em' has become a favourite cynical saying with West German statesmen, the press reports. One should, however, admit that members of parliament and cabinet ministers in many other 'bulwarks of democracy' have adopted the same 'principle'. Depending on the particular case, for 'Flick' one can read 'Boeing', 'Lockheed', 'BASF' or 'ITT'.

A West German politician complains that 'the population may form the impression that government authority in the FRG is wielded not by the people but by big money'. That is some understatement. There is no doubt at all about the role the monopolies play in shaping the policies of imperialist countries. The only sensational thing about the 'Flick affair' was the scope and arrogance of the corruption involved and the uproar which accompanied the expose.

Like many similar political figures in the past, Barzel was made the scapegoat in an effort to save the face of the 'law-abiding state'. But it is becoming increasingly difficult for bourgeois parties to put a good face on the matter. Tanaka in Japan, Donovan in the United States, Lambsdorf and Barzel in the FRG—these are only the most blatant cases of the disease that has afflicted all of the capitalist world where tycoons of the Flick type shuffle politicians and deputies like pieces on a chess board. Who's next?

Unsere Zeit, the West German Communist newspaper has, since December 1971, repeatedly featured major exposes of corruption among bourgeois parties' leaders. The infamous record of the Bonn coalition is additional proof that the DKP was right when it said in its Programme: 'Big capital buys and bribes politicians, catapults its representatives into government agencies and finances parties. The parties which defend the capitalist system are an important support base of the country's state-monopoly mechanism.'¹ Comrade Herbert Mies, DKP Chairman, declared after Barzel and company were exposed: "And now if anyone should ask what state-monopoly capitalism means we'll say: this is shown by the Flick scandal."²

The monopolies are the foremost enemy of democracy, and only by curbing them would it be possible to guarantee genuine representation of popular interests in government.

Georg Lenker

¹ *Mannheimer Parteitag der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei, Oktober 1978*. Protocol, p. 209.

² *Unsere Zeit*, October 30, 1984.

Agence France Presse in a Haze

THE discussion of the work of *World Marxist Review* held by representatives of communist and workers' parties in Prague from December 4 to 6, 1984 attracted world-wide attention. In many countries, the media informed their readers and listeners about the discussion and its results.

Agence France Presse also did its bit by issuing a report on the meeting, published in *Le Monde* on December 7, 1984. However, the information the readers received from it had nothing to do with what really happened: those who wrote the not quite 30 lines on the event managed to cram a generous amount of lies into the small article. The only accurately reported fact is the date on which the meeting began. The rest has been shamelessly invented by the AFP.

To begin with, there is not a single mention in the AFP report of *World Marxist Review* whose work was the subject the party delegations gathered to consider. What then is quoted as the purpose of the meeting in Prague? Giving free rein to their imagination, the authors of the article have turned the meeting into an 'ideological conference' with an intriguing and baffling agenda: 'exchange of views regarding the parties' distinctive features and experience'. Anyone who turns to the Communiqué unanimously adopted by the participants on December 6 will learn that they 'analysed the journal's activity and made concrete comments and proposals with a view of further improving their collective publication. Particular attention was devoted to the issues of strengthening peace and international security, rebuffing aggressive imperialist policies, and highlighting the varied experience of the Communists' struggle.'

However, the actual subject of the meeting was of no interest to the France Presse copywriters. They invented a version that suited them.

Even referring to the number of delegations that arrived in Prague, the authors tried to obscure the issue. They wrote ponderously that 'a certain haze surrounds the exact number of the delegates present' and that it was therefore impossible to

ascertain how many delegates actually arrived—'ninety' or 'sixty-five'. But there is no secret about the number—ninety-one. This, incidentally, is mentioned in the Communique, carried by the Czechoslovak and other news agencies.

If one takes the AFP word for it, the meeting was held 'in the absence of major Western Communist parties'. Suffice it to again glance at the Communique to realise that here Agence France Presse again lied to its readers. Of the parties in question, only the French Communist Party delegate was absent: an illness he contracted on the eve of the Prague meeting prevented him from taking part in the discussion of the journal's work, the way his party's delegates had invariably done at all such meetings in the past.

Why did Agence France Presse resort to doctored facts, hush up what actually occurred, invent fictitious information and generally generate a 'hazy' picture? The reason is clear: those who produced this misinformation expected the reference to the alleged discussion of the parties' 'distinctive features' to imply 'interference' in the affairs of the parties and to offer a new pretext for attacks against Communist solidarity in the struggle for peace and social progress.

The Communique states that 'the representatives of fraternal parties recommended to the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council that they should take into consideration the wishes expressed, seeking to ensure that the international collective of the *World Marxist Review* always works in a spirit of equality, cooperation and respect for each party's interests, and facilitating the dissemination and strengthening of the ideals of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, and the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of all progressive forces'.

It is precisely this unity which imperialist lackeys do not like. In their efforts to undermine it, they are ready to use any means and any forgery. The Agence France Press report is merely additional proof of this.

P.A.

the book scene

The Agrarian Sector of the Hungarian Economy

Csizmadia Ernő, *Az MSZMP agrárpolitikája és a magyar mezőgazdaság* (The HSWP's Agrarian Policy and Hungarian Agriculture), Kossúth, Budapest, 1984, 280 pp.

The agrarian policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) was one of the crucial factors in the struggle for the people's power and after its victory. The fact that the party succeeded in winning over the peasantry in the 1945-1948 period had a great part to play in the consolidation of the new system.

It is common knowledge that a modern society cannot do either without an advanced industry or a developed agriculture, and the latter is of exceptional importance for Hungary, a country with relatively scant mineral and energy resources. In our country, agricultural produce is frequently called 'green oil'. Experience shows that the state of Hungary's economy as a whole largely depends on its agrarian sector, so that in the present international situation the production of foodstuffs becomes of strategic significance. That makes it clear why it is so important to make the utmost use of the country's agricultural potential.

The book under review contains a deep and penetrating analysis of changes that have taken shape in that sector of the national economy. The late Academician Ernő Csizmadia was rector of the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences, and at one time, when on the staff of the HSWP CC, he was directly responsible for the conduct of the Hungarian Communists' agrarian policy, and was engaged in its scientific elaboration and formulation.

In his introduction, he gives a historical survey of the state of the agrarian sector inherited from the past and describes the democratic transformations in the countryside, whose main achievement was the elimination of the system of large landed estates. He shows the specific features of the socialist reconstruction of Hungary's agriculture and explains the substance of the party's agrarian policy.

"The land reform," he says, "brought about a radical change in the structure of agriculture and ushered in a *new stage* in its development . . . *The re-distribution of lands made the small and medium peasant farms predominant in the Hungarian countryside*" (p. 19). The economic changes in the countryside inevitably led to social changes as well; in the new conditions, the 'town—village—farmstead' connection became a different one. But owing to the incorrect approach to the petty-commodity

economy which was in evidence in the 1950s, it took nearly a whole decade before the advantages of the new situation yielded the desired results.

Following the rout of the counter-revolution in the autumn of 1956, the HSWP and the revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government got down to working out a new agrarian policy. Compulsory deliveries of farm produce were abolished, a system of contract purchases as the form of centralised procurement was introduced, purchase prices were raised, special agricultural consulting centres were set up, and so on. All of this helped to strengthen the peasantry's confidence in the party (see p. 22).

The HSWP CC agrarian policy theses, adopted a year later, paved the way for the second revolutionary transformation of the Hungarian countryside—*Collectivisation*—within 15 years. Radical changes took place in agriculture as a result of the consistent implementation of the measures worked out by the party and their constant improvement, such as the establishment of large-scale state agricultural enterprises, and the development of the cooperative sector and of small-scale production (farmstead and subsidiary farms).

The author says that the cooperative sector now provides 50.8 per cent of Hungary's agricultural produce, the state sector (state farms)—16.4 per cent, and the small-scale production section—32.8 per cent. According to 1981 data, the farmstead and subsidiary farms within the latter sector produced 14.6 and 18.2 per cent, respectively (see p. 71).

The first state farms were set up in 1948 and these were subsequently transformed into large-scale enterprises. Since 1971, they have been developing as combines in terms of structure. The author explains: 'Combines are typical large-scale enterprises emerging as a result of a sizable concentration of the productive forces, agricultural and industrial production, services and circulation' (p. 77). They have the same organisation of production as that of the large-scale industrial enterprises, with more intensive vertical ties between the various sub-divisions, and an integral system of hardware and technology, management and incentives.

Let us bear in mind that the cooperative sector accounts for more than one-half of agricultural output, including that part of it which is exported, and here the producer cooperative is the predominant form of economic management.

The author presents a wide array of facts and figures to show the positive changes in the economic organisation of the agricultural enterprises, and this is expressed, in particular, in the growth of their accumulations, and the ever more ample material incentives held out to the working people of the countryside. He also devotes much attention to the establishment and economic activity of producer associations and entire production systems, such as agro-industrial associations.

The author believes that the reappraisal of the role of small-scale production and its rational involvement in the country's economic life is a considerable achievement of the HSWP's policy. It is represented by two main types: the farmstead farms of cooperative members, and the subsidiary farms run by gainfully employed urban inhabitants. They specialise in the growing of vegetables, fruits and grapes, the breeding of poultry, the fattening up of pigs, etc. As a rule, the owners of such farms make use of plots (mostly not over 0.5 hectares) which are unfit for large-scale production and which are under lease from state farms and local councils, and also the lands surrounding dwelling houses and small personal orchards.

Both these types of small-scale production are organically meshed with large-scale production and supplement the activity of Hungary's entire agro-industrial complex. Whereas the large-scale farms are predominant in cropping, above all in the production of grain and technical crops, the picture is different in livestock-breeding: here, small producers in 1981 accounted for 50.5 per cent of the total procurement of pigs, 74.1 per cent of the poultry and 22.5 per cent of the cattle.

The small farms also have an important role to play in raising the working people's living standards, and their produce helps to raise the workers' average incomes by seven per cent, those of cooperative peasants by 33 per cent, those of persons working by brain by four per cent, and those of old-age pensioners—by 20 per cent.

Under the party's agrarian policy, the small farms are to be kept going for a long period. They help to improve the supply of foodstuffs for the population, to ensure full employment, and also to tap the reserves which, for various reasons, are not being used by large-scale production.

The export and import activity of the agro-industrial associations and the fuller use of the potentialities of agriculture are highly important in Hungary's external economic ties (and this is taken into account by the HSWP's agrarian policy). Nearly one-half of Hungary's national income is obtained through foreign trade channels, mainly through the export of farm produce and food products: the latter make up 24–25 per cent of national exports, and bring in 33–36 per cent of the foreign exchange receipts.

It is worthwhile to emphasise, in conclusion, that Hungary's agriculture meets the most stringent international standards. In the prewar period and in the 1950s and 1960s, our country ranked 17th or 18th in Europe in agricultural output; in the 1970s, it was already first to fourth for some items; today, Hungarian agriculture shares the first three places with Holland and Denmark in gross output per head and rate of growth. The country produces 1.4 tons of grain per head (in Europe, only Denmark with 1.5 tons is ahead). Hungary also ranks first in Europe in the output per head of pork, poultry meat, eggs and apples. Its meat output per head comes close to 150 kilograms. In the 1970s, its output per hectare of farmland was five times the world average.

These successes, the author shows very well, have been achieved as a result of the party's policy of building up and developing large-scale producer units: cooperatives, state farms and combines. They provide convincing confirmation of the advantages of the socialist form of agriculture.

Károly Rác

In the Ascendant

V. D. Chopra, *India and the Socialist World*, Allied Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1983, 258 pp.

V. D. Chopra, well-known as editor-in-chief of the popular *Link* magazine, has published several works on international problems and on India's foreign policy. In his latest book he analyses the fruitful advances in his country's relations with the socialist nations. The main emphasis is on ties with the Soviet Union.

Indian-Soviet friendship and cooperation, the book notes, have deep historical roots. The Russian revolutionary movement contributed significantly to the upsurge of the national liberation struggle in colonial India. Bearing out Lenin's famous phrase about the role of the October Revolution in the awakening of the East, the author states that it promoted the growing national self-awareness of India's peoples and a broader base of the liberation movement. 'The Russian Revolution laid the foundation for the building and expansion of new kind of ties between the Indian

people and the people of the USSR. These friendly relations naturally entered a new phase after India became an independent and sovereign state in 1947' (p. 24).

The book pays tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru, an outstanding leader of the national liberation movement and India's first Prime Minister, for his efforts aimed at implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence and strengthening relations with the country of the October Revolution. His daughter Indira Gandhi was a worthy successor to this policy. During her term of office the Indian-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation was signed. It not only cemented the bonds between the two countries but also made an important contribution to greater stability in the South Asian subcontinent and throughout Asia. The Treaty, the author underlines, 'has become a shield for India to safeguard its integrity and sovereignty and defend and enlarge its foreign policy—the policy of non-alignment and peace. The Indo-Soviet friendship has become a single important factor for the cause of world peace' (p. 89).

India's relations with the other members of the socialist community—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia—are progressing vigorously. V. D. Chopra notes that today no objective analyst, regardless of his ideological position, will dispute the fact that these relations are a striking illustration of adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems and of the concept of mutually beneficial international cooperation (p. 107).

The salient features of India's friendly relations with the socialist countries are community of opinion concerning major international issues and of approach to questions of war and peace, as well as identical views of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. Commercial, economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the socialist community has enabled India to combat backwardness, the legacy of British colonial rule, more effectively and assisted the country in the development of an industrial base of its own. The author recalls the important part this cooperation played in the 1950s, when the United States and other imperialist powers placed various obstacles in the path of the republic's industrial progress in a bid to confine it to the status of an economic appendage providing them with agricultural produce and raw commodities. In February 1955 an intergovernmental agreement was concluded under which the Soviet Union was to assist in the construction of the first production complex of the Bhilai steel plant. This was followed by similar agreements on industrial cooperation between India and other CMEA member countries.

Citing numerous facts, V. D. Chopra demonstrates that the socialist countries help to bolster the Indian public sector's leading industries. Conversely, 'assistance' from the imperialist powers is guided above all by the interests of international capital which strives to undermine India's independent economic development.

'The establishment of modern industrial units in the key sectors of the economy' (p. 127) is the principal purpose of cooperation between India and the CMEA countries. This approach has enabled the nation to build huge industrial complexes; they play what may be described as the decisive role in the economy. They have provided the public sector with a reliable support base and done much to enhance India's economic and political independence and defence capacity. Among the major projects in question the author lists the Bhilai and Bokaro steel plants built with Soviet assistance, the Ranchi, Hardwar and Durgapur machine-building plants, oil refineries in Barauni and Koyali, several power stations and other enterprises. By the end of 1981 their annual output accounted for 40 per cent of the nation's steel, 60 per cent of its petroleum products and 15 per cent of the electric power.

The book exposes the fraudulent attempts to denigrate the importance of India's cooperation with the socialist countries and to lure it away from its chosen path.

The author concludes by expressing his conviction that his country's relations with the socialist world will continue to be a major factor as far as defence of her independence and sovereignty and regeneration of her economy are concerned.

Raj Chaury

The Anatomy of a 'Partnership'

Gerhard Kade, *Die Amerikaner und Wir*, Köln, Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Cologne, 1983, 139 pp.

US-FRG relations are an important element of international affairs, especially in Europe. For this reason alone *The Americans and Us*, a book written by Professor Gerhard Kade, a well-known West German scholar and essayist, can count on particularly great interest among the reading public—all the more so because, while 35 years ago the United States was hovering over the 'cradle' of the Federal Republic, today—if I may extend the metaphor—it seems to be ready to stand over the country's 'grave'. At any rate, many West Germans fear that the deployment of new US first-strike nuclear missiles on their soil may lead to a situation which could be so described.

In other words, the very course of current developments has made this book especially topical. But *The Americans and Us* has other merits too. Actually, a great many books on this subject are published in the FRG, but most serve, directly or indirectly, one goal—to reinforce stereotypes which were created many years ago and which have survived, with certain modifications, to this day. First and foremost, this concerns the conceptual clichés which were supposed to remain in the minds of West Germans: that the United States is a country of 'unlimited opportunity', 'one of the world's freest nations', a 'chosen land', 'the most vigorous and productive civilisation in history', a 'country where even a bootblack can become a millionaire'. Hence a string of related clichés concerning US-West German relations: to the FRG, the United States is 'the great model', a 'big brother, partner and friend', the 'power that protects'.

Exposing the fallacy of these stereotypes, the author traces their emergence and explains why and whence they sprang up, why they were so durable and resilient but have recently begun to lose their lustre, and why there is increasingly frequent talk across the Atlantic about the rise of 'anti-Americanism' in West Germany. Moreover, Professor Kade argues—and proves—that essentially, the system of propaganda concepts which is aimed at justifying and bolstering the country's pro-American political orientation and which was devised by the FRG ruling quarters with the help of the docile mass media, has nothing in common with the true history of postwar US-West German relations or with their current state.

Restoring the truth, the author describes what really happened in the past and reveals the motives behind what is happening now. His weapon is a strict and scrupulous reliance on facts and on evidence provided by prominent political figures.

The book leads the reader to think about the genesis of the FRG's one-sided orientation on the West, above all on the United States; about the motives for this

policy; whether there were any alternatives to it; and about the true interests of the West German people now and in the past. The author proves that the current status of the FRG as the military and political mainstay of NATO in Europe was never preordained or inevitable. In the first postwar months not only Communists and Social Democrats but also leaders of bourgeois parties spoke constantly about peace (although the latter began, a few years later, to remilitarise West Germany). Gerhard Kade quotes a significant passage from the statement of Konrad Adenauer, soon to become Federal Chancellor, published in *Die Westfalen-Zeitung* on December 31, 1946: 'The German people know that their immediate future will be hard, but they should hope for better times. They want no more wars and are ready for a long period of disarmament, they will even be ready for a long period of isolation under international law' (p. 16).

After the long nightmare of Nazi rule the people of the defeated Germany sunk into despair and apathy and were largely demoralised. But, gradually emerging from this state, the people were making it patently clear that they did not want restoration of those institutional structures which had brought the country to ruin. Most Germans favoured a democratic orientation.

In actual fact however, West Germany did not follow this path. What happened was that 'the defeat of its Nazi proteges, while a defeat for itself, was not a total collapse for Germany's big bourgeoisie. Its survival would have been threatened only by the implementation of the democratic provisions of the Potsdam Agreement aimed against concentration of monopoly power. The German monopoly bourgeoisie had existed before the advent of the Nazis, and it was confident that after the Nazis were defeated, it would find a way to survival and continued expansion. This called for well-devised domestic tactics and firm reliance on external partners who understood the advantages they themselves would derive from the restoration of the economic and political power of Germany's big bourgeoisie. Enough signs augured well for such a policy. The final impetus pushing the country along this path, with all that entailed, was the turning point in Western foreign policy which was announced by Churchill in his Fulton speech of March 5, 1946, and which led Truman to formulate his Cold War doctrine' (pp. 14-15).

The book exposes specific Western propaganda myths. Here is an example. 'Contrary to the widespread historical legend claiming that the Cold War and the partition of Germany were rooted in the allegedly annexationist Soviet occupation policy, facts show that they can be traced to the deliberate US policy of cobbling together an anti-Soviet bloc. The USSR was scrupulously observing the decisions adopted jointly by the Allies. . . . A check to verify implementation of the Potsdam Agreement would have revealed that its provisions were carried out in the East and comprehensively violated, revised and ignored in the West' (p. 20). This was borne out by facts which help in the understanding of the causes behind the current upsurge of revanchist trends in the FRG.

Drawing on historical documents, the scholar highlights the sophisticated means of deception and demagoguery the imperialist quarters used to brainwash the public, pushing people in the direction they did not want to take. Eventually though, many did take that road: lack of adequate information, gullibility, confusion and, finally, the hope that, by siding with the West, one would live in prosperity and freedom and would not fear war.

Here the author shifts to the present, to the time when the deployment of new US nuclear missiles has begun in the FRG. 'Prosperity came and lasted long,' he says, 'freedom has always been debatable, and as to expectations of security and no fears of war, they have been shattered to pieces' (pp. 15-16).

It is a fact that today's dangerous international situation is a direct result of US policies aimed at escalating the arms race, attaining military superiority and

conducting war preparations. Washington is trying to make all NATO countries, and especially the FRG as the economically strongest West European country with the strongest army, albeit without nuclear weapons of its own, follow the US course which will never achieve its goals and is fraught with danger. Bonn tries to present this importunate attention to the FRG on the part of the United States as the concern of the 'protector' over the security and peace of its ally. However, the facts cited in the book demonstrate that from the outset US imperialism has been guided exclusively by its self-interest, by the desire to rally all possible forces against the Soviet Union. Gerhard Kade quotes Rudolf Augstein, a well-known West German journalist and editor of *Der Spiegel*: "It is not that the new German army was created to defend the state ruled from Bonn; it is that the new state was created to rally its army against the Soviets" (p. 31).

The author does not shy away from the most acute issues. For example, reactionary propaganda goes to great lengths to fragment the West German anti-missile movement which comprises people of different political convictions and philosophies. The entire movement is branded as 'anti-American' in the hope that this charge will scare some of the peace activists away from involvement in it. But what is American, the author asks. On the one hand, there are the tycoons of the arms industry interested in the arms race; on the other, there is the majority of the American people who demand a nuclear freeze. Professor Kade demonstrates that the real issue is the peculiar 'anti-European' feelings of the US ruling elite which sees Western Europe, and especially the FRG, as a major theatre of operations against the socialist countries. At the same time, the book emphasises the growing understanding between West Germans and those Americans who advocate an end to the arms race.

The Americans and Us points to the anti-European nature of the US NATO policy—to the efforts to push the allies aside and secure a lion's share of lucrative military contracts, the plans to fight a war by using foreign soldiers on foreign soil, the course aimed at destroying detente in Europe and wrecking the mutually beneficial East-West trade by imposing embargoes and sanctions. However, all this does not at all absolve the ruling quarters of the FRG of their responsibility for absurdly seeking to profit from blind adherence to the US course. With good reason, one of the last chapters is entitled, 'Loyalty up to Bankruptcy?'

Gerhard Kade's book offers a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of US-West German relations and exposes the aggressive nature of the political and military alliance between Washington and Bonn. The book provides moral support for the champions of peace not only in the FRG but in other NATO countries as well who are working to rebuff the nuclear war schemes.

Karen Karagesjan

A Political Prisoner of Washington

Jim Messersmidt, *The Trial of Leonard Peltier*, South End Press, Boston, 1983, 198 pp.

Jim Messersmidt is professor of sociology and criminal law at Moorhead State College, Minnesota. His book is the result of a years-long painstaking study of the 'case' of a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM) who has been behind bars for nearly eight years now on a false charge of killing two FBI agents.

'Leonid Peltier is a political prisoner. He was convicted by an all-white jury for a crime he did not commit. . . ' (p. 1).

The author tells the story of that 'crime'. Peltier took part in a protest march in 1972, when over 200 Indians arrived in Washington to demand an inquiry into violations of treaties concluded with Indian tribes in the past. That was when the authorities began to worry about the fact that the Indians' struggle was taking increasingly organised forms. The Attorney General told the FBI to put AIM leaders Denis Banks, Russell Means and Leonard Peltier under close scrutiny and arrest them on any pretext.

Shortly afterwards Indians from the Pine Ridge reservation launched a new action. In February 1973, about 300 of them seized Wounded Knee, a community in South Dakota, in protest against official policy. For 71 days they courageously resisted a siege by superior FBI forces, Federal bailiffs and policemen of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They held out until after the authorities had promised them to investigate the harsh conditions at Pine Ridge and violations of the 1868 treaty with the Sioux. But the investigation 'never occurred' (p. 3).

Instead, the authorities stepped up terror in the reservation. Faced with repression the Indians applied to the AIM for help and protection. Francis He Crow, coordinator of the Traditional Council of Chiefs of the Oglata Sioux Tribes, said at the trial of Leonard Peltier that the reservation needed help from the AIM because lawlessness was rampant there.

A group of seven AIM members, including Leonard Peltier and Dino Butler, arrived at Pine Ridge in March 1975. It assumed the leadership of the Indians' increased resistance to the theft of their lands by whites and to repression against inhabitants of the reservation.

The authorities fought back. The FBI deliberately added fuel to the flames at Pine Ridge. By late May and early June 1975, up to 60 FBI agents and a special police force had been sent there. What is more, a secret FBI memo dated June 5, 1975 said that troops would have to be called in to carry out offensive operations. This was a calculated attempt to increase tension and provoke an incident that could be seized on as an excuse for large-scale reprisals.

Such an incident did occur on June 26, 1975, when two FBI plainclothes men, Jack Coler and Ron Williams, opened fire on the house of Jumping Bill, an Indian. Indians who heard the shots and rushed to the house to rescue those trapped in it, including women and children, returned the shots. In the ensuing firefight both FBI agents and an Indian, Joe Stuntz, were killed.

An inquiry into Stuntz's murder was never demanded whereas the death of the two agents provocateurs was exploited for a witch-hunt against Indians. Within 36 hours of the firefight, FBI agents had swamped the reservation, seeking suspects. Assault teams equipped with helicopters and tracking dogs carried out a series of round-ups at the reservation. According to eyewitnesses, agents 'broke into homes without warrants, violated sacred Sun Dance grounds and used their weaponry to intimidate

dozens of innocent bystanders' (p. 30). It was not long before the FBI's assault on the Rosebud reservation.

In the end four active members of the AIM were charged with the killings. Two of them, Dino Butler and Bob Robideau, were acquitted during a trial at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in the summer of 1976 for lack of evidence. A third member, Jimmy Eagle, was acquitted in September 1976 because there was evidence that during the shootings he had been in his mother's home 15 miles away. Peltier was the last of the four.

There is a chapter dealing in detail with Peltier's trial, which took place between March and June 1977 at Fargo, North Dakota, with Federal District Judge P. Benson presiding. The author points to contradictions in and the obvious falsity of the testimony of witnesses used against the Indian leader, and exposes the prosecution's version of the events at Pine Ridge.

In addition to Myrtle Poor Bear, an Indian woman whom the FBI forced to testify under duress, 'three young native American boys testified they had seen Peltier at the scene of the crime. Yet their attestation revealed that the FBI had also coerced each of them in presenting this testimony: Michael Anderson was threatened with a beating, Wilford Draper was tied to a chair for three hours and forced to say what agents wanted, and Norman Brown was threatened with his life if he failed to cooperate with the FBI' (p. 34). The trial was also attended by other 'witnesses'. One of them, special FBI agent Fred Coward, testified that he had recognised Peltier near Jumping Bull's ranch from half a mile away through his rifle sight. The defence duplicated this sighting and found it impossible to identify an individual at such a distance through such a sight. However, the judge would not allow the jury to make the test.

On June 1, 1977, Leonard Peltier said in court before he was sentenced: 'No, I'm not the guilty one here; the only thing I'm guilty of and which I was convicted for was being of Chippewa and Sioux blood. I'm not the one who should be called a criminal—white racist America is the criminal for the destruction of our lands and my people; to hide your guilt from the decent human beings in America and around the world, you will sentence me to two consecutive life terms without any hesitation' (p. 114).

Messerschmidt's book is forceful evidence of the tragic fate of Red-skinned Americans and the courageous leaders of the American Indian Movement striving to reclaim the rights of the people. Lennox S. Hinds, an American lawyer: '*The Trial of Leonard Peltier* should be read and widely distributed. In this well-documented and research study, the author clearly and convincingly presents how US courts and law enforcement officers often bend, misuse and break the laws when those in power perceive real or imagined threats.'

George Stone

A Tightening Noose

Tom Barry, Beth Wood, Deb Preusch, *Dollars and Dictators. A Guide to Central America*, Zed Press, London, 1983, 263 pp.

This book, published in London, offers considerable information about a region to which US imperialist policy assigns a key role. In writing this book its authors

oriented themselves on readers in the United States. Little wonder that the chapter on the 'economic aid' that developing nations get from the leading capitalist power begins with the words: 'Foreign aid just doesn't make sense to most people in the United States.' What's the logic, they ask, 'to spending billions of dollars overseas when we have such serious economic problems of our own?' (p. 82). The book leaves no doubts on this score. By helping to ascertain the character of the activities of US transnational corporations and finance capital, it clearly brings home the message that the actual objective of this 'aid' is to assert US domination.

This book has its merits and shortcomings. Its principal merit is that it brings into focus constantly changing details of facts. It considers the evolution of the monopolies, new forms of infiltration, domination, and exploitation used by imperialist finance capital, and its advances and setbacks. The reader is given not only a better understanding of the present volatile and complicated situation in Central America, which is being torn by a struggle for national and social liberation, but also a picture of one of the basic causes of the prevailing exploitation, poverty, deformed economic development, and backwardness.

A shortcoming is the book's schematic and narrow approach to the historical process; it lacks precision and clarity in dealing with a major aspect of social life such as the people's and class actions that have not ceased for decades. Without being clear on this point one cannot have a proper understanding of the situation now obtaining in countries of the region. For instance, the heroic Sandinist revolution is portrayed as the result of 'a group of women and men' taking to the hills in 1962 and forming 'the National Sandinist Liberation Front' (p. 4). In its interpretation the book ignores the long, eventful struggle (in the course of which the front was formed) that culminated in a popular rising which brought down the Somoza dynasty, nor does it trace the close link between today's accomplishments in Nicaragua and the exploit of General Sandino.

The first part of the book reviews regional problems generated by the activities of the transnational corporations and the imperialist policies of the government in Washington. 'The image of Banana Republics as enclaves of US corporations is still not far from the economic and political reality of Central America. What has changed is that there are more than bananas in the fertile coastal lands of Central America—there are pineapples, cattle, palm oil, vegetables, and flowers being farmed by US corporations' (p. 15).

But this is not the only change. 'The banana companies have also altered their investment patterns to reduce their risk and to maintain their profit margin. . . . The three top banana corporations have been divesting their land-holdings and contracting with local producers, but these producers are hardly independent. . . . (These) associate producers are under the administrative control of the superintendent . . . and they act according to the advice of the company; the infrastructure and the development expenses of production are all handled by the company, and they depend totally on the companies for the sale of their fruit' (p. 17).

Nor has the make-up of the monopolies remained unchanged: these octopuses are growing and undergoing modifications. The notorious United Fruit has now become United Brands, which controls the Chiquita banana market. Its tentacles embrace the entire region, having penetrated the food, plastics, canning, and packing industries, and also the mass media, banking, and other businesses. The book lists 27 companies operating in the region, and the basic information about them (see pp. 20-25).

Standard Fruit is now part of Castle & Cooke, which is more of a marketing than a farming company. Nonetheless, it has preserved its own banana plantations and entered the production and marketing of pineapples and vegetables, brewing, the cement industry, and packing and, it goes without saying, engages in banking and financial transactions (see pp. 21, 246).

The third of the largest monopolies is the R. J. Reynolds Corporation, which began as a tobacco and cigarette company. It now heads a list of companies specialising in marketing canned fruit and vegetables, has its own banana plantations, and runs the big commercial Del Monte firm (see pp. 22, 250).

Attention is drawn also to some new negative aspects in the transactions of the corporations. For instance, the Big Mac firm, which runs a network of McDonald restaurants in many countries, has penetrated this area as well, consolidating itself in a predominant position in the production and marketing of beef. Its workers use heavy tractors and Agent Orange-based defoliants to destroy luxuriant tropical forests in order to obtain valuable timber and create cheap pastures in the clearings. 'The rapid expansion of the cattle industry in Central America to meet the booming beef market in the United States has contributed to the destruction of two-thirds of the region's tropical forests in the last several decades. If this trend continues for another ten years, little will remain of these lush forests' (p. 24). The extension of grazing ground is leading to soil erosion, the appearance of a 'red desert'. The authors quote from a US State Department report, in which this practice is called a 'quick and dirty business', where the investor extracts as much profit as possible from the converted forests before the land becomes eroded and worthless (see p. 25).

Transnationals that were not represented in the region began penetrating it in the early 1950s. In 1970 the Bank of America, the Chase Manhattan Bank, and other banks formed a pool of 15 powerful consortiums and set up the Latin American Agribusiness Development Corporation (LAAD) with the purpose of promoting the export of non-traditional goods, and by '1981 LAAD had a stake in 173 companies in Latin America, 70 per cent of which are in Central America' (pp. 25-26).

The opening throughout the region of transnational subsidiaries assembling equipment for the USA from parts received from that country and exploiting cheap labour—such is the ugly capitalist development being forced upon the Latin American peoples. Members of the Central American common market are no exception. Known in the past as Banana Republics, these countries now export much more cotton, coffee, cigars, beef, vegetables, and flowers. Meanwhile, less and less basic foodstuffs is produced in Central America, and more and more land is poisoned with pesticides. A fresh illustration of the consequences of the activities by the transnationals is the testing of highly toxic substances for the Pentagon by Dow Chemical International in the Amazon basin in northeastern Brazil. It has been reported that these tests have taken a large toll of life among the local population and destroyed fauna and flora over a large area. As regards government repressions in countries with dictatorial regimes there are at least as much as before.

North American imperialism is using the whole weight of its power to keep its interests intact. The military presence of the USA (of the 'accomplice of repressions') is growing in parallel with the penetration of Central America by finance capital and transnationals. It assumes a great variety of forms: military alliances; different forms of 'aid' to ensure 'security', including the training of special elite personnel at Pentagon schools and the training of police for anti-insurgency operations; the transfer or sale of armaments; direct participation through the CIA in the operations of repressive and intelligence agencies; lastly, the imposition of the Pentagon's 'national security' doctrine on the governments.

'By 1961, the US military high command had decided to switch its Latin American strategy from defence against external attack to defence against internal subversion. Guerrilla insurgency would be met with US-sponsored counterinsurgency' (p. 65). The biggest beneficiaries of this new strategy were the murderous dictatorial regimes, and where such were non-existent this strategy helped bring to power putschists prepared to subordinate their countries to the interests of the government in Washington.

This strategy is now official US policy. 'Reagan,' it is justifiably stated in the book, 'has brought Cold War politics to the Caribbean Basin, refusing to recognise that the roots of revolution are sustained by the desire of people for a better life and reach deep into the history of injustice in Central America' (p. 68).

The second part of the book consists of brief information about the history, politics, and economy of Guatemala, Belize, Panama, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua. Appended is a list of the main subsidiaries of the transnationals operating in these countries.

A merit of the book, alongside its wide use of innumerable North American bibliographical sources, including documents and publications of the corporations and banks themselves, is its happy arrangement, which unquestionably helps to give a better understanding of the problems it deals with. This work is yet another contribution to understanding what the imperialist policy of the USA spells out for the peoples of our region, who have no intention of reconciling themselves with poverty and exploitation.

Samuel Behak

New Books

Vtoraya Mirovaya Voina, Kratkaya istoria (World War II. A Concise History), International Editorial Board: P. A. Zhilin, Y. M. Zhukov—Chairmen (USSR—D. Sirkov (Bulgaria), E. Liptai (Hungary), W. Schumann (GDR), S. Nazagdorg (Mongolia), R. Dzipanow (Poland), M. Fetu (Romania), V. Peša (Czechoslovakia), Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1984, 592pp.

The Second World War lasted six long years, dragging into its orbit 61 nations with four-fifths of the earth's population. People will not forget this war and are trying to assimilate its lessons. In this book, written by historians from eight socialist countries, it is shown that this war was generated by imperialism's inherent aggressiveness, by its contradictions and policies. In considering the course of the struggle of freedom-loving peoples united in the anti-Hitlerite coalition against the fascist-militarist bloc, the authors accentuate the decisive role played by the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces in winning victory and note the large contribution that was made in Europe by the Resistance, whose vanguard consisted of communist and workers' parties. In this book use is made of documents from the state archives of socialist countries as well as of the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, and the USA, and also of materials of international scientific conferences and symposiums on the Second World War.

Conocimientos Basicos de la Direccion Cientifica de la Produccion (Rudiments of Scientific Management of Production), Editora Politica, Havana, 1984, 125pp.

The Cuban economy is growing in conditions typical of a socialist state, i.e., with the direct participation of the working people in its practical management. This book, written by senior officials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, state institutions, and members of the teaching staff at the Higher Institute of Economic Management, is an aid for the study of the Marxist-Leninist principles of

scientific management of production. The authors generalise the expertise that has been accumulated in this sphere by Cuba and fraternal countries. They consider the principles, methods, and aims of socialist management and the role played by mass organisations in promoting managerial skills.

André Tollet, *la classe ouvrière dans la Résistance* (The Working Class in the Resistance), Messidor/Editions sociales, Paris, 1984, 293pp.

A veteran of the Resistance in World War II and a long-time member of the French Communist Party, André Tollet writes of the huge contribution that the workers of France made to the movement against the German fascist invaders and of the role played by the communist party in forming and promoting that movement. This factual account shows the forms and methods used by the workers to fight the invaders: from sabotage in production, the printing and circulation of secret publications to wrecking and armed actions. Written in a lively, figurative language, this book exposes the bourgeois falsifiers, who try to belittle the significance of the working class and its political vanguard in the Resistance.

Guéorgui Chakhnazarov, *Qu'est-ce qui attend L'humanité?* (What Awaits Mankind?), Novosti Press Agency, Moscow, 1984, 96pp.

This book deals with the possibilities of mankind's survival and with its future. The author offers a Marxist study of notions, current in the West and propounded by some pacific circles, about the sources of the nuclear threat and the ways and means of eliminating them. Is Science responsible for the nuclear threat? Can 'mutual deterrence' serve as the guarantee of a stable peace on our planet? What is the political content of the idea of a 'world government'? These and many other questions are answered compellingly. In analysing the prospects for humanity's development the author shows that the gloomy social anti-utopias of the British writers Aldous Huxley and George Orwell are embodied in present-day capitalist reality rather than in socialist society. It is stressed that socialism is the social system that makes it possible once and for all to preclude wars, put an end to class and national oppression, and give humanity a dignified future.

Ara Hadjadur, *From Personal Experience of Work in the Working Class and Trade Union Movement of Iraq*, 1984, 82pp. (in Arabic)

This pamphlet was written in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Iraqi Communist Party. The author, a member of the ICP, writes of the formation of the working class, of the birth and development of the Iraqi working class and trade union movement, and this movement's links to the communist party. He describes this movement at various stages of its history and analyses its successes and setbacks. He deals with the present struggle of the Iraqi working people for their rights and shows how the war between Iran and Iraq affects the conditions of the working class.

surveys, information and mail

Communist Youth Leagues Brief Information*

COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION OF HUNGARY

The CYUH, set up in 1957, is the youth organisation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. This voluntary mass political association today has 913,000 members (which is roughly 40 per cent of the country's youth population between the ages of 14 and 30) and 34,000 primary organisations. It functions under the direct guidance of the HSWP, keeps the party informed of youth opinion, and participates in drawing up and implementing party policy. In accordance with the Law on Youth, the Union champions the specific rights of the rising generation and represents its interests in state and public agencies.

The CYU of Hungary draws young people into socialist construction, mobilises them for the fulfilment of economic development plans, promotes their participation in the socialist emulation movement and in the movement to economise on raw and other materials, and encourages young innovators and rationalisers in production. Councils of young specialists—engineers, economists, agronomists, and so forth—have sprung up and function on its initiative at industrial facilities and agricultural cooperatives. The Association of Creative Youth, formed under the auspices of the Union, plays a large role in drawing young people into participation in the development of science and technology. The Association has its own weekly, *Ötlet*.

The CYUH educates young people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, helping to give them a socialist world view. There are 80,000 propagandists in its political education network. They are trained at political education centres in the capital and in the country's 19 provinces. The Union's publishing house prints 13 children's and youth newspapers and journals. The central organ is the weekly *Magyar Ifjúság*.

The CYUH attaches considerable importance to promoting the cultural level of young people and takes the initiative in organising youth leisure-time activities. The movement for cultured young people and the numerous youth clubs give all young people the opportunity to choose whatever leisure-time pursuit they like. In the amateur art groups there are 33,000 members of the Union. These groups—for instance, the Central Song and Dance Ensemble and the recently formed Rock Theatre—enjoy wide popularity. A large work load is borne also by another of the CYUH's creations—the Bureau for Youth Cultural Programmes.

* Continued from *WMR*, Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, and 10, 1984.

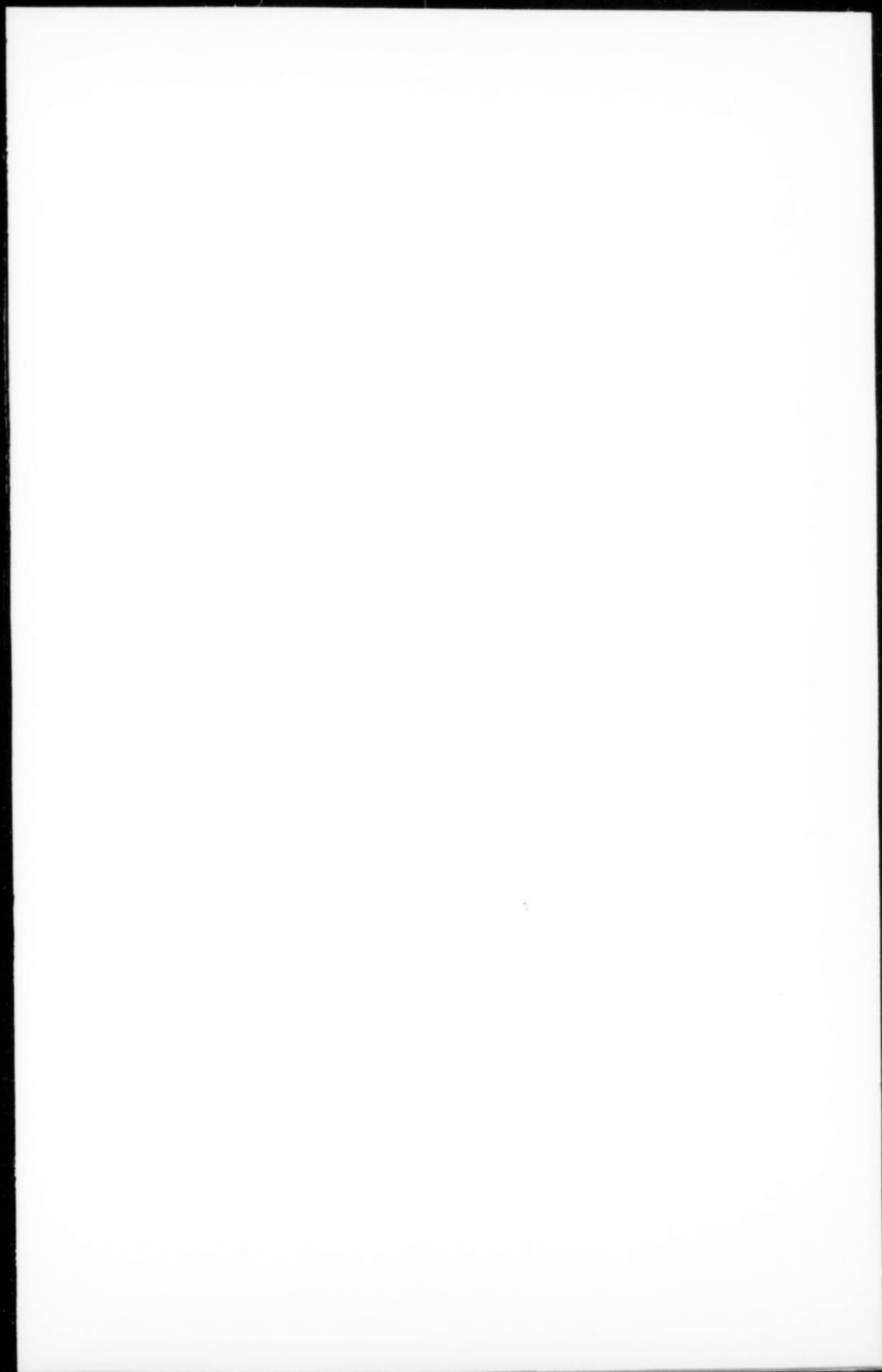
The Union helps to further the development of mass sport. Several thousand young people have joined the movement for Five Olympic Tests. Express, the youth and student tourist bureau, offers many attractive itineraries. The Union sponsors a national convention of tourists annually.

The Communist Youth Union tries to respond quickly to the problems of society and of young people. To be in a position to take the specifics of the different age and social groups into account in its work, the CYUH Central Committee has conducted wide-ranging studies of young people. The group set up for this purpose researched the social status of young people and their views and opinions on specific issues. The aims and methods of the work among different segments of young people were defined on the basis of the group's findings. To promote the degree of activity and initiative of the Union members it has been decided to accord grassroots organisations more freedom of action. This decentralisation of the leadership was accompanied by further democratising the CYUH elections. Most of the candidates for leading posts in the Union are now nominated publicly, and their elections are direct, instead of through delegates as was formerly the case. New forms of organisation have been introduced that are more in keeping with the working and living conditions of young people. Grassroots organisations are set up not only at the place of work, permanent residences of Union members, and military units, but also in all temporary hostels for students and workers and in cultural, scientific, and sports associations, and other places that have a permanent body of young people. Every Union member decides to what cell he or she will belong.

The CYUH directs the work of the League of Hungarian Young Pioneers, which has nearly 1,300,000 members.

The Union makes a significant contribution to the struggle of the world's progressive forces for peace, disarmament, social progress, and a happy future for humankind. At the close of 1983, motivated by their anxiety over the increased threat of war, Hungarian young people issued an appeal against the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Within a week it was signed by more than two and a half million people, or every fourth citizen of Hungary.

The Communist Youth Union of Hungary is active in international youth organisations. It maintains contacts with almost 200 youth organisations in more than 90 countries. An active member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, the CYUH takes part in all their undertakings, striving to reinforce the cohesion of the international democratic youth movement. The Union and all other young Hungarians joyfully welcomed the offer of the Soviet Young Communist League to hold the 12th World Youth and Students' Festival in Moscow in 1985.



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